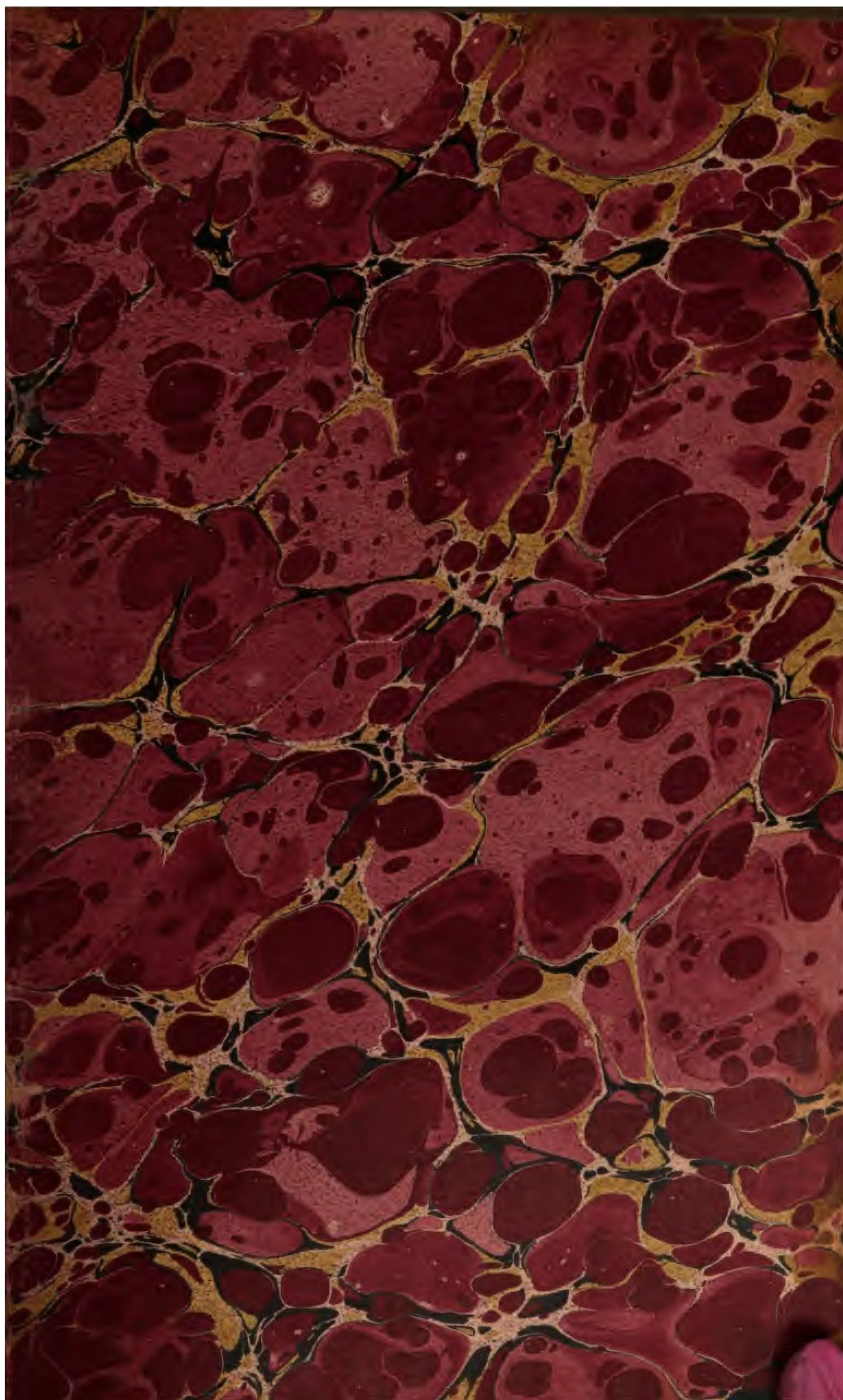
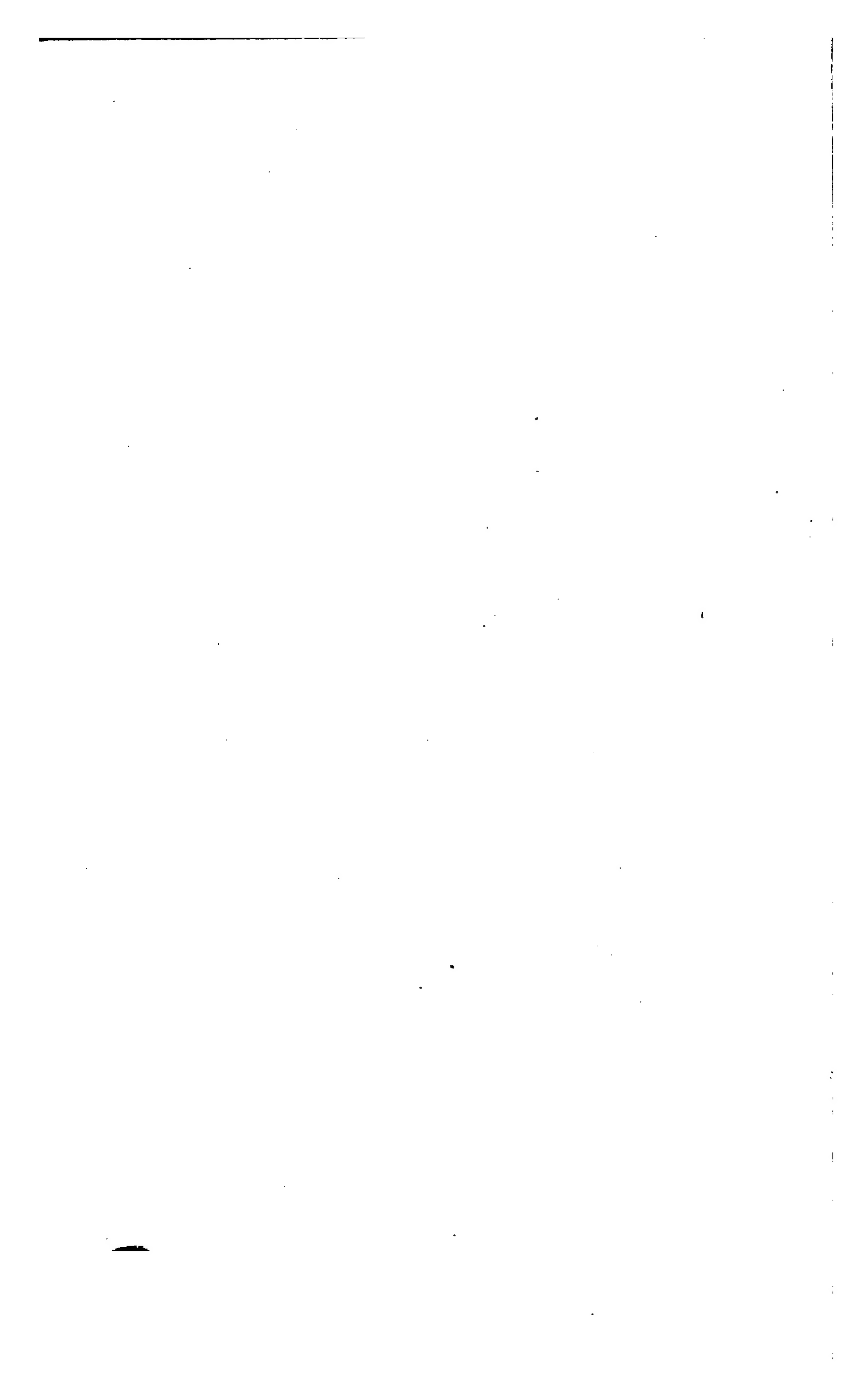




THE RIYAẒU-S-SALĀṬĪN,

A HISTORY OF BENGAL

BY

GHULĀM ḤUSAIN SALĪM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN

BY

MAULAVI ABDUS SALAM, M.A.,

BENGAL PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICE, MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, AUTHOR OF TRANSLATIONS OF URFĪ AND SIH-NASR-I-ZAHURĪ.

FASC. I.

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PREFACE.

* شکر شکن شوند همه طوطیان هند • زین قند پارسي که به بنگاله میرود •

حافظ

> " And now shall India's paroquets on sugar revel all,
> In this sweet Persian sugarcandy that is borne to far Bengal."
>
> *Hafiz* to Sultan Ghiasu-d-din, King of Bengal.

The History of Bengal cannot fail to be of special interest not only to Hindus and Musalmans in Bengal, but also to Englishmen, in that Bengal formed the foundation-stone of the glorious fabric of Empire in Asia that England was destined in subsequent years to rear on the wreck of the mighty Empire of the 'Great Mogul.' Yet Histories of Bengal are very few. From the Muhammadan side, though there are plenty of General Histories of India, containing incidental references to Bengal, or dealing with particular periods of it, there is no general or comprehensive History of Bengal, save and except the Riyāẕu-s-Salāṭin. From the European side, the only standard History of Bengal is Stewart's History, but this last, too, whilst mainly based on the Riyāẕ, incorporates also the less reliable accounts from Ferishta. To appreciate the historical value and position of the Riyāẕ, I need only quote the opinions of two eminent Orientalists. "The Riyāẕu-s-Salāṭin," says the late Professor Blochmann who laboured so largely for the Asiatic Society of Bengal, "is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal, which the author brings down to his own time (1786-88)"; whilst Dr. Hœrnle observes in a letter to me: "The Riyāẕ is a Standard History of Bengal, is continually quoted by Mr. Blochmann in his 'Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal' in the Journals of the Asiatic Society; Mr. Blochmann strongly recommended that it should be translated, and, therefore, the book is one which deserves being translated and published by the Asiatic Society."

Whilst fully sensible of the honour conferred upon me by

the Asiatic Society in entrusting to me the duty of translating with notes this Standard History of Bengal, I cannot help confessing to a sense of diffidence in presenting this volume to the public under their auspices. Circumstances over which I have had little control, such as domestic troubles, difficulties of access to libraries or books of reference in out-of-the-way mofussil stations, and scanty snatches of leisure after by no means light daily official duties—have combined not only to retard the publication of this annotated translation, but to interfere with my presenting it in the shape that I had fondly aimed at. As it is, I venture to think, whilst fully conscious of its defects and flaws, that I have spared no pains to render the translation a faithful and literal representation of the original, consistently with lucidity and clearness in statement. To constantly elucidate the text, I have given ample foot-notes. These foot-notes have been prepared by me by reference to original and generally contemporary Persian sources, and in some cases also embody results of the labours of European scholars and antiquarians, as well as my own personal observations. The preparation of these foot-notes has involved considerable research and entailed much labour.

For my labours, such as they have been, I shall, however, feel amply rewarded if these pages in any measure contribute to awaken amongst my co-religionists in Bengal an enlightened consciousness of their historic past, coupled with an earnest longing in the present to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by a progressive and beneficent Government for their future social and intellectual regeneration; and also if they widen the mutual sympathies of the two great nationalities in Bengal by infusing sentiments of closer and more cordial comradeship, in that they have been fellow-travellers over the same tract for many long centuries; and last, though not least, if they evoke the sympathetic interest of Englishmen in the fate of a great and historic Community that preceded them for six centuries in the Government of this country.

A respectful tribute of mournful acknowledgment is due to the memory of my lamented wife, Hyatunnissa Begam, who often sat up by me during progress of this work, and sustained me in my labours.

ABDUS SALAM.

ORISSA, CUTTACK:
23rd May, 1903.

P.S.—I had hoped to add to this work an Appendix dealing with the social, economic and political condition of the people in Bengal under each period of Moslem Rule; but for this (though I have collected some materials) at present I command neither the requisite leisure nor the full critical apparatus. The foot-notes will, however, it is hoped, give the reader some idea of the culture and civilisation that prevailed in Bengal under the Moslems, of their system and methods of administration, of their policy in adding to the physical comforts of the people, and in improving their intellectual, social and ethical ideals.

A. S.

BARISAL, BACKERGUNJE:
17th November, 1903.

RIYÂZU-S-SALÂTIN, OR A HISTORY OF BENGAL.

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TRANSLATION

OF THE

RIYĀẔU-S-SALAṬĪN OF GHULĀM ḤUSAIN SALĪM.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE KIND AND THE MERCIFUL!

Worlds of praise are due unto the palace of that World-Creator, who adorning this world by means of His hand of perfect power with the ornament of existence, has unfurled the Standard of Creatorship, and worlds of panegyric befit the shrine of that Supreme Author who has drawn by means of his brush of perfect art the portrait of Life in particoloured lines on the pages of Creation. He (God) is that Wise Sage, who has entrusted the affairs of the management of the world and the people of the world and the good and the right guidance of all classes to the persons of Sovereigns, and who has entrusted into the hands of authority of Sovereigns of this world, the reins of the opening and stoppage of the business of divers classes of mankind. He (God) is that Supreme Ruler of the Universe who, weighing the opening and stoppage of the affairs of mankind and the good and bad of Centre-Sitters in the circle of earth, in the scale of expediency of the world, has left in every clime and every country a ruler.

From the Cloud of His bounty, the garden of the world
is green.
From the zephyr of His generosity, the orchard of the
soil is green.
From the Colouring of the painter of His Creation,
Emerald becomes green in the centre of mine.
Praise unto Lord, High is His rank and His praise.
Universal is His bounty and generosity,
All praise is due unto His Beneficence!

And blessings full of white effulgence and sacred benedictions are due unto all the messengers of the Palace of His bounty, that

is, unto the Prophets, especially unto that Symbol of Mercy of the people of the world, that Herald of the Faithful, that Seal of the Prophets, that Pioneer of the better Path, that Bright Lamp of the right road, the *Raisondétre* of the creation of this world, the First-born: the Last-disclosed,[1] that is, the Pride of the Prophets, the Leader[2] of the Innocent, the Interceder on the day of Judgment, Muhammad the Chosen—Aḥmad the Select; God's special mercy and peace be on him and his descendants, and the people of his sacred house, and on his successors and all his companions!

After God's and the Prophet's praise,[3] this humble servant who is hopeful of the intercession of the Prophet, namely, Ghulām Ḥusain, whose title is Salīm Zaidpūrī,[4] so says that since some period, according to chances of time, he has been in the service of Mr. George Udny, who is a gentleman of high position and high rank, of graceful character, of kind heart, mild disposition, praiseworthy deportment and great generosity, who is the Ḥatim[5] of

1 This has reference to the Muhammadan belief that the *Nūr* or light of Muhammad was the first thing created by God, and that all else followed, though the Prophet in bodily form was ushered into existence after all other prophets.

2 This has reference to the tragic martyrdom of Ḥusain and other members of the Fatimite family, who were all innocent, and whose ancestor the Prophet was.

3 Every Muhammadan book begins with the praise of God. This praise is called *ḥamd* in Arabic, and is followed by *Na't*, or praise of the Arabian Prophet.

4 Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm Zaidpūrī is the author of the present historical work entitled the Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn, or History of Bengal. Ilaḥī Bakhsh in his history "Khurshid Jahān Numā" of which Mr. Beveridge has published lately an Analysis in the Journals of the Asiatic Society, has some notice of Ghulām Ḥusain. He states that Ghulām Ḥusain was of Zaidpūr in Oudh, migrated to Māldah in Bengal, and held the office of Dāk Munshī or Post Master there, under Mr. George Udny. Noticing the Charitable Dispensary at Māldah, Ilahī Bakhsh observes that here used to be the house of Ghulām Ḥusain, and that in the quarter known as Cak Qurbān Alī is the tomb of Ghulām Ḥusain who died in 1233 A.H. or 1817 A.C. The chronogram composed in honour of his memory by his pupil, Abdul Karīm, is منشي ز عالم رفته which yields 1233. Mr. Udny appears to have been at the time Commercial Resident of the East India Company's factory at Māldah.

5 Ḥatīm was a Prince of Yemen, in Arabia. His generous hospitality is a by-word in the East.

the world of bounty, the Naushirwān [1] of the world of Justice, the Generous man of the age, and who is callous about popularity and praise—

May God always preserve his good fortune, and advance his rank, and elevate his position, and double his life and dignity!—and that he has been in the class of his servants, and has ever been and is still the recipient of his favours. In short, the excellencies-abounding and bounties-springing person of that mine of discernment, is unique and matchless in this age.

He is a paragon of all excellencies,
He is superior to all praise that can be conceived.
He is enlightened, sees through things aright, like old sages,
But he has the fortune, the age and the rank of manhood.
He weighs his words which are pregnant with meaning,
His two lips, like two palms, at the time of conversation, are pearl-scattering.
The tray of his bounty is ready for the poor and the needy;
He always keeps gold and *dīnār* [2] for the indigent.

Inasmuch as his high mind is always pursuant of the study of histories and travels, and is seeker of all sorts of knowledge and accomplishments, in the year 1200 A.H. corresponding to 1786 A.C., his bent of noble mind turned towards seeking a knowledge of the lives and careers of past sovereigns and rulers who unfurling the standard of sovereignty over Bengal, the Paradise of Provinces,[3] have now passed into the secret regions of Eternity. Accordingly, the order was given to this man of poor ability, that whatever he might gather from historical works, &c., he should compile in simple language, so that it might be intelligible to all, and might deserve the approval of the *elite*. This

[1] Naushirwān was a King of Irān or old Persia. He flourished in the sixth century, and belonged to the Sassanian dynasty. His wazir was the famous Buzurchemeher or Bouzour, author of the Zafarnāmah. Naushīrwan's justice is proverbial in the world.

[2] Dīnār, a gold coin weighing one *misqal*, *i.e.*, 1¾ dirhams. For details see Āin-i-Akbari, Vol. I (Blochmann's Trans., p. 36).

[3] Our author calls Bengal "*Jinnat-ul-bilād*," or 'Paradise of Provinces.' I am not sure if there is any historical basis for this expression, as there is for the expression "*Jinnat-ābād*" which latter epithet was bestowed by Emperor Humayun on Gaur in Bengal (see Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Elliot's History of India, Vol. V, p. 201, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 123, and Badaoni, Vol. I,

ignorant man, of limited capacity, deeming the execution of the order of his master incumbent on himself, being the slave of order, has placed the finger of consent on the eye, and girded up the loin of effort and venture, collected sentence after sentence from every source, and for a period of two years has devoted himself to the compilation and preparation of this history. And after completing it, he has named it Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn,[1] according to the date of its completion. It is hoped that this work may merit the approval of all persons of light. It is desired of people conversant with past times, that if they detect any mistake or oversight, they will overlook it, inasmuch as this humble man is not free from shortcomings, according to the saying "Man is made up of sins of commission and omission," and further, that, according to their capacity, they will correct the mistakes and defects, and if they cannot do so, they will be good enough to overlook them.

The plan of this work consists of an Introduction and Four Chapters.

Its arrangement is as follows :—

(*a*) The Introduction consists of Four Sections.

Section I relates to a description of the state of populousness of the country of Bengal, and of its boundaries and environs.

Section II relates to a description of certain characteristics of that country.

p. 349). However that may be, Bengal well deserved to be styled "*Jinnat-ul-bilād*" or 'Paradise of Provinces,' owing to the fertility of its soil, the richness of its produce, and the vastness of its natural resources. During Musalmān rule, the Province of Bengal yielded the largest revenue to the Delhi Emperors, and in consequence its Viceroyalty was always coveted by Princes Royal of Delhi, from so remote a period as the times of Emperors Shamsuddin Altamsh and Ghiasuddin Balban—whose sons in succession ruled over Bengal, not to speak of later Mughal Princes Royal of Delhi. Under British rule also, Bengal Proper, including Assam, Behar and Orissa and Chutia Nagpur, forms the largest Administrative Division of India, contains one-third of the total population of British India, and yields a gross revenue of 17 or 18 millions sterling, or one-third of the actual revenues of the Indian Empire. It is worthy of note that the above expression is also used in Mughal Imperial (official) documents, *vide* J.A.S.B. for 1901, Vol. LXX, Part I, No. 1, pp. 21-22.

1 "Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn" is a chronogram yielding date 1202 A.H., corresponding to 1788 A.C., the year in which this historical work was completed. 'Rauẓah' in Persian means a 'garden,' its plural being 'Riyāẓ' meaning, 'gardens.' "Salāṭīn" means "Kings"; therefore, 'Riyāẓu-s-Salāṭīn' means "gardens of Kings." It is a pity the author does not specify all the sources

Section III relates to a description of certain cities of that country.

Section IV relates to a brief sketch of the rule of the *Raiān* of Hindustān.

Chapter I relates to a description of the rule of the Musalmān rulers who as Viceroys held delegated authority over this country from the Emperors of Delhī.

Chapter II relates to a chronicle of the Musalmān Kings who mounting the throne of Bengāl, had the Khuṭbah [1] of sovereignty recited after their own names.

of his history, but there is internal evidence to indicate that, besides consulting standard historical works, such as Tabaqāt-Naṣiri by Minhāj-u-Sirāj, Tarīkh-i-Firuz Shahī by Ẓiauddin Barnī and by Sirāj Afif (which contain references to the history of Bengal only for the period between 1198 to 1338 A.C.) and Tabaqat-i-Akbarī by Nizamuddin Ahmad (which contains an account of Bengal for the period 1338 to 1538), the Badaonī and Akbarnāmah by Abul Faẓl (for the period under Akbar) and other similar standard historical works on India such as the *Tuzuk*, the *Iqbālnamah*, the *Pādshāhnāmah*, the *Alamgīrnāmāh*, and the *Maasir-i-Alamgīrī*. Salīm had recourse also to other less known historical treatises relating to Bengal which are not perhaps now extant, and perhaps lay only in MSS. Our author now and then says 'I have seen in a little book,' and he also cites a historical compilation by one Hajī Muhammad of Qandahar, of which no copy seems now to exist. Our author appears also to have taken considerable pains in deciphering old inscriptions on monuments, mosques, and shrines in Gaur and Panduah—old Musalmān capitals of Bengal. This feature considerably enhances the value of his history, and gives it a superiority over other similar works, and places our author in the forefront of Bengal antiquarians and researchers. Indeed, Ghulām Ḥusain is pre-eminently *the* Historian of Muhammadan Bengal, because other Muhammadan historians before or after him dealt only with certain periods of Bengal history, whilst our author's narrative comprises the history of Bengal from the earliest mythological period to the dawn of British rule, with a more detailed account of Muhammadan Rulers of Bengal. Stewart's History of Bengal is to a great extent based on the 'Riyāẓ' though Stewart very often has preferred the less accurate account of the Dakhin historian, Firishta, who flourished in the seventeenth century. The great Oriental scholar and antiquarian, Professor Blochmann, in his 'Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal' says: "The Riyāẓ is much prized as being the fullest account in Persian of the Muhammadan History of Bengal." Professor Blochmann further observes "for the early portions, Ghulām Ḥusain Salīm has used books which are unknown at present; yet he gives valuable dates which are often confirmed by collateral evidence. Salīm has also made a fair use of the antiquities of the Gaur District."

[1] The Khuṭbah is a Musalmān prayer-book recited on Fridays, 'Id days, and

Chapter III relates to a description of the careers of the Nāẓims[1] who were appointed to the Niẓāmat of this country by the Caghtā'ī[2] or Mughal Emperors.

Chapter IV consists of two parts :—

Part I being descriptive of the arrival of the Christians, consisting of the Portuguese and the French, &c., in the Dakhīn and in Bengal.

Part II being descriptive of the domination of the English Christians over Bengal and the Dakhīn.

other special days and occasions. The recital of the Khutbah after one's name and the minting of coins, was regarded by Musalmān sovereigns as emblems of sovereignty.

[1] Nāẓims—

The Nāẓims were functionaries created by the Mughal Government or by Sher Shah (Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 365). To each Province or Ṣūbah, the Mughal Emperors appointed two Principal Heads of administration, one being the Nāẓim and the other being the Dīwān. The Nāẓim was the Governor or Viceroy of the Province, he was the Executive and Military Head of the Province, and administered Criminal Justice; whilst the Dīwān, though independent of the former and directly subordinate to the Delhi Emperor, held portfolio of the Finance, and was responsible for the revenue administration of the Province, and also occasionally administered Civil Justice. Thus there were two independent wheels in the machinery of Provincial administration. Under the Nāẓims, there was a chain of subordinate officials, called Naib Nāẓims, Serlashkars, Faujdars, Kotwāls and Thanadars on the executive side, and under Dīwāns on the judicial side, were Qazi-ul-Qazzāt (Chief Justice), Qazis, Muftīs, Mīr Adls, Sadrs presided over by Sadr-i-Sadūr, and on the revenue side were Naib or local Dīwāns, Amils, Shiqdars, Karkuns, Qanungos, and Patwarīs. The Judiciary, both Civil and Criminal, were often, however, independent of both Nāẓims and Dīwāns, and subordinate only to the Imperial Ṣadr-i-Ṣadūr or Ṣadr-i-Kul or Ṣadr-i-Jahān (or Minister of Justice) at Delhi, who was responsible for good conduct to the Mughal Emperor himself. (See *Ain*, Vol. II, p. p. 37-49, and do. Vol. I, p. 268.)

[2] Caghtai Khān was a son of Cangīz Khān. Emperor Bābar, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, was descended on the mother's side from a nobler stock, that is, from Caghtai Khān; hence the Mughal Emperors of India commonly styled themselves as Caghtāi Emperors in preference to 'Mughal' Emperors, the term 'Mughal' not being so honourable, in accordance with an accepted usage and principle amongst Moslems to refer back their lineage to the nobler side, whether paternal or maternal.

INTRODUCTION : CONSISTING OF 4 SECTIONS.

SECTION I. A DESCRIPTION OF THE BOUNDARIES AND ENVIRONS OF THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.

Be it known to the way-farers of the climes of travels and histories that the Ṣūbah [1] of Bengal is in the second climate.[2] From Islāmābād, [3] otherwise known as Chittagong, to Teliagadhī,[4] that is, from east to west, the length is 400 *Karoh*,[5] and its breadth from north to south, that is, from the mountains in the north to

[1] The name of Ṣūbah originated from the time of Emperor Akbar, who designated the fiscal areas as follows from the time of the ten-years' settlement:—A Ṣūbah was an aggregate of Sarkars, a Sarkār or Division was an aggregate of Dastūrs, a Dastūr (which Sir Henry Elliot in his Glossary explains as an abbreviation of Dastūru-l-Aml, corresponding to a district under a Sarkār) was an aggregate of Parganas or Mahals (used as equivalent expressions), and a Pargana or Mahal meant a fiscal division, the fiscal unit, coinciding with the dominions of a native chief under the Mughal dynasty. The words used before Akbar's time to denote fiscal divisions or tracts of country larger than the Pargana, were Shaq, Khaṭṭah, 'Arṣāh, Diyār, Vilayet, Iqṭa, Bilād and Mamlakat. Thus in the earlier Musalmān histories before the end of the fourteenth century, we come across Shaq-i-Sama, Khaṭṭah-i-Oudh, 'Arṣah-i-Gorakpūr, Diyār-i or Vilayet-i-Lakhnautī, Vilayet-i-Mean Doab, Iqta'-i-Kara, Bilād Bang, Mamlakat Lakhnautī. See Elliot's Glossary, and *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 115, and Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, pp. 148 and 262.

[2] The Musalmān astronomers and geographers divided the world into seven parts, to each of which they gave the name of Iqlīm or climate.—See Āīn-i-Akbarī Jarrett's Trans., Vol. III, p. 43.

[3] Islāmābād or Chittagong. The district was first conquered by the Independent Musalmān Kings of Bengal. In 1350 A.C., about which year Ibn Batutah was in Chittagong, it belonged to King Fakhruddin of Sunargaon. It was re-conquered in 1665 by the Mughals under Umid Khān who changed the name of the place to Islāmābād during the rule of Nawab Shaista Khān, Viceroy of Bengal.—See Blochmann's contributions to History and Geography of Bengal and the *Alamgīr-Namah*, p. 940, and the *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 125.

[4] Teliagadhī on Teliagarhī is a pass lying between Rajmahal on the south, and the Ganges on the north; formerly of strategic importance, as commanding the approaches to Bengal Proper. The ruins of a large stone fort still exist, through which the E.I. Railway passes. See Hunt. Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, p. 236 and *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 116.

[5] Karoh or Kos—Āīn 16 says:—The Kos was fixed at 100 tanabs, each consisting of 50 Ilahī gaz or 400 poles (*bans*), each pole of 12½ *gaz*. Sher Shāh fixed the *Kos* at 60 *jaribs*, each of 60 Sikandrī *gaz*. A *farsakh* is equal to three *Kos*.—See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 414.

Sarkār Madāran,[1] which is the southern limit of this Ṣūbah, is 200 *Karoh*. And since in the period of Jalāl-uddin Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghazī, the Ṣūbah of Orissa was conquered by Kālāpahār[2] and annexed to the Empire of the Sovereigns of Delhī, and made a part of the Ṣūbah of Bengal, the extent of the latter Ṣūbah became extended by 43 *karoh* in length and by 20 *karoh* in breadth. In the southern limits of this Ṣūbah is the sea, and towards its north and east, are high mountains, and on the west, it adjoins the Ṣūbah of Behar. During the rule of Emperor Akbar, 'Isā Khān[3] Afghan conquering the eastern provinces struck coin and recited Khutbā in the name of Akbar, and annexed it to the Ṣūbah of Bengal. There[4] are twenty-eight

1 Sarkār Madaran extended "in a semi-circle from Nagor in western Birbhūm over Raniganj along the Damūdar to above Bardwān, and from there over Khandghosh, Jahanabad, Chandrakona (western Hughlī district) to Mandalghat, at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river, and consisted of 16 mahals with a revenue of Rs. 235,085."—See Blochmann's Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal and the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 141.

2 Kālāpahār is the famous general of the Afghān King of Bengal, Sulaimān Kararāni, and the renowned conqueror of the temple of Jagannath in Purī in south Orissa. Kālāpahār was killed by a gun-shot in one of the fights between Masūm and Qutlu of Orissa and 'Azīz Kokah, which in 990 A.H., took place between Colgong and Gadhī. A detailed description of Kālāpahār's conquest of Orissa is given in the *Makhzan-ī-Afghanī*.—See *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 370 and Vol. II, p. 128.

3 'Isa Khān Afghān flourished in 'Bhatī' in the reign of Daūd, the last Afghān King of Bengal, and continued as 'over-lord' or 'Marzbān-i-Bhatī,' as Abul Faẓl in the Āīn styles him, with twelve great Zemindars or princelings (known in those days as Bārā Bhuiyās) under him, after annexation of Bengal by Emperor Akbar to the Mughal Empire. 'Īsa's *gadi* was known as Masnad-i-Alī, the existing Dīwān families of Haibatnagar and Jangalbarī in Mymensingh district claim descent from 'Īsa. "Bhati" according to Abul Faẓl extended 400 *Kos* from east to west, and 300 *Kos* from north to the ocean to the south; it thus included the Sundarban and the tracts along the Megna. Grant defines "Bhati" as including the Sundarban and all the neighbouring lowlands (even Hijely) overflooded by the tides. The Musalmān historians never use the term Sundarban, but give the sea-board from Hijely to the Megna one name of 'Bhati,' which signifies lowlands overflooded by tides.—See *Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, p. 342, and J.A.S. No. 3, 1874, and No. 2, 1875 and *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 117.

4 In the Āīn, the Ṣūbah of Bengal is stated to have consisted of 24 Sarkārs including 787 mahals, and the revenue is stated to have been 59 Krors 84 lakhs 59 thousand and 19 *dāms*, equivalent to Rs. 14,961,482-15-7. Its standing army, according to the Āīn, consisted of 23,330 cavalry, 801,150

Sarkārs with eighty-seven mahals in this Ṣūbah[1]. In past times, the fixed revenue of this Ṣūbah was fifty-nine *kror* eighty-four *lak*, fifty-nine thousand and three hundred and nineteen *dams*, which is equal to about one *kror* forty-nine *lak*, sixty-one thousand four hundred and eighty-two rupees and fifteen annas in *sicca* Rupees. Twenty-three thousand three hundred and thirty cavalry, eight *lak*

infantry, 1,170 elephants, 4,260 guns, 4,400 boats. Remembering that the army was not generally paid in coin, but by bestowal of fiefs or military jagirs, even at this distance of time, it is not difficult to imagine how Bengal was overrun by colonies of Musalmān feudal barons.—See Ain-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 129 and Vol. I, p. 370.

[1] On the Frontiers of Muhammadan Bengal.

The text as well as the *Akbarnamah* and the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīrī* state that Bengal was bounded on the south by the sea, on the north by hills (that is, those south of Nepaul, Sikkim, and Bhutan), on the east by hills (that is, those of Chittagong and Arakan), on the west by the Ṣūbah of Behar. During the reigns, however, of the Independent Musalmān Kings (such as Ilyas Shiah, and Alauddīn Husain S̲h̲āh in 1502 and his son and successor Naṣrat S̲h̲āh), the Musalmān Kingdom of Bengal was more extensive than its geographical limits, and included northern portions of Orissa or Jājnagar, Kuch Behar, Kamrūp or Western Assam with portions of Eastern Assam, and the whole of Upper Behar (a Governor to represent the Bengal Musalmān King being posted at Hājīpūr opposite to Patna), and the eastern portions of South Behar including Sarkars Monghyr and Behar.—(See J.A.S. No. 3, 1873, pp. 221-222). The whole of Orissa was conquered and annexed to the Bengal Musalmān Kingdom in the reign of Sulaiman Kararānī, the last but one independent Musalmān Afg̲h̲ān King in Bengal.

When Bak̲h̲tiyār K̲h̲iljī conquered Bengal, he ruled (ostensibly as Viceroy of the Musalmān Emperor of Delhi, Kutbuddin Aibak) over portions of Dinājepūr, Māldah, Rangpūr, Nadiah, Bīrbhūm, and Bardwan comprising what was then called Diyār-i-Lakhnautī, and also he held Behar (Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, p. 156). This state of things continued during the rule of his two immediate successors, when we find Husamuddīn Iwaz (a contemporary of Sultān S̲h̲amsuddīn Altams̲h̲) extending the frontier eastward to the Brahmapūtra and southward to the sea-board, and reigning as an independent king under the title of Sulṭan G̲h̲iasuddin (Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī, p. 163). The Tarīk̲h̲ Firuz S̲h̲ahī, p. 87 mentions that Emperor Balban in his pursuit of Mug̲h̲īsuddīn Tug̲h̲ral, had to go so far eastward as Sunargaon, which would appear to have been within the limits also of Tug̲h̲ral's Bengal Kingdom. Again, in 1350 A.C. when Ibn-i-Batūtah was in Chittagong, we find this important seaport was in the hands of King Fak̲h̲ruddīn of Sūnargaon. As Mr. Thomas in his learned discussions on old coins of Bengal Musalmān Kings has suggested, it would seem that so early as the twelfth century there was free commercial intercourse between the south-eastern sea-board of Bengal and the Arab seaports

and one thousand and one hundred and fifty-eight infantry, one hundred and eighty elephants, and four thousand two hundred and six guns, four thousand and four hundred fleet of boats, constituted the standing army. Adjoining to the northern limits of Chittagong, is the tract of country ruled by the Rajah of Tipperāh. It is an extensive country. The rulers of that country enjoy the title of Mānīk, for instance Nyā Mānīk. The nobles have the title of Narāin.[1] The Rājah of that place had one thousand elephants and two laks of infantry in his service. Riding horses are not available. Between the north and the west of Bengal, pointing more towards the north, is the province of Kūch Behār. Its length from east to west, from the beginning of Parganah Bhitarband,[2] which is included in the conquered provinces, to Pātagāon,[2] which is the limit of the tract of the Mūrang, is 55 kos, and its breadth from south to north, that is, from Parganah Nājhāt, which is included in the conquered country, to Pūshakarpūr,[2] which adjoins Khontāghāt,[2] is fifty kos. This tract of country, in point of the sweetness of its water, and mildness and salubrity of its air, and

of Baghdād and Basorah; and it would seem it was this commercial Musalmān activity combined with superior martial and moral qualities that paved the way for Musalmān domination throughout Bengal.

Subsequently in the reign of Ghiasuddin Tughlak Shāh, we find the Bengal Musalmān Kingdom has grown so extensive and unwieldy, that we find him separating Behar from Bengal, and placing it under an independent Governor, whilst Bengal itself for purposes of convenient administration was divided into three different sections, *viz.*: (1) Diyār-i-Sunargaon, comprising Eastern Bengal, (2) Diyār-i-Sātgaon, comprising Western Bengal, and (3) Diyār-i-Lakhnautī, comprising Northern and Central Bengal. A Governor was appointed to each of the above three administrative Sections or Divisions, the Governor of Lakhnautī being the Supreme Governor or Viceroy, whilst the two other Governors were placed generally in subordination to him (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī, p. 451). But this state of things did not last long; for in the reign of Muhammad Shāh Tughlak (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī, p. 480) Bengal again rose as an Independent Musalmān Kingdom, and as has been mentioned above, the whole of Upper Behar with eastern portions of Southern Behar was again annexed to the Bengal Kingdom, whilst Orissa also was subsequently added to it. This state of things continued until Akbar came to the throne, when Bengal, with Behar and Orissa, was annexed to the Mughal Empire of Delhi. See *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, Tarikh-i-Firu-Shahī, *Akbarnamah*, Ibn-i-Batutah's Travels and Mr. Thomas's "Initial Coinage of Bengal," J.A.S.B., No. 1, 1867 and No. IV, 1873 pp. 221-222 and 343.

[1] The same in Ain-i-Akbarī, Vol. 2, p. 117.

[2] For identification of these places see J.A.S., 1872, p. 49.

the comfort of its inhabitants, is superior to all the eastern tracts of Hindustān. Large oranges thrive here, and other fruits also grow in abundance. The tree of pepper grows there, its root is thin, and its branches creep over ponds. Its ear, like the ear of grape, hangs down from the branches. Its inhabitants belong to two tribes, namely, Makh and Kūj,[1] its Rājah is of the first tribe. They mint gold coins, and the coins are called Nārainī. Notable Rājahs have ruled there. One lak and one thousand infantry are always in the service of the Rājah.

And the country of Kāmrūp which is also called Kāmrū[2] or Kāmtāh is subject to those Rājahs. The inhabitants of Kāmrūp are good-looking, and in magic raise the standard of mastery; and many incredible stories are related regarding them. In respect of the flora of that place, it is said that the scent of the flowers continues as fresh as before, some months after their being plucked, and that with these necklaces are made, and that by cutting trees a sweet liquid is obtained, and that the mango-tree trails like a climbing vine over ponds, and produces mango-fruit; and other similar stories are related.

And the mountain of Bhūtān, which is the abode of the Bhūtiahs, lies to south of Kūch Behār. *Tāngan*[3] horses and Bhūt and Barī horses and the musk-deer are found in this mountain. In the

1 In *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 156, "Mech" and "Koch." See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 49. *Alamgirnamah*, p. 683. *Akbarnamah*, p. 207. *Tuzuk* p. 147, and *Padshahnamah*, p. 64, Vol. II.

2 Kamrūp (in *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 163, Kamrūd) included the Western portion of Assam together with the Bengal Districts of Rangpūr, Rangmati (now in Goalpara District) and Sylhet. It was first conquered by Musalmāns in the reign of Hussamuddin Iwaz *alias* Sultan Ghiasuddin, an immediate successor of Bakhtīyar Khiljī, in the early part of the thirteenth century. (*Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 163). At the close of the fifteenth century, its Rājah Nelambhar was overthrown by Husain Shāh, King of Bengal. In ancient days, Kamrūp was noted for its sorcery and the beauty of its women. Rangpūr is stated to have been founded by Bakhtiyar Khiljī, during his expedition into Tibet.—See also J.A.S. for 1872, p. 49; *Alamgirnamah*, p.p. 678 and 780, makes it equivalent for Hajo (Koch Hajo) Gauhati and dependencies.

3 "Tangīstan" is the general name for that assemblage of mountains which constitute the territory of Bhutan, "tangs" meaning 'defiles.' Abul Faẓl also mentions these 'Tanghan' horses. He states: "In the lower parts of Bengal near to Kuch, a species of horse is produced called Tanghan." The *tangan* pony is usually 13 hands high and short bodied, deep in the chest, and very active.

centre of this tract, a river runs between two rocks, its breadth is small, but it is very deep, and its current is strong. An iron-chain is put across the top of the river, and its ends are affixed to pieces of rocks on the two sides of the river, and a second chain is put over the first chain at a distance, equal to the height of a man. Pedestrians cross the river by placing their feet on the lower chain, and seizing with their hand the upper chain. And what is stranger is that horses and all other loads and baggages are ferried across this river along this very chain. The people of this tract are ruddy-complexioned and fat; their hairs fall hanging down their heads and necks. Their dress consists of only one rag, just sufficient to cover the private parts. Men and women of this place dress in the same manner. The pronunciations in their language resemble those of the people of Kūch Behār. It is said that mines of turquoise-stone also exist in this mountain.

Between the north and the east of the country of Bengal, bordering on the tract of Kamrūp, is the vilāyat or province of Āshām (Assam). In its middle, the river Brahmāpūtrā flows from east to west. Its length from west to east—that is, from Gowahati to Sadiāh—is about two hundred karoh or kos, and its breadth from north, that is from the rocky fastnesses of the tribes of Marī, Majmī, Daphla and Valandāh,[1] to the hills of the Nāngā tribe, is approximately seven or eight days' journey. Its southern mountains adjoin lengthwise the mountains of Khasia, Kachar and Kashmir,[2] and breadthwise they adjoin Auṭān or Aṭwān, the abode of the Nāngā tribe. Its northern mountain skirts lengthwise the lofty ridges of Kāmrūp, and breadthwise it faces the

[1] Tribes of Marī, Majmī, Daphla, and Vilandah and Nag.—Vilandah or Landah tribe has been identified with the Akas tribe.

All these tribes belong to the Non-Aryan Tibet-Burman stock, which have clung to the skirts of the Himalayas, they crossed into India by the north-eastern passes, and in pre-historic times they had dwelt in Central Asia, side by side with the ancestors of the Mongolians and the Chinese. The principal types of the Tibeto-Burman stock are the following:—(1) Cacharis, (2) Garos, (3) Tipuras or Mrungs, (4) Bhutiyas, (5) Gurungs, (6) Marmis, (7) Newars, (8) Lepchas, (9) Miris, (10) Akas, (11) Mishmis, (12) Nagas, (13) Daphlas.—See J.A.S for 1872, p. 76, Col. Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal" and also description of Assam and the Assamese in *Alamgirnamah*, p. 722.

[2] This seems to be a copyist's mistake for "Goneser hills" (see J.A.S. 1872, p. 761). The *Alamgirnamah* has Srinagar ! p. 722.

mountains of the Valandāh tribe. The tract in the north of the river Brahmapūtra, from Gowāhāti to the abodes of Mari and Majmī tribes, is called Ūttarakūl; and the extent of the Dakhinkūl is from the country of Naktīrānī [1] to village Sadiāh. The climate of the lands bordering on the Brahmapūtra is for foreigners poisonous. For eight months the rainy season prevails, and the four months of winter are not free from rain. And the flowers and fruits of Hindūstān and Bengal are available here; and besides these, others are found which are not to be had in Hindūstān. Wheat, barley, and pulse are not grown, but the soil is fit for cultivation of all kinds. Salt is scarce and dear, and what is procurable from the defiles of some of the rocks is bitter and brackish. The fighting cocks of that country do not turn back face from enemies; though the adversary may be strong and big, they fight so much that the brain of the head becomes disturbed and they die. Large well-formed elephants abound in the wilds and the mountains. And plenty of deer, wild-goats, and wild-cows, and the horned fighting rams are also to be found. In the sands of the river Brahmapūtra, gold is found; twelve thousand Assamese are employed on this work. Every year one *tola* of gold per head is paid into the Rājah's treasury. But the gold is not quite pure, so that one *tola* of gold sells for eight or nine rupees, and silver and gold coins are minted in the name of the Rājah, and shells are current, but copper pice is not in use. Musk-deer is found in the mountains of Ashām. The bladder of musk is large, and full of large pieces of musk, and is beautiful-looking. The aloes-wood, which grows in the mountains of Kāmrūp and Sadiah and Lakhūgirah, is heavy and full of scent. No tax is levied from its subjects. From every house, out of every three persons, one person has to serve its Rājah, and in serving him, shows no laxity, and if laxity is visible, he is killed. The Rājah of that place dwells in a lofty building, and does not put his foot on the ground, and if he places his foot on the ground, he is deprived of his *rāj*. And the people of this country have a false notion that their progenitors were in heaven, and that at one time fixing a ladder of gold they came down to the earth, and that since then they have dwelt on earth. Hence the Rājah is called Sargī—and 'Sarg' in the Hindī language means 'heaven.' And

1 "Naktīranī" or "Naktīranī" has been identified with Deshranī, a pergana of Kamrup.—See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 76.

the Rājahs of that country are powerful and notable. It is said that when the Rājah of that place dies, his servants, male and female, with some conveniences and necessaries, and carpets and clothes and victuals together with a *chirāgh* full of oil, are placed with him in a sepulchral monument, securely covered over with strong logs of wood.[1]

And adjoining to Assam (Ashām) is Tibet, and adjoining Tibet, are Khatā and Māchīn.[2] The capital of Khatā is Khān Bāligh,[3] which is at a distance of four days from the sea. It is said from Khān Bāligh to the seashore, a canal has been dug, and both sides of it have been solidly embanked. And in the mountains to the east of Ashām towards Utarakūl, at a distance of fifteen days' journey, the tribes of Marī and Majmī dwell. In that mountain black deer and elephants are bred. Silver, copper and tin are procured from those mountains. The habits of those tribes (of Marī and Majmī) resemble those of the Assamese, and in beauty and refinement their females are superior to the women of Assam. They have a great horror for the gun, in regard to which they say: "It is a wicked thing, it shouts out, but does not move from its place, and an infant comes out of its belly, and kills human beings."

And between the south and east of Bengal, is situate a large tract called Arkhang (Arracan);[4] Chittagong adjoins it. The male elephant abounds there, horses are scarce, and camels and asses can be had at high prices. And cows and buffaloes are not to be found there, but there is an animal resembling cows and buffaloes, and of brown colour, which yields milk. Their religion is distinct from Islām and Hinduīsm. Barring their mothers, they can take all other women for their wives; for instance, a brother may marry his sister. And the people never remiss in their obeisance to the authority of their sovereign and chief whom they style

1 "The account of the burial of Ahom magnates is confirmed by recent disclosures of desecrated graves."—See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 82, footnote.

2 China was long known to Asiatics under the name of Khutai or Khata or *Khata* and *Machīn*.

3 *Khan Baligh* is the name given to Pekin; it means the Court of the Great Khan. See D'Herbelot and Yule's Marcopolo.

4 Arracan or the Magh country included Chittagong till a late period; it formed a great Buddhist Kingdom, whilst adjoining it on the north was the Hindu Kingdom of Tipperah.—See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 940, wherein Arracan is called "Rakhang," and its inhabitants are called "Maghs."

'Wali,' are always firm in their allegiance to him. Women-soldiers turn out at *darbārs*, whilst their husbands stay at home. The inhabitants are all black in colour, and their males do not keep beard.

And adjoining to the country of Arkhang, is situate the country of Pegū,[1] between the south and east of Bengal. And the military force of that country consists of an elephant-corps and infantry. White elephants are found in its jungles, and on its boundaries are mines of minerals and precious stones; owing to this, enmity exists between the Pīguans and the Arkhangīans.

And bordering on this tract is the country of *Mag*.[2] The inhabitants are so many animals dressed up in human forms. They eat every animal of the earth and the sea that is procurable. They spare no animals. Their religion and law are all unsound. And they marry their sisters, born of different mothers. And the pronunciations of their language are similar to those of the people of Tibet.

And in the southern limits of Bengal, is situate the vilayet of Odīsah (Orissa). From Lāndahdalūl to Mālwah and the passage of the Chīlkah lake, are its limits. In the period of the sovereignty of Sulṭān Jalālu-d-din Muhammad Akbar Padshāh Ghazī, this country being conquered by Kālāpahār was entered in the Diwan-i-Akbarī and annexed to the Nizāmat of Bengal. And its short account is this, that Kālāpahār,[3] who was one of the nobles of Bābar and who was bold and could work miracles, under order of Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh, engaged in conquering that country with 12,000 select cavalry. Rājah Makand Deo,

[1] Pegu is now a division of British Burmah comprising the districts of Rangūn, Bassein, &c.

[2] The Maghs and Arracanese were one race, their country being Arracan or Arkhang. They made constant raids in fleets of armed boats up the rivers of South-Eastern Bengal. During the Viceroyalty of the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal at Dacca, Nawab Shaista Khān, these raids were considerably checked, and several of the Magh fleets were captured at the mouth of the Megna River, and the fort of Chittagong was also re-stormed. The Maghs were also expelled from the island of Sandip. A large number of Magh settlers are to be found still in Chittagong, Bakarganj, Noakhali and Tipperah. Though originally Buddhists, they have now intermixed with the people, and have become Hinduised or semi-Hinduised.—See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 940.

[3] The first Muhammadan incursions into Jajnagar or Northern Orissa appear to have taken place about 1204 A.C. under Mahammad Shiran, an officer of

the ruler of that country, was very luxurious and given to indolence and ease. For six months he admitted the public to his audience, and attended to the management of the affairs of his country, and for six months he gave his body rest, and went to sleep. And if anyone awoke him during his period of slumber, he was sure to be killed. When the news of the arrival in that country of Kālāpahār with the Imperial forces, came to the ear of the Rajah, he built the fort of Bārahbāṭī,[1] which is a strong fort, for his security, and entrenched himself in it. And placing

Bakhtiyar Khiljī, and subsequently under Hussamudin Iwaz, Tughan Khān, and Tughral (see Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, pp. 157, 163, 244, 262). Under Husain Shāh, Ismail Ghazi invaded also Jajnagar or Orissa, sacked the capital Cuttack and successfully stormed the holy city, Puri (see J.A.S. 1874, p. 215 and do. 1872, p. 335). The complete defeat of the Hindus took place in 1567-68 A.C., when Sulaiman Kararani, King of Bengal, with a large army under his famous General Kālāpahār advanced into Orissa and defeated the last independent Rajah Makand Deo under the walls of Jājpūr and Katak. When subsequently in Akbar's time the Afghan Kingdom of Bengal was supplanted by the Mughuls, the Afghans in large numbers migrated into Orissa. In 1575 A.C., a great battle took place between Mughuls and Afghans (at Bajhaura, *Badaoni* p. 193) at Mughalmari, near Jaleswar in Balasore, in which Daud, the last Afghan king, was defeated, and Orissa practically shortly after (1592 A.C.) became a Mughul Province, administered by the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal. In the Āīn, Abul Faẓl mentions that the Hindu rulers of Orissa had the title of *Gajpati*, or Lord of the Elephant. In the time of Nawab Ali Vardi Khān, Mughul Viceroy of Bengal, Orissa became the hunting-ground of Mahratta free-booters. The struggles between Ali Vardi and the Mahrattas are graphically described in the *Sēirul Mūtakhērin*. See Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, Tarikh-i-Fīruz Shāhī, Akbarnamah and Makhzan-i-Afghani. Jajnagar is mentioned by Badaoni I, p. 233, as having been subdued by Ulugh Khān in 1323 A.C. or 723 A.H., in Ghiasuddīn Tughlak's reign, and is mentioned as having been subdued in 1360 A.C., by Firuz Shah Tughlak, Badaoni I, 248 and Tarikh Fīruz Shahī by Shams Seraj, p. 115. Seraj mentions that the idol of Jagannath was carried off to Delhi by Firuz Shah (p. 119).

[1] In the Sēirul-Mūtakhērin it is called Bārāhbaṭī. The fort of Bārāhbaṭī is on the south bank of the Mahanadi river, opposite to the city of Cuttack; it is now in ruins. The following description of it is translated and summarised by me from the *Seir*:—"The fort Bārāhbaṭī with the city of Cuttack is situate on the strip of land lying between the rivers Mahanada and Kathajuri... The fort is on the bank of the Mahanada, and the circumference of its enclosing rampart is about three *Kroh*. The rampart is built of stone, brick, lime and cement, and a wide moat runs round the rampart. The city of Cuttack is situate on the banks of the Kathajuri river, and the distance between the fort and the city is about two *Kroh*...."

proper forces for encountering the enemy, he himself, according to his old habit, went to sleep. Kālāpahār, by successive and numerous fightings, vanquished the Rajah's forces, and brought to his subjection the entire dominion of Odīsah (Orissa), so much so that he carried off the Rani together with all household goods and chattels. Notwithstanding all this, from fear of being killed, no one was bold to wake up this drunkard of the sleep of negligence, so that Kālāpahār had his hands free. After completing the subjugation of the entire country, and investing the Fort of Bārahbāṭī, which was his (the Rajah's) place of sleep, Kālāpahār engaged in fighting. The officers and employes of the Rajah[1] summoning his clarion-players communicated the news of the whole affair through the reed of the clarion. When the news about Kālāpahār went to the ear of that fortune-sleeper on the bed of sleep, which is brother of death, considering this affair as the event of the Day of Judgment, like the sleepers in graves, from the sound of the trumpet, sprang confounded from the sleep of oblivion, and making the movement of a slaughtered animal, devoted his head to the swords of the warriors of Islām. The country of Orissa and the fort of Bārāhbāṭī being subjugated, were added to the dominions under the sovereignty of the Musalman Emperors. The firm Muhammadan religion and the enlightened laws of Islām were introduced into that country. Before this, the

1 This was Rajah Mukund Deva, Haricandara, who reigned from 1560 to 1568. Mukund Deva was a Telugu by birth. In 1564-65 A.C. a treaty was concluded between Emperor Akbar and the Rajah, preceded by mutual despatch of ambassadors on both sides (see *Badaoni* p. 76, wherein it is stated that Hasan Khan Khazanchī and Mahāputer where sent by Akbar as ambassadors to the Rajah of Orissa). As mutual jealousies prevailed between Mughuls and Afghans,this political measure was adopted by Akbar, in order to serve as a counterpoise to the ambition of the Musalman Afghan King of Bengal, Sulaiman Karrarām, who had planned to extend his Bengal Kingdom by annexing Orissa and also to prevent the latter from helping Akbar's rebellious Governor of Taunpur, named Khan Zaman. Finding shortly after Akbar engaged in wars in the west, Sulaiman Kararani, the King of Bengal, attacked the Orissa Rajah, who had come close to the Ganges; the Rajah fled to Fort Kotsama. The Bengal King detached a force under Kālāpahār, his general, to Orissa across Mayurbhanja and thence southward by the Kaoabasa river. Kālāpahār ravaged Orissa, defeated the Rajah's deputy, and shortly after the Rajah himself was killed, and Muhammadans finally conquered Orissa in 1568 A.C. After conquering Orissa, Sulaiman Karrarani (who reigned from A.C. 1563 to A.C. 1572) left his Vazīr, Khan Jahan Lodi, as Viceroy of Orissa with headquarters at Cuttack, and Qūtlū as Governor at Purī. (Badaonī II, 174).

Musalman Sovereigns exercised no authority over this country.[1] Of the miracles of Kālāpahār,[2] one was this, that wherever in that country, the sound of his drum reached, the hands and the feet, the ears and the noses of the idols, worshipped by the Hindus, fell off their stone-figures, so that even now stone-idols, with hands and feet broken, and noses and ears cut off, are lying at several places in that country. And the Hindus pursuing the false, from blindness of their hearts, with full sense and knowledge, devote themselves to their worship!

It is known what grows out of stone:
From its worship what is gained, except shame?

It is said at the time of return, Kālāpahār left a drum in the jungle of Kēonjhār, which is lying in an upset state. No one there from fear of life dares to set it up; so it is related.

And Jaggannāth, which is a big temple of the Hindus, is in this Sūbah. It is said when the Hindus reach Parsūtam, where Jaggannāth is, in order to worship Jaggannāth, first they shave their heads like Musalmans, and at the first door of the house of Shaikh Kabir,[3] who was a great saint of his time and whose parents were weavers, they eat and drink his food and water,

1 This is not strictly correct. See note 7, p, 3 *ante*.

2 Professor Blochmann has surmised that Kālāpahār was originally a Hindu who embraced *Islam*, from the circumstance that his proper name was Raju. Mr. Beveridge in his Analysis of Khurshid Jahan Numa has followed in Professor Blochmann's wake. I see no warrant for this surmise. The Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Akbarnamah, contemporary records, would not have failed to notice this fact, if it were so; for it would have been a matter of additional exultation to the Musalman historians. The text describes him as one of the "Omrah of Babar"; and Babar never dreamt of the policy of his grandson, Akbar, to employ Hindus in high military capacities or to make them his "Omra." Furthermore, the name Rajū is current amongst Musalmans. (See Blochmann's *Āīn*, Vol. I, which mentions one Syed Rajū of Barha and *Badaonī*, p. 323, Vol. 2, and *Āīn*, Vol. 2, p. 371): Badinī, too, in the *Muntakhibu-l-Tawarikh* (p. 42, Vol. 1), mentions Kalapahar as a brother of Sikandar Shāh (*alias* Ahmad Khān Sūr of Sher Shāh's family) who occupied Bihar as *tuyul* under Akbar. (The Makhzan-i-Afghanī gives a full description of Kalapahar's conquest. He was killed in 1582 A.C. in a fight with Aziz Kokah between Colgeng and Rajmahal.

3 Shaik Kabīr flourished about the beginning of the 15th century during the rule of Independent Musalman Kings in Bengal. He was the leader of a great theistic movement, the object in view being to harmonise Musalman and Hindu religions, and to teach votaries of both the great religions of India that they were after all children and worshippers of one God, that the Allah

which is called in the language of that country *tarānī*. After having done so, they proceed to worship their God of Jaggannāth. At Parsūtam, Hindus unlike their practice elsewhere, eat together with Musalmans and other races. And all sorts of cooked food sell in the *bazar*, and Hindus and Musalmans buy them and eat together and drink together.



SECTION II.—DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.

Be it known to the appraisers of the pearls of past chronicles that most of the historians have narrated that when Hām, son of Noh (Noah) the prophet (may he be in peace!), with the permission of his holy father, set himself to colonize the south, he girded up his loin for accomplishing this, and deputed his sons—the first of whom was Hind, the second Sind, the third Habash, the fourth Zanaj, the fifth Barbar, and the sixth Nubah—in all directions on colonizing expeditions. And the tract that each of them colonized was called after him. The eldest son, Hind, having come to the country of Hindūstān, it was so named after him. And Sind in the company of his elder brother, having set himself to colonize the tract of Sind established himself there, and that was named after him. But Hind had four sons, the first was Pūrab, the second was Bang, the third was Dakīn, and the fourth was Naharwāl. And every tract that was colonized by each, is still called after him. And Dakīn, son of Hind, had three sons, and the country of Dakīn was parcelled between them. Their names were Marhāt, Kanār, and Talang; and Dakhinans are all descended from him, and up to this time all the three tribes dominate there.

And Naharwāl had three sons, namely, Babruj, Kanoj and Mālrāj. After them cities were also named.

of Musalmans is the Parmeshur of the Hindus, that they ought to be tolerant of each others creeds, and to regard each others as fellow-brethren The labours of Kabīr may be placed between 1380 and 1420 A.C., and reflect not only credit on him, but illustrate what ethical and spiritual progress took place amongst the people of India under the impact of Islām. It may be added that on Kabīr's death, both Hindus and Musalmans claimed his body; so catholic and liberal was he in his views. This great theistic movement set on foot by Kabīr, received expansion in the following century by the labours of Chaitanya, the Nuddea leader of Vishnuism, in Bengal who flourished in the reign of Sultan Alau-d-dīn Husain Shāh, King of Bengal.

And Pūrab, who was the eldest son of Hind, had forty-two sons, and, within a short time, their descendants multiplied and colonized different countries, and when they became numerous, they raised one of themselves to be the chief and to look after the management of the realm.

And Bang, the son of Hind, getting children born to him, colonized the country of Bengal. The name of Bengal was originally Bang. And the reason why the word *āl* was added to it, is this: *āl* in the Bengali language means an 'embankment' or raised ground, which is placed round a garden or cultivation, so that floods may not enter it. As in ancient times, the chieftains of Bengal on lowlands which were situate at the foot of hills, used to raise mounds about ten cubits high and twenty cubits broad, and to make homes, cultivations, and buildings within them, people used to call this country Bāngālāh.[1] The climate of Bengal is temperate, and owing to proximity to the sea and owing to heavy rains, is very damp. The rainy season begins from the month of Ūrdī Bihisht,[2] which in Hindi is called *Jaet*, and for six months the rains continue; this is unlike other parts of Hindūstān, where rains set in from the middle of the month of Khūrdād, which the Hindis call Asār and last till Shahrīwar which Hindis call Āsin, for four months. In the rainy season, the lowlands of Bengal get flooded, and the climate becomes bad, especially towards the end of the rainy season. Human beings as well as animals become sick and die. The soil contains much damp, so that in many places they build two-storeyed buildings, made of lime and brick. Notwithstanding that they make the floor of lime and brick, the lower rooms are not fit for habitation, and if any one lives there he soon falls sick. And owing to excessive humidity, the soil of Bengal has much power of sprouting, for instance, some sorts of paddy, in proportion to the rise of water, so long as they are not inundated, shoot

1 Abul Faẓl similarly in the Āīn-i-Akbarī explains the origin of the term *Bangalah*. (See Jar. Tr., p. 115, Vol. 11). In the *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, the expression "Bang" is invariably used. In the *Tarīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, the expression "Bangalah" or "Bengal" is used.

2 The Persian Calendar consists of twelve solar months, named (1) Farwardīn (March), (2) Ardibihasht (April), (3) Khurdad (May), (4) Tīr (June), (5) Murdad (July), (6) Shahriwar (August), (7) Mihr (September), (8) Abān (October), (9) Adār (November), (10) Dī (December), (11) Bahman (January), (12) Sepandarmaz (February). See Richardson's Pers. Dict. and also Ameer Ali's History of Sarcens, p. 316.

forth higher up and their ears do not sink under water, and similarly from one paddy-seed two or three seers of paddy are obtained in the case of certain sorts of paddy. And most of the lands grow three crops in a year. And the crop of that country is all paddy, whether fine or coarse. Other crops, such as wheat, barley and pulse, &c., are scarce. And strange to say the paddy crop grows in so much abundance that it needs not the rains in dry months nor the water of wells and rivers. But in cases of drought in the rainy season, the paddy crop is totally destroyed.[1]

The dwellers in villages are loyal and submissive to their rulers, and unlike the Zemindars and tenants of other provinces of Hindūstān, they do not fight with their rulers. They pay in the land revenue of each year in eight instalments in eight months, and the tenants personally pay their rents at the *Kacheris*. The appraisement of each crop is based on *nasaq*[2]—and *nasaq* is a document which remains with the *muharir*[3] and the *patwari*[4] and the *Karkun*,[5] with the seal of *amil*. But in affairs relating to bargains of giving and taking and purchases and sales and other worldly matters, no race in all the four quarters of the globe is equal to the Bengalis in wickedness, duplicity, knavery and villainy. They do not consider loans repayable, and the promises which they pledge to perform in one day, they do not fulfil in one year. And the food of the natives of that kingdom, from the high to the low, are fish, rice, mustard oil and curd and fruits and sweetmeats. They also eat plenty of red chilly and salt. In some parts of this country, salt is scarce. The natives of this country are of shabby tastes, shabby habits and shabby modes of dress. They do not eat breads of wheat and barley at all. Meat of goats and fowls and clarified-butter do not agree with their system. And there are many amongst them who, if they eat the same, cannot digest them, and vomit them out. The dress of both males and females,

1 Graphic descriptions of famines in India in past times will be found in the *Tarīkh-i-Firuz Shahī*, *Badaonī*, and the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*.

2 Abūl Fazl in the Āin says:—"The harvests are always abundant, measurement is not insisted upon, and the revenue demands are determined by estimate of the crop. His Majesty Emperor Akbar in his goodness has confirmed this practice." (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 121-122).

3 "Muhrir" is a clerk.

4 'Patwari' = Village Accountant.—This functionary flourishes even now.

5 "Karkun" was a supervisor over village patwaris,—he was an Imperial officer in charge of the accounts of a *parganah*. The "Karkuns" were in turn supervised by 'Amils' in charge of an aggregate of parganahs or a

of both the upper and lower classes, consists of one strip of cloth just sufficient to cover the private parts. The males wear one white strip of cloth, called generally a *dhoti*, which is tied from below the navel down to the leg, and a small turban about two or three cubits long is tied on the side of the head, so that the whole skull of the head and the hair are visible. And the females wear one strip of cloth called a *sari*, half of it is wrapped round from below the navel to the leg, and the other half being drawn across a side is thrown down the neck. They are bareheaded, and do not wear any other cloth; nor do they wear shoes and stockings. Both males and females daily rub mustard oil over their bodies, and bathe in tanks and rivers. The Bengalī females do not observe *pardah*, and go out of their houses for the performance of evacuations and other household duties. And the wildness and habitation of this country are similar, in that the people erect huts of thatch, made up of bamboos and straw. Their utensils are generally earthen, and few are of copper. Whenever quitting one place they migrate to another, straightway they erect a thatched hut, similar to their former one, and collect earthen utensils. Most of their habitations are in jungles and forests, so that their huts are encircled with trees. And in case one of the huts catches fire, all the huts are burnt down, and after the conflagration they get no trace of their habitations, except through trees which surrounded their huts. Most of them travel by water, especially in the rainy season, in which season they keep boats, small and large, for journeys and for going to and fro. For travelling by land, they have conveyances, such as *singhasan* [1] and *palki* and *jowalah*. Elephants are captured in some parts of the country; good horses are not procurable, and, if had, they cost much. A curious sort of boat is made in this country for capturing forts. And it is in this wise: the boat is large, and

district. Here we get a glimpse of the old fiscal system in regard to its account-branch. In the collection-branch of the Musalman fiscal system, *Shiqdars* (corrupted into Hindu family names Sikdars) presided over Mahals, *Majmuahdars* (corrupted into Hindu family names of Mozumdars) presided over a group or circle of Mahals or a *Turf*, and over an aggregate of Mahals or Turfs, corresponding to a modern District, an Amil presided, and over an aggregate of Districts or a Division, the Districts, there was a local Diwan. The last two functionaries were generally Musalmans, whilst the first two subordinate functionaries were almost invariably Hindus.

1 "Singhasan" of our author corresponds to Abūl Fazl's "Sukhasan" in the Āin. (See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. 2, p. 126).

the prow of it, which is called in the dialect of the country *galhi*, is made so high that when it is placed alongside the wall of a fort, people from the boat can get on to the wall from it, and enter the fort. And a kind of carpet is manufactured from the linseed plant, which is very pretty and much liked. And precious stones, pearls, jasper, and ruby do not exist in this country. From other countries these are imported into the ports of this Sūbah. And the best fruit of this country is mango, which in some parts is large, sweet, and without strigns, and tasty, and has a small stone. And the tree of three years' growth—of the height of a man—bears fruit. And large oranges, which are called *kaunla*, and small oranges, which are called *nārangi*, grow well in this country. And varieties of citrons are available. And lemons, pineapples, cocoanuts, betelnuts, palm-fruits, jack-fruits and plantains have no end. And grapes and melons, &c., do not grow here; though the seeds of melons and grafts of vines have been often planted in this country, they have never thrived. Sugarcanes, good, delicate and sweet, red, white and black in colour, grow here in abundance; ginger and pepper in some parts grow abundantly, and betel leaves also grow in abundance, and silk is also produced well and in abundance here. Good silk-stuffs are manufactured in this country, and cotton-fabrics of good quality are turned out here. Rivers, small and large, are plenty in this country, and the practice of digging tanks is very common. People in this country seldom drink the water of wells, because everywhere the water of tanks and rivers is found in abundance. And generally the water of wells is salt, but with a little digging of the soil water comes out.

And the best of rivers is the Ganges (Gang), which rises from the northern mountains of Hindūstān at the point called Goumukhāh, flows through the provinces of Hindūstān, Farrakhābād, Alāhābād, and Behār into Bengal, and in Bengal at a place called Qāzihātā,[1] within the Sarkār of Bārbakābād, it is named Paddā. From this place, a branch of the Ganges separates, flows down Murshidābād, and at Nadiāh joins the Jalangi river, and then flows into the sea. This branch is called Bhāgriati, and it goes towards Chittagong, flowing through the sea. The Ganges at Alāhābād joins the rivers Joun (or Jamnā) and Sūrsati, and near

[1] Qazihata mentioned by Abul Fazl in the Āin and quoted by our author appears to be Hajrahatti, on the left bank of the Podda, now also a ferry place, near the entrance of the Bural river, below Rampūr Boalia.

Hājīpūr it unites also with the Gandak, the Sarū and the Son, and becomes very broad. And the place where the three rivers unite is called Tirbīnī by Hindus, and its sanctity in the eye of the Hindus is immeasurable. And the Ganges, Sūrsatī, and Joun or (Jamnā), in flowing towards Chittagong and the sea, branch off in a thousand rivulets. And Hindus have written volumes on the sanctity of these rivers. Considering the water of these rivers sacred, they fancy that bathing there washes off the sins of a lifetime; especially bathing at certain *ghāts* of the Ganges, such as Benāras, Alāhābād, and Hardwār, is regarded as very sacred. The rich amongst the Hindūs, getting their supplies of the Ganges water from long distances, take particular care of it, and on certain auspicious days, worship the same. The truth of the matter is, that the water of the Ganges, in sweetness, lightness, and tasteness has no equal, and the water of this river, however long kept, does not stink. There is no river bigger than it in Bengal.

And another of the big rivers of Bengal is the Brahmaputrā, which flows from the regions of Khaṭā towards Koch, and thence by the way of Bāzūhā flows down into the sea. In the environs of Chittagong, it is called the Megna. The smaller rivers are countless. On both banks of most of the rivers, paddy is cultivated. Another feature of this country, unlike that of other countries of Hindūstān, is that they cut grafts of mango and lemon-trees, and plant them, and these, in the very first year, bear fruit.

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SECTION III.—RELATING TO A DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN TOWNS AND FOUNDATION OF CERTAIN CITIES IN THE COUNTRY OF BENGAL.

The city of Lakhnautī, which in past times was the Capital of Bengal, was founded by Sangaldīb. It is said that at the time when Fīrūz Rāi, the Rājah of Hindūstān, being defeated by Rustam Dastan,[1] fled to Tirhūt, and from there fleeing to the mountains of Jhārkhand [2] and Gondwārah,[3] died, Rustam Dastan, who

[1] *Dastan* was the title of Rustam, the Persian Hercules—otherwise called Rustam Zal.

[2] "Jharkand" was the name by which, what we now call, "Chutia Nagpur" was known in Muhammadan times; whilst "Bharkundah" denoted "Sonthal Parganas including Birbhūm."

[3] I think "Gondwārah" in the text here is a copyist's mistake for "Gondwanah" which has been identified with the "Central Provinces," of which the capital is Garha-Katanga (Jabalpūr).

was displeased with his insolence, not bestowing the kingdom of Hindūstān on the Rājah's children, awarded the sovereignty of Hindūstān to a Hindū, named Sūraj.[1] Sūraj became a powerful Rājah, subjugated the kingdom of the Dakhīn and also the kingdom of Bengal. When Sūraj died and the sovereignty passed to his son, Bahraj, disturbances occurring in all parts of the kingdom, ambition showed itself in every head, and at length a Brahmin, named Kēdār, coming out from the mountains of Sawālik, and becoming victorious after fightings possessed himself of the reins of sovereignty. Towards the end of his reign, a person named Sangaldīb,[2] emerging from the environs of Kuch, which adjoins the limits of Bengal, brought to his subjection, first, the countries of Bengal and Behār, and then fighting against Kēdār became victorious, and building the city of Lakhnautī,[3] made it his capital. And for

[1] It is worthy of note that there is a town called Sūraj-garh (or fort of Sūraj) in Monghyr district, on the southern banks of the Ganges, and close to Maulanagar, where there is also an old Muhammadan Khanqah founded by Mahabat Jang.

[2] In Firishta, 'Shangal.' In the list of Hindu kings given in the Āin-i-Akbarī, I do not find this name.

[3] The authentic history of the city begins with its conquest in 1198 A.C. (594 A.H.) by the Muhammadans, who made it their first capital in Bengal. (See Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, p. 151, Pers. Text). This was the period when were erected numerous mosques and other Muhammadan buildings. (See Hunt. Imp. Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 333, also Ravenshaw's and Creighton's "Ruins of Gaur"). When the Musulman kings of Bengal established their independence, they transferred the seat of government to Sunargaon and Panduah. Panduah was soon after deserted, and the royal residence re-transferred to Gaur, whilst Sunargaon continued as capital of East Bengal. Minhajus Siraj visited the city in 641 H. or 1245 A.C., and gives an account of it in his Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī. (p. 162, Pers. Text) Abūl Faẓl in the Āin notices it (see p. 123, Vol. 2, *Āin*, Jar. Tr.), and states that the city was known in his time both as Lakhnautī and Gaur, and that the latter epithet was changed to "Jinnatabad" by Emperor Humāyun. Badaini (p. 58, Vol. 1, Pers. Text) states that Bakhtiyar Ghorī founded a city and named it after himself 'Gour.' The capital was shifted in Sulaiman Kararanī's time further westward to Tandāh. During the conquest of Bengal by the Mughuls under the Emperor Akbar, Gaur again became the headquarters of the Mughul Government, and the Mughul Imperialists under Munaim Khan, Khan-i-Khanan, the first Mughul Viceroy of Bengal, occupied it. A pestilence, however, broke out, in course of which Munaim died—and also thousands of troops and people daily (see pp. 318 and 376, *Āin*, Vol. 1, Bloch's Tr. and *Badaoni*, Vol. 2,

two thousand years it remained the Capital of Bengal. In the time of the Mughul Emperors it became ruined, and instead of it Tandāh became the Viceregal Capital. Afterwards Tandāh was also ruined, and Jahāngīrnagar, and lastly Murshidābād, became the Viceregal Capital. The reason for the name of Gaur is unknown, but it is guessed that in the period of the rule of the sons of Nojgoriah, perhaps this name was given. And Emperor Humāyun, considering Gaur an inauspicious name, changed it to Jinnatābad. This city at present is in complete ruin, and has become the haunt of lions and tigers. Excepting traces of gates of the fort, and dilapidated buildings, and the mosque, and foundations of the building of Qadam-Rasūl, nothing else exists.

The place where monarchs dwelt in gardens with friends,
Has become the abode of crows and vultures and the haunt of lions and jackals!

Gaur contained a large fort, traces whereof are still visible. On the eastern side of the city are the lakes of Jhatiāh and Bhatiah and other lakes, and the embankment[1] continues from that to this time, though it was stronger and kept out the flood of water in the rainy season, when the city was in a flourishing condition. At present, in the rainy season, boats pass across it, and everything is inundated. Towards the north of the Fort, to the dis-

p. 217), and the Mughul metropolis of Bengal was removed to Tandāh, and thence shortly after to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar, which remained the capital of Bengal, until it was removed to Dacca or Jahangīrnagar, and lastly to Murshidabad. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton places the inhabited area of Gaur at 20 square miles, containing over 600,000 souls. The author of Khurshed Jahannuma notes the following principal buildings as still existing:—

1. The Qadam-Rasul, a square, one-domed building in the enclosure of the Fort, erected by Sultan Naṣrat Shāh, son of Sultan Allaudīn Husain Shāh in 937 A.H. (1530 A.C.).

2. The Minar, north-east of the Qadam-Rasul, built by Sultān Fīruz Shāh The height of the Minar is about 50 cubits, and its circumference about 5. cubits. Fīruz reigned in 893 A.H. (1487 A.C.).

When I visited Gaur from Maldah in 1887 I found also portions of the rampart, the gateway, and the Qadam-Rasul building yet extant.

[1] The embanked road a bridge is described in *Tabaqat-i-Nasirī* (p. 162). It connected Lakhnauti with Lakhnur in Rar on the western side, and Lakhnauti with Deocote in Barind on the eastern side, and was constructed by Hussamuddin Iwuz *alias* Sultan Ghiasuddin.

tance of one *kos*, a large building of ancient times existed, and also a tank called Peāsbārī—the water where of was noxious, whoever drank it became attacked with bowl-diseases and died. It is said that in past times, criminals were imprisoned in that tank, and by drinking the water of it they immediately died. And Emperor Akbar, taking pity, put a stop to this form of punishment.



CITY OF MURSHIDĀBĀD.

The city of Murshidābād[1] is a large town situate on the banks of the river Bhāgīratī. Both banks of the river are populated.

[1] Murshidābād was the latest Muhammadan Capital of Bengal, its immediate predecessor for over 100 years being Dacca or Jahāngīrnagar, in Eastern Bengal. In 1704 A.C., Murshid Qulī Khān also known as Jāfar Khān (then the Mughul Dīwan) falling out with Prince Azīm-us-shān, the Mughul Viceroy or Nawab at Dacca, transferred the seat of government from Dacca to the little town of Makhsūsābād, and named the place after himself "Murshidābād." After the battle of Plassey in 1757 A.C., Clive on entering Murshidābād describes it thus: "This city is as extensive, populous, and rich as the city of London ... The inhabitants, if inclined to destroy the Europeans, might have done so with sticks and stones." Even after the battle of Plassey, Murshidābād remained for some years the seat of administration. The result of the battle of Plassey was at the time appreciated both by Clive and the people, for the reason that it ended the misrule of Sirajudaula, who had rendered himself obnoxious both to the people and the English by his youthful pranks and vagaries; it was not regarded at the time as interfering with Musulman sovereignty: it merely affected the substitution of a new Nawab (Mīr Jāfar) for Sirajudaula. In 1765, the East India Company received the grant of Dīwanī or financial administration of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa from the Mughul Emperor of Delhi, Shāh Alām, and in the following year Lord Clive, as the Emperor's Dīwan, presided in person at the Puniya, or annual collection and settlement of revenues. On this occasion, the young Nawāb Nazim (as administrative and military representative of the Mughul Emperor of Delhi) sat on the *masnad*, with the Dīwan (Lord Clive) on his right hand. The work of administration still remained in the hands of Muhammadan officials. In 1772, Warren Hastings removed the Supreme, Civil, and Criminal Courts from Murshidābād to Calcutta, but after three years the Criminal court (Nizāmat Adalat) was re-transferred to Murshidābād, and it was only in 1790, under Lord Cornwallis, that the entire revenue, civil, and criminal staff were posted in Calcutta. The Murshidābād Mint, the recognized emblem of metropolitan supremacy, was abolished in 1799. Thenceforth, Murshidābād has been left only as the residence of the Nawāb, a descendant of Mir Jāfar, and now it has ceased to be of importance.

In the beginning, a merchant named Makhsūs Khān built a serai or guest-house there, and called the place Makhsūsābād. The houses of a few shop-keepers were placed there. In the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb Alamgīr, Nawāb Jāfar Khān Nasiri, who held the office of Diwān of Orissa, received the title of Kārtalab Khān and obtained the office of Diwān of Bengal. After his arrival at Jahāngīrnagar, otherwise called Dhākah (Dacca), which at that time was the Viceregal Capital and where from before Prince Azīm-u-shān, who had been appointed Viceroy by Emperor Aurangzīb (as will be setforth here after) lived, finding that he (Jāfar Khān) could not pull on with the Prince, put forward the pretext that the *mahals* of Bengal were at a long distance from that place (Dacca), separated himself from association with the Prince, and established himself at Makhsūsābād, and placed there the Āmlās of Zemindārs, and Qānūngos and other officials employed in connection with the Revenue Administration of Crownlands. And at Dughariah, which was quite a wilderness, he erected a palace, established the Board of Revenue (Dewānkhānah) and the Court of Exchequer, and made collections of the Imperial revenue. And when he was appointed permanently Sūbahdār (Viceroy) of Bengal and Orissa in addition to the office of Diwan, with the title of Murshid Qūli Khān and with the gift of a valuable Khil'at, and of the standard and the Naqārah (a royal drum) and the advancement of *Mansab*, on arrival at Makhsūsābād, he improved the city, and called it after his own name "Murshidābād." And establishing a mint[1] there, he had the words "struck at Murshidābād" inscribed on the coins. From that time, this city became the Viceregal seat. It is a beautiful city. Its inhabitants, in the society of the Sūbāhdārs, being thrown into contact with the people of Delhi, in point of refinement of manners and conversation, resemble the people of Hindūstān, unlike those of other parts of Bengal. Amongst its buildings, none that was seen was noteworthy, except the Imāmbarah building, which was erected by

[1] It may be of interest to note here that the following mint towns existed in Bengal during the earlier Muhammadan kings: (1) Lakhnauti, (2) Firuzābād (Panduah), (3) Sātgāon, (4) Shahr-i-Nau (not identified), (5) Ghiyaspūr, (6) Sunargāon, (7) Muazzamābād (*i.e.*, Sylhet or Mymensingh), (8) Fathābād (Farīdpūr town), (9) Khalīfatābād (Bagerhat town in Jessore), and (10) Husainabad (probably close to Gaur) (See Thomas' "Initial Coinage" and Blochmann's Contributions).

Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah. Its praise is beyond description; its equal is not to be found in the whole of Hindūstān. Although at present one-tenth of it does not exist, yet a remnant of it is a fair specimen of the original edifice. These two verses of Maulāna 'Urfi Shīrāzī,[1] (May peace of God be on him!) being found to be apposite to the present case, are transcribed below :—

How much of morning is known to the dwellers at its gate,
In that in its neighbourhood, the sunset has no access;
Wonderful is the fairness of the building, that in gazing at it,
The glance does not turn back to the socket from the sight
of the wall!

And the palaces of Mūtījhīl[2] and Hīrājhīl, which were most beautiful, at present have been dug up from their foundations, and are in complete ruin.

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PORTS OF HŪGHLĪ AND SĀTGĀON.

The *Ports of Hūghlī and Sātgāon*[3] are at a distance of half a *karoh* from each other. In former times, Sātgāon was a large city, thickly populated, and was the seat of a Governor. And the factories of the Christian Portugese, and of other traders were also there. When Sātgāon fell into ruin owing to its river silting up, the port of Hūghlī became populous. The Faujdārs of

1 Urfī was a famous Persian poet of Shirāz, attached to the Court of Emperor Jahangīr. He possessed poetical genius of a high order, and was much appreciated by the Emperor. I published an English translation of some of his "Odes" or "Qasaid," many years ago.

2 The palace of Mutījhīl was for several years, after the installation of Nawab Mīr Jāfar, the residence of the British Political Resident attached to the Court of the Nawāb Nāzims of Bengal.

3 Sātgaon, the ancient royal port or "Ganges Regia" of Bengal. It lay at the point of junction of the Hūghlī and the holy Saraswātī. The river Saraswātī silted up during the first-half of the sixteenth century, and the Portuguese merchants found that the harbour of Sātgāon was no longer practicable, and accordingly fixed their port at Gholaghāt in 1537, a few miles lower down on the same east bank of the river. Gholaghāt soon became the chief emporium, and took the name of the river, that is, Hūghlī town or part. Sātgāon is now become a petty village, though when I visited it from Hūghlī in 1888, I found traces of a ruined mosque. The first mention of Sātgāon that I find in Muhammadan history is in the reign of Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughluk Shāh who invaded Bengal to chastise Bahadur Shāh, King of Sunargaon. (See pp 45-46 Tarikh-i-Firuzshāhi).

this port had always been appointed directly by the Emperors of Delhi, and had little concern with the Nāẕims or Viceroys of Bengal. Nawāb Jāfar Khān brought the office of Faujdār of this port within his jurisdiction, as an appendage to the Niẕāmat and Dīwānī of Bengal, as will be mentioned hereafter, if God pleases. And in that the abovementioned Nawāb placed the centre of the financial resources of the country of Bengal upon the customs-duties levied from traders, he maintained peaceful and liberal relations with the merchants of England, China, Persia, and Tūrān, and beyond the legitimate imports he did not levy one *dam* oppressively or against the established usage. Hence the port of Hūghlī, in his time, became more populous than before. And merchants of all the ports of Arabia and *Ajam*,[1] and English Christians who were ship-owners and wealthy Mughuls made their quarters there; but the credit of the Mughul merchants was greater than that of merchants belonging to other classes. The English were absolutely prohibited from erecting towers and building bazārs and forts and moats. After this, when oppression and extortion of the Faujdārs increased, the port of Hūghlī declined, and Calcutta owing to the liberality and protection afforded by the English, and the lightness of the duties levied there, became populous.

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THE CITY OF CALCUTTA.

The City of Calcutta[2] in past times was a village in a *tāluqah* endowed in favour of Kālī, which is the name of an idol which is there. Inasmuch as in the language of Bengal, '*Karta*' and

[1] *Ajam*. The Arabs divided the races of the world into the *Arabīs* and the *Ajamīs* or non-Arabs. Persia Proper was called Irak-i-Ajam.

[2] In 1596 A.C., it is mentioned in the *Āīn-i-Akbarī* as a rent-paying village named "Kalīkatta" under Sarkār Sātgāon. (See *Āīn*, p. 141, Vol. 2, Jar. Tr.) In 1686, in consequence of a rupture with the Musulmān authorities at Hūghlī port, the English merchants, led by their Chief, Job Charnock, were obliged to quit their factory there and to retreat to Sūtanātī (now a northern quarter of Calcutta). Their new settlement soon extended itself southwards first over the village of "Kalīkatta" (between the present Customs-House and the Mint) and subsequently over the village of Gobīndpūr (which existed to the south of the present site of Fort William). In 1689, it became the head-quarters of the servants of the East India Company employed in Bengal factories. In 1696, the original Fort William was built, being replaced by a

Kata" means "master" or "lord," therefore this village was named Kālīkatā, meaning that its owner was Kālī. Gradually, by a process of the modulation of the tongue, the *alif* and the *ea* being dropped it was called *Kalkata*. The following is the account of the foundation of this city and the establishment of the English factory there. In the period of the Niẓamat of Nawāb Jāfar K͟hān, the factory of the English Company, which existed in the port of Hūg͟hlī, close to Lak͟hog͟hat and Mug͟hulpūrah, suddenly after sunset when the English Chiefs were at dinner commenced crumbling down; the English Chiefs ḥarum-scarum ran out, and saved themselves from this whirlpool of destruction. But all their chattels and properties were washed away by the tide. Many cattle and some human beings also perished. Mr. Charnock, the English Chief, purchasing the garden of Benāres, the Company's Gumāshtā, which was situate in Lak͟hog͟hat, adjoining to the town, cut down its trees, and laid the foundation of a factory, and commenced erecting two-storeyed and three-storeyed buildings. When the boundary walls were completed and they were about to roof them with the main beams, the nobility and the gentry of the Sayyid and Mug͟hul tribes, who consisted of rich merchants, represented to Mīr Nāsir, Faujdār of Hūg͟hlī, that when the strangers would get upon the terraces of their high buildings, it would interfere with the sanctity and privacy of their ladies and families. The Faujdār communicated the gist of this state of things to Nawāb Jāfar K͟hān, and subsequently deputed there all the Mug͟hals and the whole of the nobility and the gentry. These, in the presence of the Nawāb, set forth their grievances. Nawāb Jāfar K͟hān despatched an order to the Faujdār prohibiting absolutely the English from placing a brick over a brick and from laying a timber over a timber. The Faujdār, directly on the receipt of the order of prohibition, directed that none of the masons and

new one in 1742, the above three villages being purchased in 1700 from Prince Azam, son of Emperor Aurangzeb. In 1756, the town was sacked and Fort William captured by Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah, who changed its name to Alīnagar. In January 1757 it was re-taken by the English under Admirals Watson and Clive. A new fort, the present Fort William, was commenced by Clive, but it was finished in 1773, when the maidan was also opened out. In this connection, it may be added, that the author of the "Seirul Mutakherin," though hostile to Siraju-d-daulah, and though a contemporary historian, does not say a word about the "Black Hole" affair!

carpenters should do work in connection with the buildings, and in consequence the buildings remained incomplete. Mr. Charnock, getting enraged, prepared to fight. But as he had a small force and except one ship, no other ships were then there, and besides the authority of Nawāb Jāfar Khān was overawing, and the Mughals were numerous, and the powerful Faujdār was on their side, seeing no good in shaking hands and feet, of necessity, raised the anchor of the ship. And directing from the top of the deck of the ship a lense-burner towards the populous part of the town alongside the bank of the river including Chandanagore, he set it on fire and started. The Faujdār, in order to enquire into this matter, wrote to the officer in charge of the garrison of Makhwa to the effect that the ship should not be allowed to pass on. The above officer placed across the river an iron chain, every link whereof was ten seers in weight, and which had been kept ready alongside the wall of the fort for the purpose of blocking the passage of the boats of the Arracanese and Magh enemies, by being drawn from one bank of the river to the other. The ship on arriving at the chain got blocked, and could not move down further. Mr. Charnock cut up the chain with an English sword and effected his passage through, and sailed down with the ship to the sea, and started for the country of the Dakhin. In that, the Emperor Aurangzeb at that time was in the Dakhin, and the Mahratta free-booters had cut off supplies of food-grains from all sides, a great famine occurred amongst the Imperial troops. The Chief of the (English) factory in the Karnatik supplied the Imperial army with food-stuffs, carrying the same on board the ships, and thus rendered loyal and good service. The Emperor Aurangzeb being pleased with the English, enquired as to what the English Company prayed for. The English Chief petitioned for the grant of a *Sanad* (Royal patent), permitting the erection of factories in the Imperial dominions, and especially the erection of the Bengal factory. The petition was granted by the Emperor, and an Imperial *Farman* (patent) was issued, remitting all customs on ships of the English Company, and directing the levy from them of Rs. 3,000, by way of tribute to the Royal Customs-house, and permitting the erection of a factory. Mr. Charnock, with the Imperial *Farman* and orders, returned from the Dakhin to Bengal, and at a place called Chānak (Barrackpūr)

landed. He sent agents with presents, tribute, and gifts, &c., to Nawāb Jāfar Khān, and obtained permission to build a factory at Calcutta, in accordance with the Imperial *Sanad*, and building a new factory there, devoted himself to the improvement of the town, and opened trading transactions with Bengal. To this day the factory is notable.

Calcutta is a large city on the banks of the river Bhāgīratī. It is a large port, and the commercial emporium of the English Company, and is subject to them. Small ships, called sloops, always every year come to that port from China, England, and other parts, and many remain there. At present, this city is the place of residence of the English Chiefs and officers and employés. The buildings are solidly made of lime and brick. As its soil is damp and salt, from proximity to the sea, the buildings of that city are two-storeyed and three-storeyed. The lower rooms are unfit for dwelling. The buildings are constructed after those of England; they are well-ventilated, commodious, and lofty. The roads of that city are broad and paved with pounded brick. And besides the English Chiefs, the Bengālis, the Armenians, &c., there are also rich merchants. The water of wells in this city, owing to salt, is unfit for drinking, and if anyone drinks it, he suffers much In summer and rainy seasons, the water of the river also become bitter and salt; but the water of tanks, which are plenty, is drunk. The sea is forty *Karoh* distant from this place; within every day and night the water of the river has one flow and one ebb. At times of full moon, for three days, the tide comes furiously once in course of a day and night. It shows a wonderful condition and a strange furiousness. It drives across the banks many boats, and wrecks them, but those which are not on the sides of the rivers are left undamaged. Consequently, on that day, at that place boats, both small and large, are left without anchor. This tide in the language of Bengal is called *bān*, and the tide which occurs daily is called *joār*. An earthen fort has been erected to the south, outside the city. The English are wonderful in ventors. To relate its praise is difficult; one ought to see it, to appreciate it. Viewed externally from any of the four sides, the quadrangular rampart looks low like the slopes of tanks; but viewed internally, it looks lofty. Inside the fort, there are large and lofty buildings. Wonderful workmanship has been displayed in the construction of the fort; and other curious and rare workmanships are visible in

this city. In point of beauty of its edifices and the novelty of its arts, no city is equal to it, barring Dehlī, which is unique. But its drawback is that its air is putrid, its water salt, and its soil so damp that the ground, though protected by roof, and cemented with brick and lime, is damp owing to excessive moisture, and the doors and walls, to the height of two or three cubits, are also wet and damp. For four months of winter, the climate is not very unhealthy, but during eight months of summer and rainy seasons, it is very unhealthy. At the present day, when since a few years the countries of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa have passed into the possession of the Chiefs of the English Company, this city has become the seat of Government of these dominions. The head of these Chiefs, who is styled Governor-General, resides in this city, and his deputies are appointed and sent out to each district, and remit to Calcutta the revenue-collections from each district.[1] The officers of the Board of Revenue are in Calcutta.

Wonderful is the City of Calcutta in Bengal;
For it is a model of China and England.
Its buildings please the heart and the soul,
And tower to the height of the air.
A master-hand has wrought such workmanship in it,
That everything is apaint and everything beautiful.
From the exquisite workmanship of the English,
Reason, in contemplating it, becomes confounded.

[1] Until 1707, when Calcutta was first declared a Presidency, it had been dependent on the older English settlement at Madras. From 1707 to 1773 it was on an equal footing with presidencies at Madras and Bombay. In 1773, an Act of Parliament was passed, under which it was declared that the Presidency of Calcutta should exercise a sort of general control over other possessions of the English East India Company, that the Chief of the Presidency of Calcutta should be called Governor-General. In 1772, Warren Hastings had given into the hands of the servants of the East India Company the general administration of Bengal which had hitherto been in the hands of Muhammadan Niẓamat officials, and had removed the Treasury from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The latter town thus became both the capital of Bengal and the seat of Supreme Government. In 1834, the Governor-General of Bengal was created Governor-General of India, and was allowed to appoint a Deputy-Governor of Bengal to manage the affairs of Bengal in his absence. In 1854, a separate Lieutenant-Governor was appointed for Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

(See Wilson's *Early Annals of the "English in Bengal,"* Buckland's "Bengal under Lieutenant-Governors.")

The hat-wearing English dwell in it,
They are all truthful and well-behaved.
The dwellings are like these, the dwellers are like those,
How far can I detail their praises?
Its streets are clean and paved,
The air every morning passes through and sweeps them.
In every alley moonlike faces move about,
Robed in pretty and clean dresses.
Their faces are bright with radiance, like the moon,
You might say the moon has become the earth-trotter.
One is like the moon, another is like Jupiter,
Another is like Venus in effulgence.
When large numbers, like wandering stars, stroll about,
The alleys resemble the milky-way.
You see, if you go to *bazar*,
The rare goods of the world there.
All the articles that exist in four quarters of the globe,
You find in its bazar, without search.
If I were to depict the people of art therein,
The pen would fail to pourtray such a picture.
But it is well known to all,
That pre-eminence in workmanship pertains to China and [England.
Its plain is level like the surface of the sky,
Roads are fixed on it, like the equator.
People, whilst promenading in gardens,
Like wandering stars, meet each other in their walks.
Such a city in the country of the Bengalīs,
No one had seen, no one had heard of.

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Chandannagor[1] (Chandarnagar) *alias* Farāshḍangah, is twelve *karoh* distant from Calcutta. The factory of the Christian French is situated there. It is a small town on the bank of the river Bhagīratī. There is a French Chief there. He is the administrator of the affairs and mercantile concerns of that town. The English Chiefs have no authority there. Similarly at Chūcharāh (Chīnsūrāh[2]), the Dutch hold authority.

[1] Chandanagore, founded as a small French settlement in 1673, rose to mercantile importance under Dupleix in the middle of the eighteenth century.

[2] In the seventeenth century, the Dutch merchants who had hitherto resided at Sātgāon and Hūghlī ports, founded their factory and port at Chinsurāh, a little below Hūghlī town.

Chūcharah, or Chinsurāh, which adjoins the port of Hūghlī, is to the south of that port, and is one *karoh* to the north of Chandarnagor. And similarly Chīrampūr (Sīrampur)[1] is on the banks of the same river, opposite to Chānak (Barackpur). The factory of the Danes is there, and it is also called Dīnamārnagar. In these places, besides the owners of the factories, no one else has authority.

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TOWN OF PURNĪAH.[2]

In former times it was called Pargana-i-havili. Rupees 32,000 were its revenue collections. Since the Rājah of Bīrnagar also had a force of 15,000 cavalry and infantry, and other inhabitants of that part of the Chakwār tribe, &c., were refractory and of plundering propensity, and used to annoy much the travellers, therefore on the limits of the Mūrang,[3] the fort[4] of Jalālgadah, to a distance of two *karohs* from Purnīah, was erected, and a commandant, in charge of the fort, was posted there. In compliance with the petition of Nawāb Saif Khān,[5] grandson of Amīr Khān the elder, who enjoyed the name and title of his father, and was descended from Syeds and illustrious Omra, and had royal connections, Nawāb Jāfar Khān applied to Emperor Aurangzeb for the former's deputation, and accordingly Saif Khān was deputed for the purpose of chastising the Rājah of Bīrnagar[6] and other mal-

[1] The Danes in the seventeenth century founded their factory and port at Serampūr, about eight miles south of Chandanagore.

[2] In the thirteenth century, Purnīah fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. Sarkar of Purniah is described in the Āīn-i-Akbarī, as containing nine mahals, with revenue 6,408,775 *dams* (See Jarrett's Trans. of Āīn, Vol. 2, p. 134). Under its administrator, Nawab Saif Khan, a contemporary of Nawab Jāfar Khān, the Viceroy of Bengal, it attained the height of its prosperity. Its manufacture in *bider* works, once so famous, was found by me to have nearly died out when I was at Purnīah in 1898.

[3] The tract of country between the northern limits of Purnīah district and the foot of Nepal Proper is locally known as the Mūrang.

[4] Ruins of the fort still stand. It is now in the zemindary of Mr. Forbes of Purnīah, a few miles to the north of Purnīah railway station.

[5] The *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Vol. 1, Fasc. III, pp. 677–687) gives a detailed biographical sketch of Amīr Khān. It mentions Saif Khān, Faujdar of Purniah, as one of the *sons* of Amīr Khān. The *Maasir* calls Amīr Khān, "Amīr Khān Mīr-i-Mīran." Amīr Khān's mother, Hamīda Banū Begam, was a grand-daughter of Eminu-d-daulah Açaf Khān.

[6] Bīrnagar is now a circle under the Sub-Manager of the Durbhanga Raj at Purnīah.

contents of that part of the country. Nawāb Jāfar Khān, considering the arrival of such a person to be an acquisition, conferred the office of Faujdār of Zila' Purnīah and that of Commandant of Jalālgadāh upon him, and also settled on him the Pargana of Bīrnagar *alias* Dharmpūr,[1] and Gūndwārah, which is in the province of Behar, pertaining to Purnīah, and also the mahals of the Jāgīr forming an appendage to the office of Commandant of the above Fort. The aforesaid Khān, being appointed independent ruler of the district, after much fighting expelled Dūrjan Sīngh,[2] son of Bīr Shāh, the Rājah of Bīrnagar, who was disloyal and refractory, and brought the aforesaid pargana under his subjection, and having thoroughly chastised the other malcontents freed the roads from all perils. He represented the state of affairs to the Emperor, and submitted that the mahals were small, and that his stay in this mahal was unlucrative. In consequence, the Emperor Aurangzeb wrote to Jāfar Khān as follows: "I have sent to you a lion, putting him in a cage. If he does not get his food, he is certain to give you trouble." The aforesaid Nawāb, who regarded the stay of such a person to be a boon, remitted all the outstanding revenue due from him, and made concession in view of the suitable maintenance of his rank and station. The above Khān, following the example of Jāfar Khān, imprisoned all the zemīndars of that district, and did not omit any means of realising the revenue. So that realising eighteen *lakhs* of rupees from those mahals, he appropriated them to his own use, and day by day the strength of his government and finances and of his army increased. And making peace with the zemīndars of the Mūrang, he commenced to cut jungles and to bring them under cultivation. Bringing under cultivation half the wastes up to the foot of the mountains of the Mūrang, and placing it under his rule, he enlarged his country and his resources. And Jāfar Khān, seeing and hearing of it, used to connive. At present, Purnīah[3] is a large city, and the rivers Kūsī and Sūnra pass through it. Its soil is low and full of water. In the rainy season the floods rush down from the moun-

[1] At present each of these forms a police circle.

[2] Several Durjan Singhs are mentioned in the *Alamgīrnamah*. One Bir Singh, Zemindar of Srīnagar, is also mentioned in it.

[3] It did not appear to me so when I was at Purnīah in 1898. The old town or city appeared to me to have got into complete ruin, and very little trace of its former opulence and prosperity existed.

tains of the Mūrang, and the fields and wastes are inundated. Much of the cultivation is consigned to destruction by the floods. Paddy, wheat, pulse and mustard-seed and other food-grains and all kinds of corn grow in abundance. And oil and turmeric and saltpetre, both of water and fire, and pepper, and large cardamom and cassia-leaf and very large trees of ebony, are produced well there. And the flowers of jasmine and *bela* and the red-rose and other flowers that grow there possess exquisite scents. The mountains of the Mūrang are six days' journey to the north of Purniah. The Mūrangi wood, which is called *Bahadūri*, is obtained from those mountains. From the top of the mountains, the road towards Nepāl and Kashmīr is very close, but it is very undulating. Half the mahals of Purnīah pertain to the annexes of the province of Behār; but Purnīah itself is within Bengal. It is a cold country and the climate of that tract is insalubrious and incongenial. Tumours of the throat in men and women generally, as well as in wild beasts and birds, are common in that country. Masonry buildings are few, excepting the Fort,[1] the Lāl Bāgh,[2] and some others. Formerly, Sarnāh was more populous than Purnīah. And Gandāh-golah (Caragola),[3] on the banks of the Ganges, was the resort of traders and mahajans from various places. Owing to cheapness of food-grains and comforts, landholders and travellers and professional men came from every part, and dwelt there. And very often boundary-disputes led to fightings with the Rājah of the Mūrang. Saif Khān, every year, used to go to Murshidābād for visiting Nawāb Jāfar Khān. The above Nawāb used to treat him like a brother. Whenever a disturbance occurred in that district, the aforesaid Nawāb used to send troops for assistance. From Gandāhgolah (Caragola) and the banks of the Ganges to the Mūrang, the tract of Purniah is about ten days' journey in extent. And from the mountains of the Mūrang, a route[4] leads to Kuch-Behār and Assam. And the tribute of the Rājah of the Mūrang was paid in game.

1 and 2 No traces of these could be found by me, when I was at Purnīah in 1898..

3 A fair is still held annually at Caragola, and is largely attended by Nepaulese, Bhutias and other hill-tribes, though not to the same extent as before.

4 Three routes to Kuch Behar and Assam are described in the *Alamgir-namah* (p. 683).

DHAKAH (OR DACCA) *alias* JAHANGIRNAGAR.[1]

This city is on the banks of the Budhīgangā, and the Ganges, named Padmā, flows three *karoh* or kos distant from this city. In past times it was known by this name. During the sovereignty of Nuru-d-din Muhammad Jahāngīr, the Emperor, the city was called Jahāngīrnagar. From that time till about the end of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, this city was the

1 Dacca or Jahāngīrnagar was the Musalmān Viceregal Capital of Bengal during Mughul rule in India for a century, before it was shifted to Murshidabad by Murshid Qulī Khān in 1704 A.C. In 1610 A.C., Islām Khān, the Mughul Viceroy of Bengal, shifted the Viceregal Capital from Rajmahal,or Akbarnagar, to Dacca. This transfer of capital appears to have been decided upon, because the Musalmān dominions in Bengal had considerably extended eastward, and Rajmahal ceased to occupy a central position, and also because Magh and Arracanese incursions from Arrakan had become frequent. To effectually guard against the latter, a powerful fleet was constructed and maintained at Dacca and on the rivers Padda and Megna; and colonies of Musalmān feudal barons (most of whom have now died out or sunk into ploughmen) were planted throughout Eastern Bengal, especially at places of strategic importance, in order to hold in check all disloyal Afghān elements, and to prevent their intriguing with the Magh raiders. Except for about sixteen years, when Prince Shah Shuja re-transferred the Viceregal Capital to Rajmahal, Dacca remained the Viceregal Capital of Bengal throughout the seventeenth century under three illustrious Mughul Emperors, *viz.*, Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān, and Aurangzeb. The most notable amongst the Mughul Viceroys of Dacca were Islam Khān, Mīr Jumla, the General of Aurangzeb, and Shasata Khān (nephew of Empress Nūr Jahan). The latter two Nawābs are still remembered for their encouragement of architecture, and for their construction of great public works conducive to the material improvement of the people. Whilst the great achievement of the first was the breaking of the last neck of Afghan opposition. The suburb of Dacca, it is related, extended northwards for a distance of 15 miles, now covered with dense jungles. The muslin manufacture of Dacca, once so famous, has now nearly died out. The old fort, erected in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, has disappeared. The only old public buildings now remaining are the *Katra*, built by Shāh Shujā in 1645, and the palace of Lal Bāgh, both of these also being in ruins. (See Taylor's Topography of Dacca and Dr. Wise's History of Dacca). Dacca, or Dhakka, occurs in the *Akbarnāmāh* as an Imperial Thana in 1584 the mahal to which it belonged is named "Dhakka Bazu;" it pertained in those early days to Sarkar Bazūha. (See Āin-i-Akbarī Jarrett's Trans., Vol. 2, Fasc. II, p. 138). Dacca, though it has lost its former Viceregal magnificence and opulence, has not yet sunk into an ordinary Bengal town, by reason of its being the residence of the present liberal and public-spirited 'Nawābs of Dacca.'

Viceregal Capital of Bengal. Since the period of his Nizāmat, when Nawāb Jāfar Khān made Mūrshidābād the seat of government, the latter became the Viceregal seat. At present on behalf of the Chiefs of the English Company, there is a district officer at Jahāngīrnagar. White muslin is excellently manufactured there.

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SARKĀR SUNARGAON.[1]

Sārkār Sunargaon is to a distance of six *karoh* to the south-east of Jahāngīrnagar. A species of very fine muslin is manufactured there. And in the Mouzā of Kathrahsūndar there is a reservoir of water; whatever clothes are washed there are turned into white linen.

1 Sunargaon City, close to Dacca to the south-east, was long an ancient Musalmān Capital of Bengal. To this place in 1281 A.C. (see p. 87 Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī by Barnī) Emperor Balban from Delhi came, and pursued Tughral, who had proclaimed himself Sultān Mughisuddin in 1279 A.C.; and about 610 A.H. (1214 A.C.) it was together with Bang (East Bengal) subdued (Tabaqat-i-Nasirī, Pers: text, p. 163) by Sultān Ghiasuddin, one of the immediate successors of Bakhtiar Khīljī. Sunargaon is a place of melancholy historical interest, for it was here that the line of Balbani kings of Bengal (1282 to 1331 A.C.) ended, and it was also here that the last Balbani sovereign of Bengal, Bahadur Shāh, in 1331 A.C., under the order of Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, was captured, put to death, and his skin stuffed and paraded throughout the Emperor's dominions. Subsequently, in 1338 A.C., the first Independent Mussalmān king of Bengal, named Fakhruddīn Abūl Muzaffar Mubarak Shāh, proclaimed his independence at Sunargaon, where he resided and minted coins Thomas' "Initial Coinage" and *Tarikh-i-Firus-Shahi*, p. 480). Mubarak Shāh's son, Ghazī Shāh (third Independent king), also resided at Sunargaon, and minted coins there. In 1352 A.C., Hajī Ilyas or Sultān Shamsuddīn Abul Muzaffar Ilyas Shāh (fourth Independent king) established himself at Sunargaon (Thomas' "Initial Coinage") and there founded a new dynasty of Independent Bengal kings, who (with an interruption only of about forty years) continued to rule over Bengal for over a century (1352 to 1495 A.C.), and divided their residence between Gaur and Sunargaon. It was to Sunargaon that the illustrious poet of Shīraz, Hāfiz, sent his famous *ghazl* to Sultān Ghiasuddin (son of Sikandar Shāh and grandson of Ilyas Shāh), when the latter invited the poet to his Royal Court at Sunargaon. Sunargaon has now become an insignificant village, without a single trace of its former regal splendour. (See also Dr. Wise's note on Sunargaon, J.A.S., 1874, p. 82).

ISLĀMĀBĀD *alias* CHĀTGĀON.[1]

Islāmābād *alias* Chātgāon (Chittagong), from ancient times, has been a large town, and its environs are forests of trees. It is south-east of Murshidabad on the seacoast, and in ancient times it was a large port. The traders of every country—especially the ships of the Christians—used to frequent it. But at present, since Calcutta is a large port, all other ports of Bengal have fallen into decay. It is said that ships which founder in other parts of the sea re-appear in front of Chittagong; it rests with the narrator to prove this. The ebb and flow of the sea occurs also here. And the fighting-cocks of that tract are well known.



SARKĀR BOGLĀ.[2]

Sarkār Baglā was also a fort on the seacoast, and around it was a forest of trees. And the ebb and flow of the sea also occurs there, similarly to what occurs at other places on the seaside and in the environs of Calcutta. In the twenty-ninth year of the accession to the throne of Emperor Akbar, one hour of the day was remaining, when a strange flood occurred, in consequence of which the whole town was submerged. The Rajāh of that town, getting on a boat, escaped. For five hours the fury of the storm, and lightning and thunder, and tumult of the sea lasted. Two *laks* of human beings and cattle were engulfed in the sea of annihilation.

1 Chittagong was found to be in the hands of King Fakhruddin of Sunargaon about 1350 A.C., when Ibn-i-Batutah visited it. It was re-subdued by King Nasrat Shāh, son of Husain Shāh, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. In Todar Mal's rent-roll, it is assessed at Rs. 285,607, and the Sarkar is shown as including seven mahals. During the struggle for supremacy in Bengal between Afghans and Mughuls in the seventeenth century, it temporarily slipped out of Moslem hands, and had to be re-conquered in 1664 A.C. by Nawāb Shaista Khān, Emperor Aurangzeb's Viceroy at Dacca, who named it Islāmābād (See the charming description of the re-conquest of Chittagong, in the *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 940-956.) Chittagong was, from very early times, an important place of trade, and the early Portuguese traders called it "Porto Grando."

2 Sirkar Bogla or Bakla in Abul Fazl's *Āīn* is stated to have contained four mahals, and its revenue was Rs. 178,756. It comprised portions of the Backergunj and Sundarban districts and the southernmost portions of the Dacca district. The author of the Seiral Mutakherin calls it Sarkār Hugla.

6

SARKAR RANGPŪR AND GHORĀGHĀT.[1]

Rāngpūr and Ghorāghāt.—Here silk is produced, and *Tangan* ponies, coming from the mountains of Bhutān, sell. A fruit called *Latkan* of the size of walnuts, and with the taste of pomegranates, and containing three seeds, grows there.

—o—

SARKĀR MAHMŪDĀBĀD.[2]

Sarkār Mahmūdābād was a fort, and in its environs were rivers. In the period when Sher Shāh conquered Bengal, a num-

[1] Sarkar Ghoraghāt comprised portions of Dinajpur, Rangpūr, and Bogra districts. Being the northern frontier district skirting Kooh-Behar, numerous colonies of Afghān and Mughal chiefs were planted there under the feudal system, with large *jāgir* lands under each. Many of the mahals bear purely Muhammadan names, such as Bazū Zafar Shāhī, Bazū Faulad Shāhi, Nasratābād, Bayizidpūr, Taāluk Husain, Taaluk Ahmad Khān, Kabul, Masjd Husain Shahi. The Sarkar produced much raw silk. Eighty-four mahals; revenue, Rs. 202,077. The old Musalmān military outpost of Deocote near Gangarampur was in this Sarkar. It was established in the time of Bakhtiar Khiljī (see Blochmann's Contr., J.A.S., 1873, p. 215, Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī, p. 156, Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 135 and Vol. I, p. 370). After the battle of Patna, 982 A.H., when Daud retired to Orissa, (*Badaoni*, p. 184, Vol. II), his generals Kalapahar and Babu Mankli proceeded to Ghoraghat, (Badaoni, p. 192). Akbar's general, Majnun Khān, died at Ghoraghat.

[2] Sarkār Mahmūdābād, named after one of the Sulṭān Mahmūd Shāhs of Bengal, comprised north-eastern Nadiya, north-eastern Jessore, and western Farīdpūr. Eighty-eight mahals; revenue Rs. 290,256. Its principal mahals were Santor, Naldī, Mahmūdshāhī, and Nasratshāhī. When Akbar's army in 1574 under Munim Khan-i-Khanan invaded Bengal, Murad Khān, another Imperialist-General, invaded South-Eastern Bengal. He conquered, says the Akbarnamah, Sarkars Bakla and Fathabad (Farīdpūr) and settled and died there. It is remarkable that close to Farīdpūr there is a village (now a railway station) called Khan-Khanānpūr, which probably was the residence of Murad Khān, and which again is close to a place called Rājbarī (probably the seat of the old Rajahs). His sons were treacherously murdered at a feast to which they were invited by Mukund, the Rajah of Bhusna and Fatahabad. (See Āin-i-Akbarī, p. 374, Bloch. Trans.) During the reigns of Jahangīr and Shāh Jahān, Satrujīt, son of Mukund, gave trouble, and at length in Shāh Jahān's reign was captured and executed at Dhaka (1636 A.C.) Nawāb Jāfar Khān about 1772 broke up this Sarkar, and annexed part of it to Rajshahi and part to the new Chaklah of Bhusna. Bhusna lies near Bonmaldih and Dakhinbarī, ancient Moslem colonies, and it is curious that west of it, on the Nabaganga, we find Satrujītpur close to an ancient Moslem colony, at Alūkdih; whilst opposite to Farīdpūr we find Mukund-chor, which is again close to "Khan-

ber of elephants belonging to the Rājah of that place escaped into the jungles; ever since which elephants are to be obtained in those jungles. And pepper also grows in those parts.



SARKĀR BĀRBĀKĀBĀD.[1]

Bārbakābād. A good stuff called *Gangājal* is manufactured there, and large oranges also thrive there.



SARKĀR BĀZŪHĀ.[2]

Sarkār Bāzūhā is a forest of trees, these being trees of ebony which are used in construction of buildings and boats. And mines of iron are also found in that tract.



SARKĀR SILHAT.[3]

Sarkār Silhat is a mountainous region, woollen shields are very well made there; they are famous for their beauty through-

Khanānpūr" station, referred to above. Satrajīt's descendant or successor, the notorious Raja Sitaram Rai, had his head-quarters at Mahmūdpur town, at the confluence of the Barasia and Madhumati rivers, in Jessore. Quite close to Mahmūdpūr, is an old Musalman colony at Shirgaon. (*See* Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 132, and Blochmann's Contr., J.A.S., 1873, p. 217).

1 Sarkār Barbakābād, so named after Barbak Shāh, King of Bengal. It extended from Sarkar Lakhnautī, or Gaur, along the Padda to Bagūra, and comprised portions of Maldah, Dinajpūr, Rajshāhī, and Bogra Its clothes were well known, especially the stuffs called *khāçah*. Thirty-eight mahals; revenue Rs 436,283. (*See* Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 137, and Blochmann's Contr., J.A.S., 1873, p. 215.)

2 Sarkār Bazūha extended from the limits of Sarkar Barbakābād, and included portions of Rājshāhī, Bogra, Pabna, and Maimansingh, and reached in the south a little beyond the town of Dacca. Thirty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 987,921. (See *Āīn*, Vol. II, p. 137).

3 Sarkār Silhat adjoining to Sarkar Bazūha, chiefly extended east of the Surma river. The country was conquered by Musalmans led by a warrior-saint called Shāh Jallāl in the end of the fourteenth century, when the Afghan King Shamsuddin ruled over Bengal with his capital at Gaur. Shāh Jallāl's shrine in Silhat town still exists. Silhat supplied India with eunuchs, and Jahangir issued an edict forbidding people of Silhat from castrating boys. Eight mahals; revenue Rs. 167,032 (*Āin*, Vol. II, p. 139, Blochmann's Contr., J.A.S., 1873, pp. 216, 235, 278).

out the empire of Hindūstān. And delicious fruits—such as oranges, &c., are obtained. And the China-root is also procured from that tract, and the aloes-wood abounds in its mountains. It is said that in the last month of the rainy season, the *'ūd* tree is felled and is left in water and exposed to the air, then whatever shoots forth is utilised, and what decays is thrown away. A kind of small bird called *Banraj*, which is black in colour, and has red eyes and long tail, and parti-coloured, pretty, and long wings, is easily snared and tamed there. It catches the note of every animal that it hears. Similarly, *Shīrganj* is the name of another bird; it is not different from *Banrāj* in any way, except in this that the legs and the beak of *Shīrganj* are red. Both these are flesh-eaters, and prey on small birds like sparrows, &c.



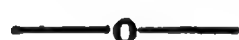
SARKĀR SHARĪFĀBAD.[1]

Large cows, able to carry heavy loads, and large goats, and large fighting-cocks are bred there.



SARKĀR MADARAN.[2]

Sarkār Madāran, is on the southern limit of the kingdom of Bengal. There is a mine of small diamond there.



AKBARNĀGAR.[3]

Akbarnāgar *alias* Rājmahal, is on the banks of the Ganges. Formerly it was a large and populous city. And a Faujdār of

1 Sarkār Sharīfābād comprised south-eastern portions of Birbhūm and a large portion of Burdwan, including Burdwan town. Twenty-six mahals; revenue Rs. 562,218. (Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 139).

2 Sarkar Madāran extended from Nagor in Western Birbhūm over Raniganj, along the Damūdar to above Burdwan, and thence from there over Khand Ghosh, Jahānābād, Chandrakona (western Hughlī district) to Mandalghāt, at the mouth of the Rūpnarain river. Sixteen mahals; revenue Rs. 235,085 (See *Āīn*, Vol. II, p. 141).

3 Sher Shāh had already made plans to shift the seat of Government of Bengal from Tandah to Āgmahal, but this was carried out by Rājah Mān Singh, Akbar's Governor of Bengal, who named the place Rājmahal, and subsequently Akbarnāgar, after Emperor Akbar. Before Mān Singh, Daūd, the last Afghan King of Bengal, had fortified Āgmahal (984 A.H.) in his

rank, on behalf of the Nāzim of Bengal, resided there. At present it is in complete dilapidation and ruin.

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MĀLDAH.

The town of Māldah [1] is on the banks of the river Mahānanda. At a distance of three *karoh* towards the north, is situate holy Pandūah,[2] which contains the sacred shrine of Hazrat Makhdūm Shāh Jalāl Tabrīz[3] (May God sanctify his shrine!) and the

last stand against Mughuls under Khān Jahan, Akbar's general (*Badaoni*, Vol. II, p. 229). Subsequently, in the time of Jahangir, Rajmahal was the scene of a sanguinary battle between Prince Shah Jahan and Jahangir's Viceroy of Bengal, Ibrahim Khān Fateh Jang, who was killed (*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangirī*, p. 221). It was for about twenty years the Viceregal Capital of Bengal, under Prince Shāh Shuja, who adorned the city with beautiful marble-palaces, no trace of which, however, now exists.—(See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 340).

1 As early as 1686 A.C., the English East India Company, with permission of Emperor Aurangzeb, established a silk factory here, and in 1770 A.C., English bazar, close to Māldah, was fixed upon as the Commercial residency. Māldah is mentioned in the Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri: "When I (Jahangir) was prince, I had made a promise to Mir Ziyaudin of Tazwīn, a Saifi Syed, who has since received the title of Mustafa Khan, to give him and his children Pargana Māldah, a well-known Pargana in Bengal. This promise was now performed (1617 A.C.)"—See J.A.S., 1873, p. 215n.

2 Panduah, like Gaur, is situate in the district of Māldah. 'Alī Mubarak had his capital at Panduah, and the third independent Musalman Afghan King of Bengal, named Shamsuddin Ilyas Shāh, fortified the place, and permanently removed the headquarters there about 1353 A.C. Panduah for over 50 years remained the Capital of Bengal, during the reigns of seven Afghan independent Kings of Bengal, after which the capital was in 1446 A.C. during the reign of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shāh re-transferred to Gaur, which was retained by Muhammadans for about three centuries as their capital. The principal buildings at Panduah are the mausoleums of Makhdūm Shāh Jallāl and his grandson Qutb Shāh, the Golden Mosque (1585 A.C.) with wall of granite, and ten domes of brick, the Eklakhi Mosque containing the grave of Ghiasuddin II, the fifth Musalman independent King of Bengal, the Adīna Mosque (fourteenth century) characterised by Mr. Fergusson as the most remarkable example of Pathan architecture, and the *Satargarh* (seventy towered) palace. Panduah was once famous for its manufacture of indigenous paper, but this industry has now died out. Dr. Buchanan Hamilton gives a detailed description of the ruins of Panduah, and the Khurshid Jahānnumah (an analysis of which Mr. Beveridge has published) supplements it.

3 Shaikh Jalaluddīn Tabrizī was a disciple of Said Tabrizī, a vicegerent of Shahabuddin Shurawardi, and a friend of Khwājah Qutbuddīn and Shaikh Bahauddīn Zakarīah. Shaikh Najmuddīn, Shaikh-ul-Islam at Delhi, bore him

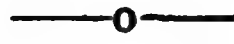
sacred mausoleum of Hazrat Nūr Qutubu-l-'Ālam Bangālī[1] (May God illuminate his tomb!), which are places of pilgrimage for the people, and resorts of the indigent and the afflicted, and are channels of various boons. For instance, every traveller and beggar who arrives there, and stops therein the night, is not allowed to cook his food for three meals. The servants there supply him from the public store-house, either with cooked food, or with rice, pulse, salt, oil, meat and tobacco, according to his position in life. And every year in the month of *Shab-i-barāt* or *Zīlhajh*, whichever of these months falls in the dry season, a fair attended by a large number of people is held, so much so that *laks* of people from distances of fifteen and twenty days' journey, such as Hūghli, Silhat and Jahāngirnagar, &c., come and congregate, and benefit by pilgrimage. And in Māldah and in its environs, good silk-stuff as well as a kind of cotton-stuff of the sort of muslin is manufactured. Plenty of silk-worms are found in its environs, and raw silk is turned out. And for a period of time, the factory of the English Company has been fixed on the other side of the Mahānanda. They buy cotton and silk piece-goods, made to order of the chiefs of the English Company, who make advances of money in the shape of *bai ' sallam*. Raw silk is also manufactured in the factory. And since two or three years, an indigo-factory has been erected, close to the above factory. The Company manufactures and purchases indigo, loads it on ships, and exports it to its own country. Similarly, close to the ruins of Gaur, in the village of Goāmālti, another masonry-built factory has been erected; at it also indigo is manufactured. Although a description of the town of Māldah was not necessary, yet as since two years my master, Mr. George Udney (May his fortune always last) has been holding here the office of the Chief of the Factory of the Company, and also since in this place this humble servant has been engaged in the composition and compilation of this book, the above narrative has been given.[2]

enmity; so the saint went to Bengal. His tomb is in the port of Dev Mahal (or Maldiveisle).—See *Āin-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 366.

1 Shaikh Nur Qutbu-l-'Alam was son and vicegerent of Shaikh Alau-l-Huq (the latter having been vicegerent of Shaikh Akhi Siraj). He was a mystic of eminence, and died in A.H. 808 (A.C. 1405) and was buried at Panduah.—See *Āin*, Vol. II, p. 371.

2 *Note on Sarkars of Bengal (principally compiled from Blochmann's Contribu-*

SECTION IV.—A BRIEF NARRATIVE OF THE RULE OF THE RAIĀN (THE HINDŪ CHIEFS), IN ANCIENT TIMES, IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL.



Since by the laudable endeavours of Bang, son of Hind, the dominions of Bengal were populated, his descendants, one after

tions, *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, Tarīkh-i-Fīruz Shahī, *Āin-i-Akbarī*, *Badoanī*, Thomas's Initial coinage, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, *Badshahnamah*, and *Alamgirnamah*.)

Before proceeding to the next section, it may be noted here that our author has not described all the Sarkars or old Musalman administrative divisions or districts of Bengal.

Bengal before Muhammadan conquest in 1198 A.C. consisted of five Divisions, namely (1) Radha, the tract south of the Ganges and west of the Hughlī; (2) Bagdi, the deltaic tract of the Ganges; (3) Banga, the tract to the east and beyond the delta; (4) Barendra, the tracts to the north of the Padda and between the Karatya and Mahananda rivers, and (5) Mithīla, the country west of the Mahananda (See Hamilton's "Hindustan"). These Divisions appear to have been under different Hindu Rajas or petty chieftains, who had no cohesion amongst them, and were under no allegiance to any central authority, and whose form of government was patriarchal. When Bakhtiar Khilji with eighteen troopers stormed Nadia, then the Hindu capital of Bengal, and conquered Bengal, in 1198 A.C. (594 A.H.) he appears to have conquered Mithila, Barendra, Radha, and the north-western portion of Bagdi. This tract was named Vilayet-i-Lakhnautī after its capital, Lakhnauti city. Its extent is roughly described in 1245 A. C. (641 A.H.) in the *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 162, when its author Minhāju-s-Siraj, visited Lakhnauti. Minhaj says that the Vilayet-i-Lakhnauti lies to both sides of the Ganges, and consists of two wings, the eastern one is called Barendra, to which Deokot belongs, and the western called Rāl (Radha) to which Lakhnauti belongs, that on one side the town of Lakhnauti is connected with Deokot, and on the other side with Lakhnor by a causeway or embanked road, ten days' distance. Deokot has been identified with an old fort, now known simply as Damdamah, on the left branch of the Purnababa, south of Dinajpur, and close to Gangarampur. Bang or East Bengal appears to have been subdued in 1214 A. C. (610 A.H.) by Sulṭān Ghiasuddin, an immediate successor of Bakhtiar Khilji (*Tabaqat*, p. 163). During the rule of the Independent Musalman Kings of Bengal (1338 to 1538 A.C.), the extent of the kingdom of Bangala or Bengal was much more apparently than what is described in the Āīn-i-Akbarī, and in the rent-roll of Bengall prepared by Akbar's Finance Ministers, Khwajah Muzaffar Ali and Todar Mall in 1582 A.C.—(*See* J.A.S., 1873, p. 254, Tabaqat-i-Naṣirī and Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, Thomas's 'Initial Coinage'). In Akbar's rent-roll, the following 19, Sarkars are mentioned as composing the kingdom of Bengal Proper :—

another, rendering them habitable in a beautiful form, ruled over

Sarkars North and East of the Ganges.

1. Sarkār Lakhnautī or Jennatabad extending from Teliagadhi (near Colgong), including a few mahals now belonging to Bhagalpur and Purneah districts, and the whole of Maldah district. Sixty-six mahals; khalsa revenue, Rs. 4,71,174.

2. Sarkār Purneah, comprising a great portion of the present district of Purneah, as far as the Mahananda. Nine mahals; revenue Rs. 1,60,219.

3. Sarkār Tajpur, extending over eastern Purneah, east of the Mahananda and western Dinajpur. Twenty-nine mahals; revenue Rs. 1,62,096.

4. Sarkār Panjrāh, north-east of the town of Dinajpur, comprising a large part of Dinajpur district. Twenty-one mahals; revenue Rs. 1,45,081.

5. Sarkār Ghoraghāt, comprising portions of Dinajpur, Rangpur, and Bogra districts, as far as the Brahmaputrā. Eighty-four mahals; revenue Rs. 2,02,077.

6. Sarkār Barbakābād, comprising portions of Maldah, Dinajpur and large portions of Rajshahi and Bogra. Thirty-eight mahals; revenue Rs. 4,36,288.

7. Sarkār Bazūha comprising portions of Rajshahī, Bogra, Pabna, Maimansingh, and reaching a little beyond the town of Dacca in the south. Thiry-two mahals; revenue Rs. 9,87,921.

8. Sirkār Silhat. Eight mahals; revenue Rs. 1,67,032.

9. Sarkār Sunargaon, extending to both sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputrā, including portions of western Tipperah, eastern Dacca, Maimansingh and Noakhali. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 2,58,283.—(*See* also Dr. Wise's 'note on Sunargaon,' J.A.S., 1874, No. 1, p. 82).

10. Sarkār Chatgam. Seven mahals; revenue, Rs. 2,85,607.

Sarkars in the Delta of the Ganges.

11. Sarkār Sātgaon comprised a small portion to the west of the Hughli, whilst a large portion comprised the modern districts of the 24-Parganas to the Kabadak river, western Nadia, south-western Murshidabād, and extended in the south to Hatiagarh below Diamond Harbour. To this Sarkar belonged mahal Kalkatta (Calcutta) which together with 2 other mahals paid in 1582 a land revenue of Rs. 23,405. Fifty-three mahals; revenue Rs. 4,18,118.—*See* also J.A.S., 1870, p. 280.

12. Sarkār Mahmūdabād, so called after Mahmūd Shah, King of Bengal (846 A.H.), comprising north-eastern Nadia, north-eastern Jessore, and western Faridpur. Eighty-eight mahals; revenue, Rs. 2,90,256.

13. Sarkār Khalifatābād, comprising southern Jessore and western Baqirganj (Backergunge). The Sarkar is so named after the haveli perganah Khalifatābād (or 'clearance of Khalīfah' Khān Jahān) near Bagerhat. The largest mahal of this Sarkar was Jesar (Jessore) or Rasulpūr. Thirty-five mahals; revenue, Rs. 135,053. In this Sarkar is also Alaipūr, which Professor Blochmann surmises to have been the residence of Sultān Alauddin Husain Shāh, before the latter became King of Bengal.

the country. The first person who presided over the sovereignty

14. Sarkār Fathabād, so called after Fath Shah, King of Bengal (886 A.H.) comprising a small portion of Jessore, a large part of Farīdpur, northern Baqirganj, a portion of Dhaka district, the island of Dakhin Shahbāzpūr, and Sondip, at the mouth of the Megna. The town of Farīdpūr lies in the haveli pergana of Fathabād. 31 mahals; revenue Rs. 1,99,239.

15. Sarkār Bakla or Bogla, south-east of the preceding, comprised portions of Baqirganj and Dhakā districts. Four mahals; revenne Rs. 1,78,756.

Sarkars South of the Ganges and West of the Bhagirati (Hughli.)

16. Sarkar Udner, or Tandah, comprising the greater portion of Murshidabād district, with portion of Birbhum. Fifty-two mahals; revenue Rs. 6,01,985. Sulaiman Shāh Kararāni, the last but one of the Afghan Kings of Bengal, moved the seat of Government to Tandah from Gaur in 1564 A.C., that is, 11 years before the ruin of the latter.—(*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 130n.)

17. Sarkar Sharīfabād, south of the preceding, comprising remaining portions of Birbhum, and a large portion of Burdwan districts, including the town of Burdwan. Twenty-six mahals; revenue Rs. 5,62,218.

18. Sarkar Sulaimānabād, so called after Sulaiman Shah, King of Bengal, comprising a few southern parganas in the modern districts of Nadia, Burdwan and the whole north of Hughli district. Panduah on the E. I. R. belonged to this Sarkar. The chief town of the Sarkar called Sulaimānabād (afterwards changed to Salīmabād) was on the left bank of the Damūdar, south-east of the town of Burdwan. Thirty-one mahals; revenue Rs. 4,40,749.

19. Sarkār Madaran, extended in a semicircle from Nagor in western Birbhum, over Raniganj along the Damudar to above Burdwan, and from there over Khand Ghosh, Jahanabād, Chandrakona (western Hughli district) to Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarain river. Sixteen mahals; revenue Rs. 2,35,085.

The above 19 Sarkārs which made up Bengal Proper in 1582, paid a revenue on *khalsa* lands (crown lands) inclusive of a few duties on salt, *hats*, and fisheries, of Rs. 6,3,37,052. According to Grant the value of *jagir* lands was fixed at Rs. 4,348,892, so that in 1582 A.C. and from before it, Rs. 10,685,944 was the total revenue of Bengal.—(*See* J.A.S, 1873, p. 219). This was levied from ryots in specie, as the equivalent of the sixth share of the entire produce of the land, claimed by the sovereign as his share.—(See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*), pp. 55 and 63, Vol. 2. This rent-roll remained in force during the reign of Jahāngir. Under Shāh Jahān, the boundaries of Bengal were extended on the south-west, Mednipur and Hijli having been annexed to Bengal, and in the east and north-east by conquests in Tipperah and Koch Hajo; and when Prince Shuja was made Governor of Bengal he made about 1658 A.C., a new rent-roll which shewed 34 Sarkars and 1,350 mahals, and a total revenue, in *khalsa* and *jagir* lands, of Rs. 1,31,15,907.—(*See* J.A.S., 1873, p. 219). Shuja's rent-roll remained in force till 1722 A.C., an addition having been made after the re-conquest of Chittagong, and conquest of Assam and Koch Behar in Aurangzeb's time. In

of the country of Bengal was Râjâh Bhâgîrat,[1] of the Khatri tribe For a long period he held the sovereignty of Bengal. At length he went to Delhi and was killed with Darjûdhan[2] in the wars of the Mahâbhârat. His period of rule was 250 years. After this, 23 persons amongst his descendants, one after another, ruled for a period of nearly 2,200 years.[3] After that, the sovereignty passed

that year, Nawâb Jafar Khân (Murshid Quli Khân) prepared his '*Kâmil Jama' Tumari*', or 'perfect rent-roll,' in which Bengal was divided into 34 Sarkars, forming 13 *chaklahs*, and subdivided into 1,660 perganas, with a revenue of Rs. 1,42,88,186. After the rule of Nawab Jafar Khân, *Abwab* revenue (imposts as fees, &c.), appeared in the books. In the time of Shuja Khan, Nawab Jafar's successor, the *Abwabs* (see Blochmann's Contributions and Grant's report) amounted to Rs. 21,72,952, and they rapidly increased under Nawabs Ali Vardî Khan and Kasim Khan, so that when the E.I. Company in 1765 acquired the *Dewani* from Emperor Shâh Alam, the net amount of all revenue collected in Bengal Proper was (see Grant's report) Rs. 2,56,24,223.

I respectfully differ, however, from Professor Blochmann's conclusions on one point. He would seem to suggest that the above extent of territory with the above Revenue, as gathered from Todar Mal's rent-roll prepared in 1582 and also from the Âîn-i-Akbarî, *Iqbalnamah*, *Padshahnamah* and *Alamgirnamah*, might be taken to represent the territorial and fiscal strength of the Musalman Bengal kingdom of pre-Mughal times.—(J.A.S., 1873, p. 214). This inference is vitiated, in view of the fact that the Musalman Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times included for the most part the *whole* of north Behar, and, under several Musalman Bengal rulers, also south Behar as far westward as Sarkars Mungher and Behar, besides Orissa. This consideration would indicate that the territorial and financial strength of the Musalman Bengal kingdom in pre-Mughal times was greater than what is arrived at in Professor Blochmann's conclusions. In the *Âîn-i-Akbari*, Orissa is included in the Ṣûbah of Bengal, Orissa consisting of 5 Sarkars. Thus, the Sûbah of Bengal is described as consisting of 24 Sarkars (that is, including 5 Sarkars of Orissa), and 787 mahals, and the revenue is stated to be Rs. 1,49,61,482-15-7.—(See *Âîn*, Vol. II, p. 129). Mutamad Khan who was attached to Emperor Jahangir's Court, in his account of the seventh year of Jahangir's reign, states that the revenue of Bengal was one *Kror* and fifty *laks* in rupees.—(Vide *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 60).

[1] Râjâh Bhagîrath or Bhagdat, son of Narak, had his Capital at the city of Pragjatespur (identified with the modern Gauhatî), is described in the Mahâbhârat as espousing the cause of Darjûdhan, and as being slain by the victorious Arjûn. According to the Aîn-i-Akbarî, p. 144, Vol. 2, Bhagîrat or Bhagdat had twenty-three successors in his dynasty.

[2] According to the *Âîn*, p. 147, Jarjûdhan.

[3] This is the period during which his *dynasty* ruled. In the *Âîn*, p. 144, 2418 years.

from his family to Noj Gouriah,[1] who belonged to the Kyesth tribe, and for 250[2] years he and his eight descendants ruled. The fortune of sovereignty passed from his family also to Adisur,[3] who was also a Kyesth, and eleven persons, including himself and his descendants, ascending the throne, ruled for 714 years over the Kingdom of Bengal. And afterwards the sovereignty passing from his family to Bhūpāl Kyesth, the latter with his descendants, forming ten persons, ruled over this kingdom for a period of 698 years. When their fortune decayed, Sūkh Sen Kyesth with his descendants, numbering seven persons, ruled over the Kingdom of Bengal (Bangālah) for 160[4] years. And these sixty-one persons ruled absolutely over this kingdom for a period of 4,240[5] years. And when the period of their fortune was over, their fortune ended. Sukh Sen,[6] of the Boido caste, became ruler, and after ruling for three years over this kingdom, died. After this, Ballāl Sen, who built the fort of Gaur, occupied the throne of sovereignty for fifty years, and died. After this, Lakhman Sen for seven years, after him Madhū Sen for ten years, after him Kaisū Sen for fifteen years, after him Sadā Sen for eighteen years, and after him Nauj[7] for three years ruled. When the turns of these were over, Rājāh Lakhmaniā,[8] son of Lakhman, sat on the throne. At that time, the seat of government of the *Rais* of Bengal was Nadiah,[9] and this Nadiah is a well-known city, and a seat of Hindū learning. At present, though compared with the past, it is dilapidated and in ruin, still it is famous for its learning. The astrologers of that place, who were known over the world for their proficiency in astrology and soothsayings, unitedly

1 In the Ain, p. 145, "Bhoj Gauriah."

2 In the Ain, p. 145, "520 years."

3 In the Ain, "Adsur."

4 In the Ain, p. 146, "106 years."

5 In the Ain, "45 44" years.

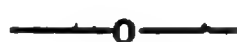
6 In the Ain, "Sukh Sin." He is not described as a Boido.

7 In the Ain, "Naugah."

8 In Ferishta "Lakhmanah"; in Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri "Lakhmaniah."

9 In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, "Naudiah" or "new isle." According to current legends, it was founded in 1063 A.C. by Lakhman Sēn, son of Ballāl Sen, who resided partly at Gaur, and principally at Bikrampur, in Dacca district. Muhammad Bakhtiār Khilji in 594 A.H or 1198 A.C. stormed the fort of Nadiah, and conquered Bengal with eighteen troopers—a sad commentary on the feebleness of the Hindu Rajah !

at the time of delivery, informed Lakhmaniā's mother, that at this hour, an unlucky child would be born, who would bring about bad luck and misfortune, and that if it be born after two hours, it would succeed to the throne. This heroine ordered that both her legs should be bound together, and she should be suspended with her head downwards; and after two hours she came down, and the child was brought forth at the auspicious moment, but its mother died. Rājāh Lakhmaniā for eighty years occupied the throne. In justice, he had no equal, and in liberality he had no match.[1] It is said that his gifts amounted to no less than one hundred thousand. Towards[2] the end of his life, when the perfection of the period of his sovereignty approached decay, the astrologers of that place said to Rājāh Lakhmaniā: "From our knowledge of astrology, we have come to know, that shortly your sovereignty would come to an end, and that your religion would cease to be current in this kingdom." Rai Lakhmaniā, not regarding this prediction as truthful, put the cotton of neglect and ignorance in his ear, but many of the *elité* of that city secretly moved away to different places. And this prediction was fulfilled by the invasion of Malik Ikhtiarū-d-dīn Muhammad Bakhtiār Khilji, as will be soon related hereafter.



AN ACCOUNT OF THE DOMINATION OF CERTAIN HINDŪ RAIS OVER THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL, AND OF THE CAUSE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF IDOL-WORSHIP IN HINDŪSTAN.

Be it not hidden that, in ancient times, the Rais of the Kingdom of Bengal (Bangālah) were powerful, and of high rank and dignity, and did not owe allegiance to the Mahārājah of Hindūstān, who ruled over the throne at Delhī. For instance, Sūraj,[3]

1 This account is repeated in several Musalman histories, such as Tabaqat-i-Naisri, Ferishta, Āīn-i-Akbarī. The Tabaqat, p. 151, being the nearest contemporary record, may be specially referred to, especially as its author, Minhaju-s-Siraj, shortly after, in 641 A.H. visited Lakhnauti. One *lak cowrie* is meant.

2 Minhaju-s-Siraj in the Tabaqat, pp. 150 and 151, pays a high eulogium to this Rājāh, and extols his virtues and liberality, and winds up by saying: "May God lessen his punishment in the next world!" Verily, Minhāj was himself *liberal* in his views!

3 In Ferishta (Per. text), Vol. 1, p. 121, Bahdaj, father of Sūraj, is described as descended from Noah. It is worthy of note, that in the district of Monghyr,

who was a powerful Rājāh, subjugated the Kingdom of Dakhin (Dakin). At that time, his deputies commenced grasping and usurping; and in the Kingdom of Hindūstān, idol-worship dates from his time. It is said that, in the beginning, Hind, having seen and heard from his father Hām, son of Noah (peace be on him!) devoted himself to the worship of God; and that his children also, in the same manner, worshipped God, until, in the time of Rai Mahārāj,[1] a person coming from Persia perverted the people of Hindūstān to sun-worship. I ffluxen of time, some became star-worshippers, and others fire-worshippers. In the time of Rai Sūraj, a Brahmin, coming from the mountains of Jharkand,[2] entered his service, and taught the Hindūs idol-worship, and preached that everyone preparing a gold or silver or stone image of his father and grandfather, should devote himself to its worship; and this practice became more common than other practices. And at the present day in the religious practice of Hindūs, the worship of idols, and of the sun, and of fire is very common. Some say that fire-worship was introduced by Ibrāhīm Zardas͟ht[3] in

on the southern bank of the Ganges, near Maulanagar, there is a town called "Sūrajgarh," or "fort of Sūraj." Might not this place have been the birthplace or seat of government of Rājāh Sūraj in the text? The locality is one which would facilitate his excursion into the Dakhin through the defiles of the Vindhya range, of which the text speaks.

[1] This is apparently a mistake in the text for "Rai Bahdaj," who is mentioned in Ferishta as the father of Rai Sūraj, and as a descendant of Noah.

[2] We meet with the name of "Jharkand" in the "Akbarnamah"; it was the Musalman appellation of "Chutia Nagpur" just as Bharkund was the Musalman appellation of "Sonthal Parganna."

The Aryans must have fallen very low in the scale of spiritualism, to have needed lessons in religion from a preceptor hailing from Chutia Nagpūr, who was apparently a Dravidian or Sonthali Brahman.

This impringement of "spiritual light" from the defiles of Chutia Nagpūr tract, in the time of Rājāh Sūraj, strengthens my surmise that Sūrajgarh, which is not far from Chutia Nagpūr, was the home or residence of Rājāh Sūraj. It may also be noted that the Sonthalese worship images of their ancestors, which worship is referred to in the text.

[3] Zaidas͟ht or Zartas͟ht or Zardahas͟ht is the name of a person descended from Manūchahar, and a disciple of Tythagorai. During the reign of Emperor Gas͟htasp of Persia he claimed to be a prophet, and introduced fire-worship. The Magians regard him as a prophet, and say that his name was Ibrahim, and consider his book the Zend (or Zendavarta), as a revealed book. He is supposed to have been the Zoroaster of the Greeks.

the time of Gashtāsp,[1] Emperor of Persia, and spread to Kābul and Sīstān and throughout the empire of Persia, and that, in process of time, the kingdom of Bengal became subject to the Rais of Hindūstān, and the Rais of Bengal paid revenue and sundry tributes. After this, Shangaldīp,[2] emerging from the environs of Koch,[3] became victorious over Kīdār, and founded the city of Gaur, and made it the seat of government, and for a period ruled over the Kingdom of Bengal and the whole empire of Hindūstān. When Shangaldīp collected four thousand elephants, one lak cavalry, and four laks of infantry, the breeze of insolence wafted in the recesses of his brain, and he ceased to pay tribute to the Emperors of Persia,[4] as was hitherto the practice with the Rāis of Hindūstān. And when Afrāsiāb[5] deputed some one to demand the tribute, he rebuked and insulted him. Afrāsiāb flew into rage, and despatched his General, Pīran-vīsah, with fifty thousand

1 Gashtasp or Keshtab was the Darius Hystaspus of the Greeks, and belonged to the Kainian dynasty; his son, Isfandiar, was the Xerxes of the Greeks, and his grandson, Bahman, was the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. (See *Namah-i-Khusruan*, p. 59).

2 In Ferishta, "Shangaldip" is called "Shangal," and so in the text in another place. In Ferishta (Persian text), Vol. 2, p. 233, the following account of Shangaldip or Shangal appears: "Shangal, towards the close of the reign of Rājāh Kedār Brahman, emerging from the environs of Koch (Koch Behar) won a victory over Kedar, and founded the City of Lakhnauti, which is otherwise known as Gaur. Shangal mobilised a force of four thousand elephants, one *lak* cavalry, and five *lak* infantry, and stopped paying tribute to Afrasiab, the King of Tūran or Tartary or Scythia. Becoming enraged, Afrasiāb deputed his generalissimo, Pīran-Visah, with fifty thousand cavalry, to chastise Shangal." The rest of the account of Ferishta tallies with that in the text.

3 Kuch Behar used to be known in early days as the tract of the "Koch tribe" or simply as "Koch."

4 "Iran" or Persia here in the text is evidently a mistake for "Tūran" or Tartary or Scythia, of which Afrāsiāb was monarch. This indicates the subjection of India (like Persia) to the Scythians at a remote period.

5 Afrāsiāb (conqueror of Persia) was an ancient king of Tūran or Tartary or Scythia. He was a Mongol by birth. He conquered Persia, killed Nazar with his own hand, and reigned there for about twelve years, about seven centuries before the Christian era, but was subsequently driven beyond the Oxus by a famous chief called Zalzar. Afrāsiāb again overran Persia, but was at last defeated and slain in Arzibījān by Zalzār and his celebrated son, Rustam, the Persian Hercules. Afrāsiyab appears, however, to have been a family surname, like the Pharaohs, the Ptolemys, the Cæsars.

Mongols, thirsty for blood. In the mountains of Koch, near the limits of Ghorāghat, in Bengal, an engagement took place; for two days and nights the fighting continued. Although the Mongols displayed deeds of bravery, and put to the sword fifty thousand of the enemy, yet owing to the overwhelming numbers of the Indian army, they could effect nothing. The Mongols also lost eighteen thousand of their numbers, and on the third day, seeing symptoms of defeat on the forehead of their condition, they retreated. And as the Indian army was victorious, and the Mongol's country was distant, the Mongols gave up fighting, and retiring into the mountains, secured a strong place, where they entrenched themselves, and sent to Afrāsiāb an account narrating the state of things. At that time, Afrāsiāb was in the town of Gangdozh, which is situate midway between Khaṭā and China, and is distant a month's journey on the other side from Khānbāligh.[1] On the simple receipt of the account, and being apprised of the state of things, he marched swiftly to the aid of the Mongols, with one lak chosen cavalry. And at a time, when Shangal, summoning together the Rāis of the surrounding countries, was pressing the siege hard against Pīrān, and was about to put all to the sword, he (Afrāsiāb) attacked him on the way. The Hindūs, on the first onslaught, losing heart and feeling paralysed, dispersed, like the constellation of the bear. Pīrān, relieved from the anxiety of the siege, paid his obeisance to Afrāsiāb. Afrāsiāb threw down on the soil of annihilation as many of the Hindu army as he could. And Shangal with the remnants being vanquished, retreated to the town of Lakhnauti, and owing to the pursuit of Afrāsiāb, could not prolong his stay at Lakhnāuti more than a day, and took refuge in the hills of Tirhūt. And the Mongols, ravaging the Kingdom of Bengal, spared no trace of fertility. And when Afrāsiāb planned an expedition towards the hills of Tirhūt, Shangal begged forgiveness for his misbehaviour through wise envoys, and presented himself before Afrāsiāb with a sword and a winding-sheet, and prayed for leave to go to the country of Tūrān. Afrāsiāb, being pleased, bestowed the Kingdom of Bengal and the whole empire of Hindūstān on Shangal's son, and carried Shangal in his company, and in the battle of Hāmā-

[1] The capital of China used to be called in those days "Khanbaligh," or "City of the Great Khān."

wāran Shangal was killed at the hands of Rustam.[1] And in the reign of Rājāh Jaichand,[2] owing to whose neglect, decay had overtaken several provinces of Hindūstān, and for years Hindūstān did not see its normal state, ruin was visible over the whole empire of India. At that time, certain Rājāhs of Bengal, finding an opportunity, and grasping at domination, became independent. And when Fūr (Porus),[3] who was a relation of the Rājāh of Kumāyūn,[4] emerged, he first subjugated the province of Kumāyūn, and then capturing in battle Rājāh Dahlū, brother of Jaichand, who had founded Dehlī,[5] subjugated Kanūj, and after this he marched with his force towards Bengal, and brought it to his subjection, up to the confines of the sea. And this Porus is he, who was killed at the

1 Rustam, the Persian Hercules. He was a successful general under the first kings of the Kaianian dynasty, in their wars of defence against the incursions into Persia of the Turanian or Scythian monarchs. For a graphic account of those stirring warfares between the Scythians or Turanians or Mongolians and Iranians or Persians, see "Shahnāmah" of Firdausī, the Homer of the East. It is worthy of note that Firdausi, in his immortal Persian epic, gives also the name of an Indian prince as Shangal, in connection with the adventures of Bahram Gaur, a Persian monarch of the Sassanian dynasty, who reigned in the middle of the fourth century. Perhaps, this later Shangal was a descendant of the original Shangal taken captive by Afrāsiāb, the Scythian monarch. In this connection, it may also be noted for grasping chronological relations referred to in the text, that there were the following four dynasties of old Persian kings: (1) Peshdadians, including the Kaimuras, the Jamshids, and the Faridūns; (2) the Kaianians, founded by Kaikubad about 600 B.C., including Khusrau or Kai Khusrau, Bahman, and Darah or Darius &c. (3) Ashkanins, including Hormuz, &c., &c. (4) the Sassanians, founded in 202 A.C. by Ardisher Babegan, including Bahram Gaur and Naushirvan, &c. (See Namai-Khusruan, a short Persian History of Persia by Mirza Muhammad).

2 At the time when Sultān Muizuddīn Muhammad Sam *alias* Shahābudīn Ghorī, made incursions into Hindustān, Rājāh Jaichand Rathor ruled at Kanauj and Benares, and Rājāh Pethaura Tonwar ruled at Delhi. *Tabaqat*, p. 120.

3 But it must be noted that there is in the text (probably owing to mistake of the copyist of the original manuscript text) a confusion in the sequence of events related.

4 In the neighbourhood of the Panjab, Alexander gave battle to the Hindū prince, Porus, who had advanced from Kanauj, and put him to rout.

5 Abūl Fazl in the Āīn says: "A part of the northern mountains of the Subah of Delhī is called Kumayun. Here are mines of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, and borax. Here are also found the musk-deer and the Kūlās cow and silkworms" *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. 2, p. 280.

hands of Alexander. After this, Rājāh Madiw Rāthor,[1] like whom there had been few such powerful Rajahs in Hindustan, marching with his forces, conquered the Kingdom of Lakhnautī, and allotted it to his nephews, and after introducing perfect methods of government, returned to Kanauj with immense booty. And, in efflux of time, the Rajahs of Bengal again asserting independence, continued to rule peacefully.[2]

Inasmuch as the object of the author is to chronicle the history of the Muṣalman sovereigns, therefore, not busying himself with the details of the affairs of the Hindū Rāis, he reins back the graceful steed of the black pen of writing from striding this valley, and gives it permission to canter towards relating and reciting the details of the history of the Muhammadan rulers and sovereigns.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE BEGINNING OF THE ILLUMINATION OF THE DARKNESS OF BENGAL BY THE RAYS OF THE WORLD-ILLUMINATING SUN OF THE RELIGION OF MUHAMMAD (PEACE BE ON HIM!) BY THE ADVENT OF MALIK IKHTIARU-D-DIN MUHAMMAD BAKHTIAR KHILJI, AND OF HIS SUBJUGATION OF THAT KINGDOM:—

1 In Ferishta, "Ramdeo Rathor."

2 Most of these legends and traditions regarding Bengal and India of pre-Moslem times have been borrowed by our author from Ferishta. For the most part, they consist of a huge mass of mythological fictions, to extract a few grains of sober historical truth wherefrom, I must leave to more competent hands. Yet it is worthy of note (as our author's narrative indicates) that India and Bengal in very early times had political connection of some sort with Scythia and (through the latter) with Persia. It is probable that ethnologically, these Scythian incursions resulted to a great extent in an admixture of Scythian and Aryan races in India, which admixture was further complicated by the subsequent Dravidian incursions from the south.

CHAPTER I.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE RULE OF THE MUSALMAN RULERS WHO RULED OVER THIS KINGDOM OF BENGAL, AS VICEROYS OF THE EMPERORS OF DELHI.[1]

Be it not hidden from the enlightened hearts of those who enquire into the histories of Musalman sovereigns and rulers, that the commencement of the effulgence of the sun of the Muhammadan faith in the Kingdom of Bengal, dates from the period of the reign of Sulṭān Qutbu-d-dīn Aibak,[2] Emperor of

[1] This period extended from 1198 A.C. to 1338 A.C.

[2] This is not quite accurate. Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiār Khilj-al-Ghazī (*Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 146), in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. (for the discussion of the date, see *Tabaqat*, p. 150, and Blochmann's contribution to history of Bengal), whilst Emperor Shahabuddin Ghori *alias* Muizuddin Muhammad Sam was yet alive, and whilst Quṭbuddin Aibak ruled at Delhi, as the latter's Indian Viceroy, that is, only 7 years after the Musalman occupation of Delhi, which took place in 587 A.H. or 1191 A.C. (*Tabaqat*, pp. 139, 140 and 128). He was called "Aibak," because his little finger was feeble or paralyzed (*Tabaqat*, p. 138), whilst according to another account, "Aibak" signified the "brilliant chief." His name is preserved in his Capital by the Quṭb mosque and by the Quṭb Minar, though these were erected to commemorate other more or less forgotten worthies. Bakhtiār Khiljī in the first instance conquered Bengal on his own initiative, though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of Shahabuddin and subsequently of Qutbuddin, when the latter mounted the throne of Delhi (*Tabaqat*, p. 140). That this was so, appears from the circumstance that in the list of Malūks and Sulṭāns under Shahabuddin *alias* Muizu-d-dīn contained in Tabaqat (pp. 146 and 137), Bakhtiār is assigned a co-ordinate position with Quṭbuddin. In this connection, it is worth noting that owing to a popular and common fallacy, these early pre-Mughul Moslem rulers of India have been described as 'Pathan rulers of India.' As pointed out by Major Raverty in his translation of Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, neither the Ghoris, nor their slaves, "the Slave-kings of Delhi," nor the Tughluks, nor the Khiljis were Afghans or 'Pathans,' but that they were all *Turkish* tribes. (See also *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 150, where the expression "*Turkān*" or 'Turks' is constantly employed, with reference to the first Musalman conquerors of Behar and Bengal).

Delhi. And the origin of the title "Aibak" is that his little finger was feeble; hence he was called 'Aibak.' When Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn in 590 A.H. wrested by force the fort of Kol from the Hindus, and captured one thousand horses and an immense booty, the news spread that Sulṭān Mui'zu-d-dīn Muhammad Sām, also called Sulṭān Shahābu-d-dīn, had planned expeditions for the conquests of Kanūj and Banāras. Sulṭan Quṭbu-d-din marched forward from Kol to receive him, presented to him the booty of Kol with other valuables, and becoming recipient of a special Khila't, formed the vanguard of the imperial forces, and marched ahead. And engaging in battle with the forces of the Rajah of Banāras, he routed them, and at length, slaying on the battle-field Rajah Jaichand, the Rajah of Banāras, he became victorious. Sulṭān Shahābu-d-dīn, marching with a force from the rear, moved up and entered the city of Banāras, and pillaging the whole of that tract up to the confines of Bengal, carried off as booty incalculable treasures and jewels. The Sulṭān then returned to Ghazni. And the Kingdom of Bengal as an adjunct of the Empire of Delhi, was left in the hands of Quṭbu-d-dīn. Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn entrusted to Malik Ikhtiāru-d-dīn Muhammad Bakhtiār Khiljī the Viceroyalty of the Provinces of Behar and Lakhnautī.[1] Muhammad Bakhtiār, who was one of the

According to the 'Masalik-ul-Mumalik,' says Major Raverty in an article in A.S.J. for 1875, No. 1, p. 37, "the Khalj are a tribe of Turks which in former times settled in Garmsīr, between Sijistan and the region of Hind. They are in appearance and dress like Turks, and observe the customs of that race, and all speak the Turkish language." The Khaljs or Khiljis have been by several writers erroneously confounded with the Afghan tribe of "Ghalzis" or "Ghiljis." The first Afghan or 'Pathan' who sat on the throne of Delhi was Sulṭān Bahlul of the Lodi tribe, the thirtieth Musalman ruler of India, counting from Qutbuddin Aibak.

1 It is worthy of note that in the times of Bakhtiār Khiljī and his immediate successors, South Behar was included in the Bengal or Lakhnaut, Viceroyalty. South Behar was separated from the Bengal Viceroyalty in 622 H. by Emperor Altamsh who placed it under a distinct governor, named Alauddin Janī. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Behar was again annexed by the Bengal ruler, Ghiasuddin (see *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 163). It continued to be a part of the Bengal Kingdom till 1320, when Emperor Ghiasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Behar belonged to the *Sharqī* Kingdom of Jaunpur from 1397 A.C.; again under Ibrahim, Bahadur Khan, son of Governor Darya Khān, assumed independence in Behar, with the title of Shāh Muhammad, and about 1498 A.C. or about 903 A.H. South Behar

chiefs of Ghor[1] and Garmsir, was a brave man, well-built and very strong.[2] In the beginning, he was in the service of Sulṭān Shahābu-d-dīn Ghori at Ghazni. He was allowed a small allowance, as neither he was externally prepossessing, nor was his appearance grand. Becoming despondent, Muhammad Bakhtiār came to Hindustan in the company of the Sulṭan, stayed behind, and did not even then get into the good graces of the Ministers of Hindustan. Departing thence, he went to Burdāwon[3] to Anghal Beg who was the ruler over the Doab country, and there gaining in eminence, he advanced himself to the exalted office of generalissimo. And the tract of Kambālah[4] and Betālī was given to him as a *jāgīr*. From there he went in the service of Malik Hassama-d-din[5] to the Ṣubah of Audh (Oude). Subduing

again became more or less subject to the Musalman Kings of Gaur, Husain Shāh and Naṣrat Shāh. Under the early Mughul Emperors, Behar was again formed into a distinct Ṣūbah, but under the later Mughuls, it again became incorporated along with Orissa in the great Bengal Viceroyalty. North Behar appears to have been generally included in the Musalmān Kingdom of Bengal (see *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, pp. 451 and 586).

1 Abūl Fazl places 'Ghor' to the north of Kandahar, and 'Garmsir' to the west of Kandahar. In 'Garmsir' lay the city of Ferozkoh, the capital of the Ghorīan Sulṭāns.

2 Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, (Pers. text, p. 146) which is the nearest contemporary account, describes Bakhtiār Khiljī as "active, agile, brave, bold, learned and intelligent." It says that he went to Ghaznī to seek service under Sulṭān Muizuddin, but owing to his slender appearance was rejected by the Sulṭān's War Minister. Disappointed, Bakhtiār came to Delhi, where also he was rejected by the War Minister (Dewan-i-'Arz).

3 In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri p. 147, which is the most reliable account, 'Badaon.' The *Tabaqat* mentions the name of the feudatory of Badaon to be *Sipasalar* Hazbaru-d-dīn Hasan Arnab.

4 Major Raverty identifies Bakhtiār Khiljī's *jagir* lands with the *parganahs* of 'Bhagwat and Bhoili,' south of Benaras, and east of Chūnargarh. Professor Blochmann considers this identification satisfactory. (See Raverty's translation of *Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri* and Blochmann's contr. to history and Geography of Bengal).

5 This account does not accord strictly with what is contained in the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, (Pers. text, p. 147), the nearest contemporary account for the period. In Tabaqat, it is stated that after being rejected by War Ministers both at Ghaznī and at Delhī, owing to his slender appearance, Bakhtiār Khilji proceeded to Badaon, presented himself before its feudal baron, general Hazbaru-d-din Hassan Arnab, who allotted him a fixed pay, that thence Bakhtiār proceeded to Oudh and presented himself before its feudal

that province, he advanced himself further in rank and dignity. When the fame of his bravery and liberality, and the reputation of his heroism and gallantry, spread over the confines of Hindustan, Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn who, not yet ascending the throne of Delhi, was still at Lāhor, sent to him valuable Khilá't, and summoned him to his presence, and granting to him an illuminated Farmān of Chiefship over the province of Behār, deputed him there. And Muhammad Bakhtiār marching quickly to that side, spared no measure of slaughter and pillage. It is said that in Behār there was a Hindū Library which fell into the hands of Muhammad Bakhtiār. The latter enquired from the Brahmins as to the reason for the collection of the books. The Brahmins replied that the whole town formed a college, and that in the Hindī language a college was called Behār, and that hence that town was so called. After this, when Muhammad Bakhtiār being victorious[1] returned to the service of the Sulṭān, he became more renowned and enviable than other servants. And his rank was advanced so much, that the juice of envy set aflowing amongst Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn's other officers, who burned in the fire of envy and shame, and combined to expel and destroy him, so much so, that one day in the presence of the Sulṭān, in regard to his strength and prowess, they said unanimously that Muhammad Bakhtiār, owing to exuberance of strength, wanted to fight with an elephant. The Sulṭān wondering questioned him. Muhammad Bakhtiār did not disavow this false boastfulness, though he knew that the object of the associates of the king was to destroy him. In short, one day when all the people, the *elitē* as well as the general public, assembled in

baron, Malik Hassamuddin Ughalbak, who conferred on him fiefs of Sahlat and Sahli (identified with Bhagwat and Bhoeli), and finding him brave and bold sent him (apparently on reconnoitering expeditions) towards Munir near Patna, and Behar town. In these reconnoitering expeditions for one or two years, Bakhtiār gathered a large booty, when the Delhi Viceroy (Qutbuddin) recognized tardily Bakhtiār's merits. It would thus appear that but for Bakhtiar's own tenacity, the stupidity of the War ministers of Ghaznīn and Delhi would have robbed the Indo-Moslem Empire of a valuable recruit, and perhaps postponed indefinitely its rapid expansion towards Behar and Bengal!

[1] In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, pp. 147 and 148 it is stated that Bakhtiār presented himself before the gate of the fort of Behar with two hundred horse-girths and armours covered with fur-cloth (بر گستوان), and stormed the fort, and that Bakhtiār had with him at the time two wise brothers, named Nizamuddīn and Samsamuddīn (of Farghana).

Darbār, a white rogue elephant was brought to the White Castle (Qasr-i-Sufed). Muhammad Bakhtiār tying up the loin of his garment on the waist, came out to the field, struck the elephant's trunk with a mace, when the elephant ran away roaring. All the spectators, including those assembled, and the envious, raising shouts of applause to the sky, were confounded. The Sulṭān bestowing on Malik Muhammad Bakhtiār special Khila't and many gifts, ordered the nobles to bestow on him presents, so that all the nobles gave him numerous largesses. Muhammad Bakhtiār, in the same assembly, adding his own quota to all the largesses, distributed the same amongst those present. In short, at this time, the Viceroyalty of the Kingdoms of Behār and Lakhnautī was bestowed on him; and with peace of mind, having gained his object, he proceeded to the metropolis of Delhi. That year[1] Malik Bakhtiār, bringing to subjugation the Sūbah of Behār, engaged in introducing administrative arrangements, and the second year coming to the Kingdom of Bengal, he planted military outposts in every place, and set out for the town of Nadiah, which at that time was the Capital of the Rajahs of Bengal. The Rājah of that place, whose name was Lakhmania, and who had reigned for eighty years over that Kingdom, was at the time taking his food.[2]

1 The second year after his conquest of Behar, Bakhtiār Khiljī set out for Bengal, stormed Nadia, and conquered Bengal. Therefore, the conquest of Behar took place in 592 A.H. or 1196 A.C.

The text is not strictly in accord with the account given in the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri which is the most reliable and the nearest contemporary account for the period. Whilst in the service of the feudatory of Oudh (Tabaqat, Pers. text, p. 147), Bakhtiār reconnoitered Behar for one or two years, and carried off much plunder. Quṭb-u-dīn, the Delhi Viceroy, then called Bakhtiār to Lahore tardily recognized his merits, and loaded him with presents. Bakhtiār returned to Behar, and conquered it, and carrying off again a large booty, presented himself to Quṭb-u-dīn at Delhi, where he had to undergo a gladiatorial ordeal at the White Castle (Qasr-i-Sufed of Delhi), and then receiving presents from Quṭb-u-dīn, returned to Behar, and the second year after his conquest of Behar, he invaded and conquered Bengal, storming and sacking Nadia, and establishing himself at the *village* or *mouza* of Lakhnauti (*Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri*, p. 151). This would indicate that Lakhnauti was founded by him, and was *distinct* from Gaur, though possibly close to it.

2 The Tabaqat (Pers. text, p. 151) states that the Rājah (Lakhmania) was then sitting in his inner apartments, with his food set before him in gold and silver plates, when the sudden inrush of Bakhtiār Khiljī with eighteen troopers, struck terror, and the Rājah ran out bare-foot by a back-door, and fled to

Suddenly, Muhammad Bakhtiār, with eighteen horsemen, made an onslaught, so that before the Rājah was aware, Bakhtiār burst inside the palace, and unsheathing from the scabbard his sword that lightened and thundered, engaged in fighting, and put the harvest of the life of many to his thundering and flashing sword. Rajah Lakhmaniā getting confounded by the tumult of this affair, left behind all his treasures and servants and soldiers, and slipped out bare-foot by a back-door, and embarking on a boat, fled towards Kāmrūp.[1] Muhammad Bakhtiār sweeping the town with the broom of devastation, completely demolished it, and making anew the city of Lakhnauti, which from ancient times was the seat of Government of Bengal, his own metropolis, he ruled over Bengal peacefully, introduced the *Khutbah*, and minted coin in the name of Sultān Qutbu-d-dīn, and strove to put in practice the ordinances of the Muhammadan religion.[2] From that

Sanknat and Bang, his treasures, harem, slaves and servants and women and elephants all falling into Bakhtiār's hands.

[1] Some copies of the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri have 'Saknat' and also 'Sankanat.' Tabaqat-i-Akbari has "Jagannath."

According to other and more reliable accounts, the Rājah fled from Nadiah to Bikrampur, south-east of Dacca. I think therefore "کنات و بنگ" in the printed text of the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri is a copyist's mistake for "سکونت بنگ," meaning the Rājah's "Bengal Residence" which was at Bikrampur from before.

Kamrūd (or Kamrūp) as well as Sanknat and Bang is mentioned in the Tabaqat (Pers. text, p. 150), in connection with the previous flight from Nadiah of Brahmans and Sahas who hearing of Bakhtiār's prowess and of his conquest of Behar, anticipated Bakhtiār's invasion of Bengal, and had advised the Rājah to shift with all his troops and people from Nadiah to his residence in East Bengal (at Bikrampur). The astrologers had also prepared the Rājah for Bakhtiār's conquest. But the Rājah was deaf to all advice, whilst the Brahmans and Sahas had fled. It is opposed to the probablities of the case that the subsequent defeat of the Rājah by eighteen troopers of Bakhtiār was brought about by any foul play or stratagem from one side or the other; because the Rājah was a good, noble and generous prince, and the idol of his people, and even the Musalman historian (author of the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri) pays him a glowing tribute. (See *Tabaqat*, p. 149).

[2] Muhammad Bakhtiār Khiljī was not a military marauder or a religious fanatic. He was, no doubt, a champion of Islam, but at the same time combined in himself all the qualities of a great general and a wise statesman. We read in the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri (Pers. text, p. 151), that both in Behar and Bengal, just after their conquest, he established Mosques, Colleges, *Khanqahs*

date[1] the Kingdom of Bengal became subject to the Emperors of Delhi. Malik Ikhtiārud-din Muhammad Bakhtiār was the first Muhammadan ruler of Bengal. In the year 599 A.H. when Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn after conquest of the fort of Kālinjar,[2] proceeded to the town of Mahūbah[3] which is below Kālpī[4] and conquered it, Malik Muhammad Bakhtiār going from Behar to wait on him, met the Sulṭān, at the time, when the latter was proceeding from Mahūbah towards Badāun.[5] He presented jewelleries and divers valuables of Bengal and a large amount in cash. And for a time remaining in the company of the Sulṭān, he took permission to return, and came back to Bengal, and for a period ruling over Bengal he engaged in demolishing the temples and in building mosques. After this, he planned an expedition towards the Kingdoms of Khaṭa[6] and Tibbat, with a force of ten or twelve thousand select cavalry,[7] through the passes of the north-eastern moun-

or Charitable establishments consisting of Students' Hostels and travellers' Guest-houses, founded cities, and established military outposts at strategic points, and introduced the coinage of money (see *Tabaqat*, pp. 151 and 149). He laid down embankments, constructed roads and bridges connecting his northern military outposts at Deokot and his southern military outpost at Laknor (perhaps Nagor in Birbhum) with his newly-founded capital at Lakhnauti.

[1] *i.e.*, 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. This subordination (during Bakhtiār Khiljī and at least two of his immediate successors) was nominal, as Bakhtiār conquered Bengal and Behar on his own account, though he outwardly acknowledged the suzerainty of Delhi.

[2] A town and a celebrated hill-fort in Banda district.

[3] In the text 'Mahma,' which is evidently a mistake of the copyist. Mahaba is a town about 15 miles from Lucknow city.

[4] A town in Jalaun district, North-Western Provinces, on the right bank of the Jamna.

[5] On the banks of the river Sot, North-Western Provinces, first conquered by Sayad Sabar Masūd Ghazi, nephew of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, in 1028 A.C., and re-conquered by Quṭbu-d-dīn in 1196 A.C.

[6] In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, p. 152, "Tibbet and Turkistan."

[7] One can easily imagine what an immense Musalman army Bakhtiār Khiljī must have subsequently poured into Bengal from the Upper Western Provinces, to have enabled him to detach 10,000 cavalry for an expedition into Tibbat, without weakening his garrison in the newly conquered Provinces of Bengal and Behar, especially as we read in the Tabaqat (p. 157), that at the same time he sent a detachment under Muhammad Shīrān to invade Jajnagar (Orissa). Those who are given to amazement at the present numerical

tains of Bengal. Guided by one of the Chiefs of Koch, named 'Ali Mich, who had been converted to Muhammadan faith by Muhammad Bakhtiār, he reached towards those mountains. 'Alī Mīch led Bakhtiār's forces to a country, the town whereof is called Abardhan.[1] and also Barahmangadī. It is said that this town was founded by Emperor Garshāsp.[2] Facing that town, flows a river called Namakdi,[3] which in its depth and breadth, is thrice as much as the river Ganges. Since that river was tumultous, broad, and deep, and fordable with difficulty, marching along the banks of the river for ten days,[4] he reached a place where existed a large bridge[5] made of stone, and extending over twenty-nine arches, erected by the ancients. It is said that Emperor Garshāsp, at the time of invading Hindūstān, constructed that bridge, and came to the country of Kāmrūp. In short,

strength of Musalman population in Bengal, and are at pains to evolve theories to account for it, might as well bear in mind these elementary facts of history.

[1] In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri p. 152 "Mardhan-Kote" and "Bardhan-Kote;" in *Badaoni*, p. 58, Vol. I, "Brahman." The ruins of 'Bardhan-Kote' lie north of Bogra close to Gobindgunje, on the Karatya river, not far from Ghoraghat, and this is the place meant according to Professor Blochmann.

[2] A King of Tūrān or Turkistan or Tartary or Scythiā; but in *Namah-i-Khusruan*, p. 7, he is described as the last sovereign of the *Peshdadian* dynasty of Persia. In Ferishtā it is stated that when Garshasp made an incursion into Hindustān from Turkistān, he founded the city of Bardhan."

[3] In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri p. 152, 'Bagmatī' and 'Bakmadī'; in Badaoni, p. 58, Vol. I, "Brahmanputr" and "Brahmkadi." The river referred to has been identified by Professor Blochmann to be the Karatya, which formed for a long time the boundary between ancient Muhammadan Bengal and Kamrūp.

[4] This ten days' march extended northward along the banks of the Karatya and the Teesta, which latter before 1784 flowed west of the Karatya, joined the Atraī, and fell into the Padma, and of all Bengal rivers extended furthest into Tibbat. This march then was along the frontier between ancient Musalman Bengal and the territory of the Rājah of Kāmrūp. Bakhtiār's Tibbatan expedition must have commenced in the latter part of 605 A.H. (1209 A.C.) or beginning of 606 A.H. (1210 A.C.)

[5] This bridge must have been in the neighbourhood of Darzheling (or Darjeeling) which in those days appears to have been the boundary separating the Meches from the hill-tribes. The author of the Tabaqāt-i-Naṣiri (Pers. text, p. 152), in this connection, mentions the following three tribes as then inhabiting Northern Bengal, *viz.*, (1) Koch, (2) Mech, and (3) Tharo; *vide* also Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal.

Muhammad Bakhtiār sending across his forces by that bridge, and posting two commandants for its protection, planned to advance. The Rājah of Kāmrūp, dissuading him from an advance, said that if he (Muhammad Bakhtiār) would postpone his march to Tibbat that year, and next year collecting an adequate force would advance towards it in full strength "I too would be the pioneer of the Moslem force, and would tighten up the waist of self-sacrifice." Muhammad Bakhtiār absolutely unheeding this advice, advanced, and after sixteen days,[1] reached the country of Tibbat. The battle commenced with an attack on a fort which had been built by king Garshāsp, and was very strong. Many of the Moslem force tasted the lotion of death, and nothing was gained. And from the people of that place who had been taken prisoners, it was ascertained that at a distance of five *farsang* from that fort, was a large and populous city.[2] Fifty thousand Mongolian cavalry thirsty for blood and archers were assembled in that city. Every day in the market of that city, nearly a thousand or five hundred Mongolian horses sold, and were sent thence to Lakhnauti.[3] And they said "you have an impracticable scheme in your head with this small force." Muhammad Bakhtiār, becoming apprised of this state of affairs, became ashamed of his plan, and, without attaining his end, retreated. And since the inhabitants of those environs, setting fire to the fodder and food-grains, had removed their chattels to the ambuscades of the rocks, at the time of this retreat,[4] for fifteen days, the soldiers did not see a handful of food-grains, nor did the cattle see one bushel of fodder.

[1] In the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri (Pers. text, p. 153), this march is thus related: "After leaving a Turkish officer and a Khiljī officer with a large body of troops to guard the bridge......Muhammad Bakhtiār Khiljī with his army for fifteen days marched across high hills and low defiles, and on the sixteenth day (from his march from the bridge) descended into the open plain of Tibbat, and passed many populous villages,......and after some eight hours' hard fighting, entrenched himself in a fort there."

[2] The Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī names the city Karmbatan. Bakhtiār Khiljī's march from the bridge was northward for sixteen days.

[3] The fair at Nik-mardan, 40 miles north-west of Dinajpūr, attracts every year a large number of hill-ponies, which go thence to other places in Bengal and elsewhere.

[4] In 15 days Bakhtiār Khiljī retreated from the hills of Tibbat into the plains Kāmrūp. According to Major Raverty, from the hills of Darjeeling, Bakhtiār Khiljī had advanced through Sikkim into Tibbat towards the Sangpa.

Neither human beings saw any bread except the circular disc of the sun.
Nor did the cattle see any fodder except the rainbow!

From excessive hunger the soldiers devoured flesh of horses and horses preferring death to life placed their necks under their daggers. In short, in this straitened condition, they reached the bridge. Since those two commandants quarrelling with each other had deserted their posts at the head of the bridge, the people of that country had destroyed the bridge. At the sight of this destruction, the heart of the high and the low suddenly broke, like the Chinese cup. Muhammad Bakhtiār engulphed in the sea of confusion and perplexity, despaired of every resource. After much striving, he got news that in the neighbourhood there was a very large temple,[1] and that idols of gold and silver were placed there in great pomp. It is said that there was an idol in the temple which weighed a thousand maunds. In short, Muhammad Bakhtiār with his force took refuge in this temple, and was busy improvising means for crossing the river. The Rājah of Kāmrūp[2] had ordered all his troops and subjects of that country to commit depredations. The people of that country, sending out force after force, engaged in besieging the temple, and from all sides posting in the ground bamboo-made lances, and tying one to the other, turned them into the shape of walls. Muhammad Bakhtiār saw that all chance of escape was slipping out of his hands, and that the knife was reaching the bone, so at once with his force issuing out of the temple and making a *sortie*, he broke through the stockade of bamboos, and cutting through his way, rescued himself from the hard-pressed siege. The infidels of that country pursued him to the banks of the river, and stretched their hands to plunder and slaughter, so that some by the sharpness of the sword and others by the inundation of water, were engulphed in the sea of destruction. The Musalman soldiers on reaching the river-banks stood perplexed. Suddenly, one of the soldiers plunged with his horse into the river, and went about one arrow-shot, when another soldier seeing this, plunged similarly into the river. As the river had a sandy bed, with a little movement, all

[1] Very likely, the temple of Mahumanī in Kāmrūp district.
[2] It would appear that the Rājah of Kāmrūp who had offered his services to Bakhtiār Khiljī, in the end turned out treacherous.

were drowned. Only Muhammad Bakhtiār with one thousand cavalry (and according to another account, with three hundred cavalry) succeeded in crossing over;[1] the rest met with a watery grave. After Muhammad Bakhtiār had crossed safely over the tumultous river with a small force, from excessive rage and humiliation, in that the females and the children of the slaughtered and the drowned from alleys and terraces abused and cursed him, he got an attack of consumption, and reaching Deokot[2] died. And according to other accounts, 'Ali Mardān Khiljī, who was one of his officers, during that illness, slew Bakhtiār, and raised the standard of sovereignty over the kingdom of Lakhnauti. The period of Malik Ikhtiāru-d-dīn Muhammad Bakhtiār's rule over Bengal was twelve years. When Muhammad Bakhtiār passed[3]

[1] For a discussion of the route of Bakhtiār Khiljī's expedition into Tibbat, and of his retreat therefrom, see Raverty's notes in his translation of Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, and Blochmann's Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal, J.A.S. for 1875, No. 3, Part I, p. 283.

Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri (Pers. printed text, p. 156) states that Bakhtiār Khiljī successfully swam across the river with only one hundred troopers, whilst all the rest of his army were drowned.

[2] Deokot or Damdamah, near Gangarampur, south of Dinajpur, was the northern Musalman Military outpost in the time of Bakhtīar Khiljī, who had set out for Tibbat either from Deokot or Lakhnauti.

[3] Ali Mardān assassinated Muhammad Bakhtiar Khīljī in 606 A.H. (1210 A.C.) at Deokot. This date is arrived at if Bengal was conquered in 594 A.H. or 1198 A.C. by Bakhtiār Khīljī, as the best accounts would indicate, and also if he reigned for 12 years over Bengal. Professor Blochmann mentions 602 A.H. as the date of Bakhtiār's assassination, but he accepts 594 A.H. as the date of the Bengal conquest—which involves chronological contradiction.

Mr. Thomas in his "Initial Coinage of Bengal" states that Ali Mardān assumed independence under the title of Alauddin when Qutbuddin Aibak died in Lahore in 607 A.H. Thus allowing 8 months for Malik Azuddin's rule, Bakhtiar Khīljī appears to have been assassinated about the middle of 606 A.H.—the date previously arrived at by me.

In Badaoni, it is stated that Muhammad Bakhtiār Khīljī returned to Deokot from Tibbat with only some three hundred troopers, the rest of his expeditionary force having perished, and fell ill from vexation, and was attacked with hectic fever, and used to say "no doubt Sulṭān Muhammad Muizuddin has met with an accident, that fortune has gone so against me." And when he became weak from illness, Ali Murdan, one of Muhammad Bakhtiar's principal officers, arrived at Deokot, and finding him bed-ridden, pulled down the sheet from his face, and despatched

from the rule of this transitory world into the eternal world, Malik[1] 'Azu-d-dīn Khiljī succeeded to the rule over Bengal. Eight months had not passed, when 'Alī Mardān Khiljī slew him.

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RULE OF 'ALĪ MARDĀN KHILJĪ IN BENGAL.

After the assassination of 'Azz-ud-dīn, his assassin, 'Alī Mardān Khiljī became ruler of Bengal, styled himself Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn,

him with one blow of a dagger. The above account is rendered thus by the Tabaqat-i-Niṣiri, the nearest contemporary account, (Pers. text, 1 p. 156):—When Bakhtiār Khiljī with about one hundred troopers only made good his escape across the river, 'Ali Mich with his relatives rendered good services, and conducted Bakhtiār Khiljī towards Deokot. On arrival at Deokot, from excessive humiliation Bakhtiār fell ill and shut himself up, and did not ride out in the streets, for whenever he did so, widows and orphans of the soldiers and officers that had fallen, used to curse and abuse him from the terraces and the streets. Bakhtiār would say "Some mishap must have befallen Sulṭan Muizuddin, for the tide of fortune to have thus turned against me." And it was a fact, for at that time Sulṭān Muiz-uddin had fallen at the hands of an assassin (a Ghakkar). From excessive humiliation, Muhammad Bakhtiar Khiljī fell ill and was confined to his bed, and at length died. And according to another account, one of his officers 'Alī Mardān Khiljī who was bold and ferocious, and held the fief of Deokot, on hearing the news of Bakhtiār's illness, came to Deokot, found him lying in bed, threw aside the sheet from his face, and slew him."

[1] His name was Malik 'Azuddin Muhammad Shirān Khiljī (Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, Pers. text p. 157). The following account of him is summarised from Tabaqāt, the nearest contemporary account: "Muhammad Shīran and Ahmad Iran were two brothers, both being Khilj noblemen, and in the service of Bakhtiār. When Bakhtiār led his expedition towards Tibbat, he sent the above two brothers with an army towards Lakhnautī and Jajnagar (Orissa). When these heard the news of Bakhtiār's assassination, they returned to Deokot, and after performing funeral ceremonies, proceeded towards Narkoti (not identified, but must have lain not far from Deokot) which was held in fief by 'Ali Mardān Khiljī. They captured the latter, and placed him in charge of the Kotwal (the police commissioner) of that place, named Baba Kotwal Ispahanī, and returned to Deokot. Muhammad Shīran was an energetic man endowed with noble qualities. At the conquest of Nudeah, he had rendered good service by capturing elephants. As he was head of the Khiljī oligarchy, all the Khiljī nobles acknowledged him as their chief and paid homage to him. In the meantime, Alī Mardān Khiljī made good his escape, proceeded to Delhi, and persuaded Sultān Qutbuddīn to depute from Oudh Qaimaz Rūmī to Lakhnauti, in order to put down the Khiljī oligarchy in Bengal. Hussamuddin Iwaz who held the fief of Kanktorī (Kangor, near

and introduced the *Khutbah* and the coin in his own name.[1] The breeze of insolence and vanity blew into the recesses of his brain, and he commenced oppressions and innovations. Two years he continued to rule, at length when the Imperial army from Delhi arrived, all the Khiljis making a common cause with the Imperial army avenged the murder of 'Azu-d-din. After this, the rule of this kingdom passed to Ghiasu-d-din Khilji.

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RULE OF GHIASU-D-DIN KHILJI IN BENGAL.

Ghiasu-d-din Khilji[2] succeeded to the rule of Bengal. In that year 607 A.H., Sultan Qutbu-d-din, whilst playing at polo at

Deokot) from Bakhtiar Khilji, went ahead to receive Qaimaz Rumi, and in the latter's company proceeded to Deokot, and on the initiative of Qaimaz, received the fief of Deokot. When Qaimaz was returning from Deokot, Muhammad Shiran and other Khilji nobles collected together, and attempted to re-take Deokot. Qaimaz came back, fought with the Khilji nobility and Muhammad Shiran, who being defeated, dispersed, quarrelled amongst themselves near Makidah (Masidah, a perganah south-east of Deokot) and Mantosh (Santosh, a perganah south-east of Deokot), and Muhammad Shiran was slain. He lies buried at Santosh (on the banks of the Atrai river).

1 'Ali Mardan Khilji, assassin of Bakhtiar Khilji and Azuddin Khilji, ruled from 607 A.H. to 609 or 610 A.H. and assumed independence and title of Sultan 'Alauddin, on the death of Qutbu-d-din Aibak. In Tabaqat-i-Nasiri it is stated that he recited the Khutbah; but Badaoni states that he minted also coins in his own name. [I have not yet seen any of his coins. Mr. Thomas in his 'Initial Coinage of Bengal" notices the coins of Abauddin's successor, Ghiasuddin, struck in A.H. 616, see J.A.S., p. 354, p. 1, Vol. XLII for 1873]. It is also stated in Tabaqat-i-Nasiri (Pers. text, p. 159), that from excessive insolence, he divided the country of Iran and Turan amongst his adherents, and no one dared to suggest that those dominions did not pertain to him. One person complained of poverty to Alauddin, who enquired whence he came. On learning he came from Ispahan, he ordered his ministers to write out a document assigning lands in Ispahan to him!

It is stated in Tabaqat, that on escape from the custody of the Kotwal of Narkoti, Ali Mardan went to Sultan Qutbu-d-din, and received the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti. When he crossed the Kosi river, Hussamuddin from Deokot received him, conducted him to Deokot, where Ali Mardan was formally installed in power. He was cruel and ferocious, killed many Khilji nobles, and the native chieftains trembled under him. The subjects as well as the soldiers were in disgust with him.

2 His real name was Hussamuddin Iwaz-bin Al-Husain. He was a noble of Khilji and Garmsir, and on joining Bakhtiar Khilji was first ap-

Lahor, fell from his horse, and died, and his son, Aram Shāh, mounted the throne of Delhī, and the Empire fell into decay. Ghiāsu-d-dīn establishing completely his rule over this province,

pointed to fief of Kangor, (which lay south-east of Deokot) and next promoted to charge of the important northern military outpost of Deokot. On the appointment of Ali Mardan Khilji to the rule of Bengal, he advanced to receive the new Viceroy on the banks of the Kosi river, and helped in the latter's installation at Deokot. On the assassination by the Khilji nobles of Ali Mardan, who had since the death of Emperor Qutbuddin Aibak assumed independence, Hussamuddin was elected chief of the Khilji oligarchy in Bengal in 609 or 610 A.H. Seeing the feebleness of Qutbuddin's successor, Aram Shāh, Hussamu-d-din assumed independence, made Lakhnauti his capital, and assumed the title of Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn about 612 A.H., and minted coins in his own name. Mr. Thomas in his "Initial Coinage of Bengal" notices several coins of Sultān Ghiasu-d-dīn struck at Gaur or Lakhnauti between 614 and 620 A.H. An examination of these coins indicates the interesting and curious fact that Ghiāsu-d-dīn had put himself in communication with the Khalifa of Baghdad so far back as 620 A.H. (that is, earlier than Emperor Altamsh of Delhi who obtained similar honour in 626 A H.) and obtained a pontificial patent, recognizing the sovereign of Bengal amongst the Moslem hierarchy of the world. This circumstance, as suggested by Mr. Thomas, would also indicate that in those days there was freer sea and ocean-intercourse between the Musalmans along the shores of Bengal and the Arabs of the sea-ports of Basrah and Baghdad, than between Musalmans of more inland places in India and the Arabs of the aforesaid sea-ports.

In 622 A.H., Emperor Altamsh from Delhi invaded Bengal, and on Sultān Ghiasuddīn paying him tribute, peace was concluded. In 624 A.H. Sultān Nāsiruddīn, eldest son of Emperor Altamsh, invaded Lakhnauti, whilst Ghiāsuddīn was engaged at Kamrup and Bang (East Bengal), and fought a battle with Sultān Ghiāsuddīn, on the latter's return, and killed the latter, and succeeded to the rule over Bengal in a semi-sovereign capacity, with the approval of his father, Emperor Altamsh. It is stated that Sultān Ghiāsuddīn extended and consolidated the Moslem sovereignty in Bengal, and extended his empire over Jajnagar (Orissa), Bang (East Bengal), Kamrud (or Kamrup, Western Assam), and Tirhut (see Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Pers. text, p. 163.) Minhajus-Siraj, Author of Tabaqat-i-Nasirī who visited Lakhnauti shortly after in 641 A.H. and appreciated the material improvements effected by Ghiāsuddin, pays him a high tribute (Pers. text, p. 161), a tribute which in 627 A H. Emperor Altamsh had also paid to the memory of this good and great sovereign, by decreeing that Ghiāsuddīn should in his grave be styled as a Sultān. Amongst his public works, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri mentions that he founded the Fort of Baskot (Basankot near Gaur), established mosques, and Public Halls, &c.

introduced the Khutbah and the coin in his own name, and to some extent arrogating to himself the sovereign power, he ruled over this country. And when the throne of Delhi by the accession of Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh received *eclat* in the year 622 A.H., the latter marched with his forces to Behār, and invaded Lakhnauti. Sultan Ghiāsu-d-dīn not finding strength in himself to stand an encounter, presented to the Emperor thirty-eight elephants, eighty thousand rupees, together with various valuables and other presents, and enlisted himself amongst the adherents of the Emperor. Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh introducing there the *Khutbah* and the coin in his own name and bestowing on his eldest son the title of Sultān Nāṣiru-d-din, and entrusting to him the rule over the kingdom of Lakhnauti, and presenting to him the royal umbrella and staff, himself returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn was just and liberal, and the period of his rule was twelve years.

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RULE OF SULṬĀN NAṢIRU-D-DĪN, SON OF SULṬĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN ALṬAMSH, EMPEROR OF DELHI.

Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn succeeded to the rule of Bengal. After the return of Sulṭan Shamsu-d-din Altamsh towards Delhi, Ghiāsu-d-dīn who had gone towards the kingdom of Kamrup, returning, raised the standard of revolt. Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-din killed him after a bloody engagement, and obtaining much booty, sent many valuables and presents of this country to many of his acquaintances at Delhi, and for three years and some months he continued to rule over Bengal. In the year 626 A.H., at Lakhnauti, he tasted the untasty lotion of death.[1] And Hussāmu-d-din Khiljī[2]

[1] His body was brought to Delhi, and enshrined by the loving father in a beautiful mausoleum (known as the mausoleum of Sulṭān Ghāzī), about three miles west of the celebrated Quṭb Minar. In the inscription on the mausoleum, Nāṣiruddīn is entitled "Emperor of the East," or "Malik-ul-Maluk-ul-Sharq." Emperor Altamsh so much loved the memory of his eldest son (the King of Bengal) that he bestowed his name (*i.e.*, Nāṣiruddīn) on his (Emperor's) younger son who afterwards mounted the throne of Delhi, after whom Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri is named.

[2] In Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, "Balka Malik Khiljī." The correct name appears to be Malik Ikhtiaruddin Balka, who assumed the title of Doulat Shāh, and minted coins. Mr. Thomas in his "Initial Coinage of Bengal" notices

who was one of the nobles of Md. Bakhtiār succeeded to the rule of Bengal.

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RULE OF 'ALĀU-D-DĪN KHĀN.

When Sultān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh heard the news of the death of his beloved son, he observed the necessary ceremonies of mourning, and in the year 627 A. H. for the purpose of quenching the fire of insurrection which had appeared in Bengal after the death of Nāṣiru-d-dīn, proceeded to Lakhnauti, and after fighting with Malik Hussamu-d-din Khilji, who raising insurrection had brought about complete disorder in the government of Bengal, captured him. After weeding out the root of insurrection, and quelling the tumult of rebellion, he assigned the rule of that kingdom to Izzul-mulk Malik 'Alau-d-din Khān.[1] And the latter devoting himself to the subjugation and administration of the country enforced in this country the Imperial Khutbah and coin. After ruling three years, he was recalled.

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RULE OF SAIFU-D-DĪN TURK.[2]

After supercession of Izzu-l-mulk 'Alau-d-dīn, Saifu-d-dīn Turk received the Royal patent of Viceroyalty of Bengal. He,

a coin of Doulat Shāh struck in 627 A.H. To put down Doulat Shāh, Emperor Altamsh personally invaded Bengal for the second time in 627 A. H., defeated Doulat Shāh or Ikhtiaruddin Balka, and entrusted the government of Bengal to Alauddin Khān or Alauddīn Jānī. (Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, Pers. text, p. 174).

[1] In Badoni, "Malik Alauddin Khafi," in Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri "Alauddīn Jani." After his first invasion of Bengal, in 622 A.H., Sultān Shamsuddin Altamsh separated Behar from Bengal, which was under Sultān Ghiasuddin, and left Alauddin Jani as its Governor. On Altamsh's withdrawal, Sultān Ghiasuddin wrested Behar again from Alauddin Jānī, and hence the second invasion of Bengal by Emperor Altamsh's son.

[2] The following account of him is abridged by me from Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, the nearest contemporary account (Pers. text, p. 238):— "Malik Saifuddin Aibak Ighantat was a Turk of Khata; he was a noble Malik, and was endowed with excellent qualities. Sultān Nāṣiruddin Mahmud, King of Bengal, (son of Emperor Altamsh), purchased him, and kept him in his company, first appointing him as Amir-ul-Majlis (Lord Chamberlain) and then conferring on him the fief of Sarsati. Subsequently, for his good services, he was appointed Governor of Behar, and next promoted to the

too, occupied the Viceregal throne for three years, when he died of poison.

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RULE OF IZZU-D-DĪN TUGHAN KHĀN.[1]

Since the juggling sky at that time had thrown the reins of

Viceroyalty of Bengal (Lakhnauti), when Alauddin Jani, the Bengal Viceroy, was recalled. He captured several elephants in Vilayet-i-Bang (East Bengal), sent them as presents to the Delhi Emperor (Shamsuddin Altamsh) and received the title of Ighantat.

[1] The following account of him is summarised by me from Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, the nearest contemporary account (Pers. text, p. 242);—Malik Tughan Khān Turki was comely in appearance, and noble in heart. He hailed from Khata. He was liberal and generous, endowed with noble qualities; in liberality and generosity, and in conciliating and winning over people, he had no match in the army. When the Sultān (Emperor Altamsh) purchased him, he first became the Royal cup-bearer, next he was appointed Secretary and Keeper of the Imperial Seal (Dawat Dar). He lost the Imperial jewelled ink-pot, and was degraded to the office of Chashnigir (a taster to a prince), and after a long time, was appointed Superintendent of the Imperial stables (Amir-i-Akhur); and after some time, was appointed feudatory of Badaon, and next appointed Governor of Behar, when Lakhnauti (Bengal) was conferred on Ighantat Saifuddin Aibak. At length when Saifuddin died, Tughan Khān was appointed to the vacant Bengal (Lakhnauti) Viceroyalty. After the death of Sultān Nāsiruddin Mahmūd (son of Emperor Altamsh, and Viceroy of Bengal), between Tughan Khān and the feudatory of Lakhnauti named Lakor Aibak, who enjoyed the title of Aur Khān, ill-feeling broke out. Tughan Khān fought with Lakor Aibak before the fort of Basankot, close to Lakhnauti, defeated and killed the latter, and subdued both wings of Lakhnauti, one being in Radh on the side of Lakor (probably Nagor) and the other being in Barand, on the side of Deokot. At this time, Empress Raziah ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, and Tughan Khān sent envoys with presents to Delhi, and received in return Imperial presents sent in charge of Qazi Jallaluddin. Tughan proceeded from Lakhnauti to Tirhut district, and acquired much booty and treasure. When Sultān Muizuddin Bahram Shāh ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi, Tughan Khān sent the former also presents. When Sultān Alauddin succeeded Bahram Shāh, Bahauddin Hullal Sudani invaded Oudh, Manikpur, and Karah and cast eyes on the eastern provinces, and so Tughan Khān went to Karah and Manikpur, (to conciliate Bahauddin and to turn him back), and in Oudh met Minhaju-s-Siraj, (author of Tabaqat-i-Nasiri), and with the latter went back to Lakhnauti in 641 A.H. At this time the Rajah of Jajnagar (Orissa) committed depredations in Lakhnauti. Tughan Khān that year, by way of reprisal, invaded Jajnagar (Minhaju-s-Siraj accompanying him) and reached and stormed the fort of Baktasan,

the empire of Delhi into the hands of Sulṭān Raziah,[1] daughter of Sulṭān Shamsu-d-din Altamsh, during her reign, the Viceroyalty

which is on the Orissa frontier. Fighting ensued, and the Musalmans were defeated. Tughan Khān returned to Lakhnauti, sent Sharfu-l-mulk Ashari to the Emperor of Delhi, to seek for help. Under Emperor's order, a large army led by Tamar Khān Qamruddin Qiran, feudatory of Oudh, was sent to Lakhnauti, in order to repel and chastise the infidels of Jajnagar (Orissa) The Rajah of Jajnagar invaded Lakhnauti, owing to Musalmans in the previous expedition having demolished the Orissa fort of Katasan (or Baktasan). The Orissans first took Lakor (probably Nagor), and slaughtered a large body of Musalmans including the Commandant of Lakor, named Fakhrul Mulk Karimuddin, and then approached the gate of Lakhnauti, but after fighting retreated. Then between Tughan Khān and Tamar Khān ill-feeling ensued, and they fought against each other, and on both sides many were killed. By the intercession of Minhaju-s-Siraj (author of Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri) peace was brought about between the two, on condition that Lakhnauti would be left to Tamar Khān, and Tughan Khān with his treasures and elephants and effects would retire to Delhi. Tughan did so (in his company being Minhaju-s-Siraj); the Emperor loaded him with presents, bestowed on him the Governorship of Oudh, whilst Tamar Khān held the Bengal Viceroyalty. On the same night, both died, Tamar Khān at Lakhnauti, and Tughan in Oudh!"

It would appear from the above that the invasion of Bengal by Mughals under Changiz Khān referred to in the text, is a myth and a mistake for the invasion of Lakhnauti by the Hindus of Jājnagar (Orissa). The mistake is repeated in many histories, but Tabaqat's account is the most reliable, as its author was an eye-witness of the affair.

1 The daughter of Emperor Altamsh named Raziah, ascended the throne of Delhi in accordance with her father's wishes in 634 A.H. (1236 A.C.) The sight of an unveiled Moslem Empress seated on the Imperial throne of Delhi, struck all Indo-Moslem eyes in those days as a curious phenomenon, and hence our author's expression, "Juggling sky." She reigned for three years from 1236 A.C. to 1239 A.C. According to Badaoni, the Empress was endowed with excellent qualities, and was brave, generous and intelligent. She followed the path of equity and the principles of justice, and set in order the affairs which had remained in confusion during the brief reign of her step-brother Sulṭān Ruknuddin Firuz Shāh. She set before her the pursuit of beneficence as the object of her ambition, and made Nizamul Junaidi, Chief Vizier. The Empress came out of the curtain, wore masculine garments, such as a tunic and a *Kullah*, and sat on the throne. According to Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, she was put to death by the Hindus. She was learned in the Qoran, industrious in public business, firm and energetic in every crisis. Indeed, she was a great woman and a great Queen.

of Lakhnauti was bestowed on Izzu-d-din Tughan Khan. The latter devoted himself to the administration of the country, and for a period was successful. When in the year 639 A.H. Sulṭān Alau-d-dīn Masud ascended the throne of Delhi, Tughān Khan sent many presents and valuables to the Emperor of Dehli in charge of Sharfu-l-Mulk Sanqarī, and the Emperor sent to Izzu-d-dīn Tughān Khān in charge of Qāzi Jalālu-d-dīn, Governor of Oudh, a ruby-laid umbrella and a special robe of honour. And in the year 642 A.H., thirty thousand Mughal soldiers of Changiz Khān, making an incursion into the kingdom of Lakhnauti through the passes of the northern mountains, created much confusion. Malik Izzu-d-dīn sent an account of this to Sulṭān Alāu-d-dīn. On hearing of this, the Emperor despatched to Lakhnauti a large force under Malik Qurabēg Tamar Khān, who was one of the servants of Khwājah Tāsh, for assisting Tughān Khan. At the time of engagement, the Mughal forces not being able to give battle returned to their country, vanquished. In the meantime, on certain occasions between Izzu-d-dīn Tughān Khān and Malik Qurābēg Tamar Khān, dissension set in; consequently, Sulṭān Alāu-d-dīn, in accordance with the saying "Two rulers cannot rule over one country," appointed Malik Qurābēg Tamar Khān to be ruler of Lakhnauti, and recalled to Dehlī Malik Izzu-d-dīn Tughān Khān. Tughān Khān ruled for 13 years and some months.

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RULE OF MALIK QURĀBĒG TAMAR KHĀN.[1]

After supercession of Malik Izzu-d-dīn Tughān Khān, Qurābēg Tamar Khān, becoming ruler of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, set

1 Malik Qurābēg Tamar Khān or Qamru-d-dīn Qiran Tamar Khān was Governor of Bengal from 642 A.H. to 644 A.H., when he died.

An account of his career in Bengal already appears in a previous note His previous career may, however, be noticed here. I summarise it from Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri (Pers. text, p. 247), which is a contemporary account:— "Mallik Tamar Khān Turk was virtuous and polished in manners, very energetic and generous and active and brave. He had a handsome appearance. Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh purchased him for 50,000 *chital*, appointed him Deputy Superintendent of the Royal Stables, whilst Tughan Khan was the Chief Superintendent. In the reign of Empress Raziah, he became feudatory of Kanauj, and fought in the expedition against Kahwar and Malwah, and rendered good services. He received fief of Karah, and also did good

himself to administrative affairs. After ruling ten years, he died. And in the reign of Emperor Nāṣiru-d-dīn[1] Mahmūd, son of Sulṯān S̲h̲amsu-d-dīn Altams̲h̲ in the year 655 H. the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti was entrusted to Malik Jalālu-d-din K̲h̲ān.

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RULE OF MALIK JALALU-D-DĪN K̲H̲ĀN.[2]

When Malik Jalālu-d-din K̲h̲ān succeeded to the Viceroyalty of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, he ruled over it for a year more or less, and in the year 656 A.H. he was superceded, and Arsalān K̲h̲ān was appointed Viceroy of that province.

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RULE OF ARSALĀN K̲H̲ĀN.[3]

When Arsalān K̲h̲an became Viceroy of Lak̲h̲nauti, he devotad himself to administrative matters. He asserted some amount of independence. In the year 657 A.H., he sent two elephants and much jewellery and rare stuffs to Sultan Naṣiru-d-dīn, and shortly after died at Lakhnauti.

service there. On the death of Nasiru-d-dīn, he was appointed Governor of Oudh. Whilst at Oudh, he invaded all the eastern tracts including Tirhut, and carried off immense booty. He was thence sent to Lakhnauti to help Tug̲h̲an K̲h̲ān in repelling the Ooriya invasion, and after that settled down in Bengal as its Viceroy.

1 After him the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri is named; it is a general history of India from the commencement of Musalman Rule down to 658 A.H. (1260 A.C.) Sulṯān Nasiru-d-dīn succeeded Sulṯān Alau-d-dīn to the throne of Delhi in 1246 A.C. His Vizier was G̲h̲iasu-d-dīn Balban (afterwards Emperor Balban). Of the six years which intervened between 658 A.H. and 664 A.H. (the date of assumption of sovereignty by Emperor Balban) there is no known historical work. The Tarik̲h̲ Firuz S̲h̲ahī of Ziau-d-dīn Barni only began from G̲h̲iasu-d-dīn Balban's reign. Emperor Balban reigned from 1265 to 1287 A.C.

2 Jalaluddin Masūd, Malik Janī K̲h̲iljī K̲h̲an, became Governor of Bengal in 656 A.H.

I do not find any detailed account of him given in the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri.

3 Izzu-d-dīn Balban was Governor of Bengal in 657 A.H., in which year he was attacked by Taju-d-dīn Arsalan K̲h̲ān Sanjar-i-K̲h̲warizmi, who was subsequently captured or killed at Lakhnauti by Izzu-d-dīn. Hence Taju-d-dīn Arsalan K̲h̲ān cannot count amongst Governors of Bengal (see Blochmann's Contr. to Hist. and Geog. of Bengal, and Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri, Pers. text, p. 267).

RULE OF MUHAMMAD TĀTĀR KHĀN.[1]

After the death of Arsalan Khān, his son, Md. Tātār Khān, who was illustrious for his bravery, liberality, heroism and honesty, becoming independent in his rule of Lakhnauti, did not much bend his head in submission to Emperor Nāṣiru-d-dīn. And after a while, he had the Khuṭbah in the kingdom of Lakhnauti recited in his own name, and for some time he passed in this wise. And when in the year 664 A.H. the throne of Dehlī received *eclat* from the accession of Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn Balban, and the fame of high aspiration and steadiness and high ambition of that Emperor spread to all sides, Md. Tātār Khān, using foresight, sent sixty-three head of elephants, together with other presents, to Dehlī. As this was the first year of his accession, Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn Balban considering this an auspicious augury, illuminated the City with lamps, and the nobles, feudatories and the principal officers presenting *nazar* became recipients of gifts. And the envoys of Muhammad Tātār Khān, after being loaded with presents, got permission to return. Tatar Khan pleased with the Imperial gifts,submitted and enrolled himself in the ranks of the Emperor's *Omara*. Sulṭān Ghiaṣu-d-din Balban appointed a Turkish slave named Tughral to the Viceroyalty of Lakhnauti.[2]

1 Muhammad Arsalan Tātār Khān, son of Arsalan Khān Sanjar, had been for some time Governor of Bengal, when the Emperor Balban ascended the throne (664 A.H.) (See Tarikh Firuz Shahi, by Ziau-d-dīn Barni, Pers. text, pp. 53 and 66.) He was generous, liberal and brave. After a few years he was succeeded by Tughral, who proclaimed himself king, under the title of Sulṭān Mughisu-d-dīn.

2 This account differs slightly from Professor Blochmann's conclusions derived from inscriptions and the evidence of coins, as set forth in his Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal. Professor Blochmann holds that on the death of Muhammed Tātār Khān, which took place shortly after Balban's accession, Sher Khān was appointed Imperial Governor of Lakhnauti; that Sher Khān was succeeded in the office by Amin Khān, whose Deputy or Naib was Tughral. Tughral heard of Balban's illness, attacked and defeated Amin Khān, and proclaimed himself king of Bengal under the title of Sulṭān Mughisu-d-dīn (A.C. 1279). Balban recovered from his illness shortly after, invaded Bengal in person, defeated Tughral, at some place near Sunargaon, where Danuj Rai was the zemindar (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 87), and in 681 H. (A.C. 1282) before leaving Bengal conferred the throne of Bengal on his (the Emperor Balban's) son, Bughra Khān, who assumed the title of Sulṭān Nasiru-d-dīn. Nāṣiru-d-dīn appears to have died in 691 H. (1292 A.C.), that is about five years after the death of his

RULE OF TUGHRAL, STYLED SULṬĀN MUGHISU-D-DĪN.

Tughral became Viceroy of Lakhnauti. In that, in liberality and bravery, courage and sagacity he was unequalled, in a short time he brought the kingdom of Lakhnauti to subjection and order, and subjugated Kamrup (Western Assam). In the year 678 A.H. he marched with his forces from Lakhnauti to Jajnagar, and vanquishing the Rajah of that place, obtained many elephants and much riches and chattels and stuffs. In that Sulṭān Ghiaṣu-d-dīn Balban had become old, and both of his sons were at Multān with large forces engaged in fighting the Mughals, the kingdom of Lakhnauti was lost sight of. In consequence of this circumstance, Tughral failed to despatch elephants and booty to the Emperor. And also as at the time the Emperor was sick at Delhi, and had not come out of the palace for one month, and rumours of his death had spread in the Empire, Tughral finding the field completely open, sallied out, and collecting a large force proclaimed himself Sulṭān Mughisu-d-dīn, and unfurling on his head the red Royal umbrella, had the Khuṭbah in that country recited after his own name. Simultaneously with this event, the Emperor recovered health, and royal edicts announcing the recovery were received. Tughral, not becoming ashamed of what he had done, struck the hand of disloyalty on the hem of hostility. When Sulṭān Ghiaṣu-d-dīn Balban became aware of this, he despatched Malik Abtakīn who had long hairs, and who had the title of Amīn Khān and was Governor of Oudh, appointing him generalissimo

illustrious father Emperor Balban. For a full account of Tughral styled Sulṭān Mughisu-d-dīn, see Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri (Pers. text, p. 261), and also Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī (Pers. text, pp. 81 to 94), by Ziau-d-dīn Barni. Before becoming Governor of Bengal, he held the following offices: Chashnigīr (Taster to a prince) under Shamsu-d-dīn Altamsh; Amir-ul Majlis or Lord Chamberlain under Emperor Ruknu-d-dīn, Superintendent of Elephants, next Superintendent of Stables under Empress Raziah, feudatory of Tabarhind under Sulṭān 'Alau-d-dīn, next feudatory of Kanauj and Governor of Oudh, and next Viceroy of Bengal. He invaded Jajnagar (Orissa), Oudh and Kamrup (Western Assam) successfully, and then proclaimed his independence. Tughral was active and energetic, bold and courageous, liberal and generous. It is worthy of note that in this connection, the author of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi (p. 93), for the *first time* uses expressions like these, "Iqlīm-i-Lakhnauti," "Iqlīm-i-Sunargaon," "Arṣah-i-Bangalah,"—indicating that Tughral had considerably extended his Bengal Satrapy.

of the expedition, and also Viceroy of Lakhnautī, together with other nobles, such as Tamar Khān Shamsī, Malik Tāju-d-dīn, son of 'Ali Khān,[1] and Jamālu-d-dīn Qandahārī, for destroying Tughral. And when Malik Abtakīn with a large force crossed the river Sro, and marched towards Lakhnautī, Tughral, too, with a large force came to encounter him. In that, in bravery and generosity, he was matchless, some nobles and soldiers deserting Amīn Khān joined Tughral, so that on the day of engagement the force of Amīn Khān was routed. And when Amīn Khān being vanquished retreated to Oudh, the Emperor hearing of this became anxious and perplexed, ordered that Amīn Khān should be hanged at the gate of Oudh, and afterwards appointed Malik Tarmīnī with a large force for destroying Tughral. And Tughral making a bold attack vanquished this force also, and obtained much booty.

Owing to strength of fortune,
that rampant lion,
Twice routed the army of the enemy.

Sultān Ghiasu-d-dīn, on hearing this bad news, became dejected and anxious, and made kingly efforts, and boldly resolved to march out himself, and ordered that numerous boats should be kept ready in the rivers Jon and Ganges, and he himself on the pretext of a hunting excursion went towards Sanām and Samānah. Appointing Malik Sūnaj to be governor of Samānah, he took his young son, Bughrā Khān, with a select force in his own company, and passed from Samānah to Doāb. Leaving Maliku-l-Umara, Fakhru-d-dīn *Kotwāl* to rule as Viceroy at Dehlī in his absence, he crossed the Ganges, and not heeding that it was the rainy season, by forced marches, proceeded towards Lakhnautī. Tughral who in this interval had collected his efficient troops, marched in state towards Jājnagar with his treasures and a large army, and planned to take it and to encamp there, and subsequently to return to Lakhnautī, when the Emperor would return to Dehlī. But when the Emperor reached Lakhnautī, after staying there a few days, he despatched General Hassāmu-d-dīn *Vakīl-dar Bārbag* (Secretary of State), who was the grandfather of the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, to subjugate the

[1] In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, "Qutlugh Khān Shamsi."

kingdom of Lakhnautī, and the Emperor himself marched towards Jajnagar,[1] to chastise Tughral. At the time, when the Emperor reached the confines of Sunargaon, Bhūj Rāi,[2] who was the Zamindar of that place, enrolled himself in the ranks of the Imperial adherents, and promised that in case Tughral attempted to escape across the river,[3] he would prevent his doing so. But when the Emperor swiftly passing from that place marched several stages, the trace of Tughral was lost, and no one could give a clue to his whereabouts. The Emperor ordered Malik Bārbak Baras[4] that he should march ahead ten or twelve *Karoh* with seven thousand chosen cavalry. Although these tried every means of pursuit and search, they could obtain no trace of Tughral. One day, Malik Muhammad Tīrandāz,[5] the ruler of Koel,[6] and his brother, Malik Muqaddar, separating themselves from the vanguard force, with thirty or forty troopers marched ahead. Suddenly, on a field they came across some grocers. Arresting these, they made enquiries, and in order to frighten them, they commenced slaughter by breaking the neck of one; then the others cried out:—"If your object is to obtain goods and provisions, whatever we have, you may take; but spare our lives." Malik Muhammad Tīrandāz said: "We have no concern with your goods and stores: our object is to ascertain the whereabouts of Tughral. If you show the way, your lives and things would be spared; otherwise whatever will befal you, will be the consequence of your misconduct." The grocers said: "We carried food-grains to the camp of Tughral,[7] and now

1 From the manner of description given here, the Jājnagar here referred to would seem not to be in Orissa, but some place in East Bengal (probably Tipperah). For an exhaustive and interesting discussion on "Jājnagar," see Blochmann's "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal."

2 In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī, "Danuj Rai," (p. 87).

3 Probably the river Brahmaputra or Megna is meant. Sunargāon is situate on the banks of the Brahmaputra, 13 miles S.-E. of Dacca. For a contemporary and graphic description of Emperor Ghiasu-d-dīn Balban's expedition to Bengal, see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī (pp. 85–94 Pers. text.)

4 In Ferishta, "Barbaq Barlas," in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī "Barik Begtaras."

5 In Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahī. ("Malik Muhammad Sherandāz," p. 88).

6 Koel is a *tehsil* in Aligarh District.

7 From the description given, Tughral *alias* Sulṭān Mughisu-d-dīn would appear to have pitched his tent at the time on the western banks of the Brahmaputra not very far from Sunargaon. Or, one might imagine him at this point of time having shifted his tent further eastward to the western bank of the Megna, opposite perhaps to the old ferry of Manicknagar

we are returning from there. Between you and Tughral, there is a distance of half a *farsakh*. To-day he is encamping there; to-morrow he will march to Jājnagar." Malik Muhammad Tīrandāz sent the grocers with two troopers to Malik Bārbak Baras, and sent word that after ascertaining the truth from the grocers, he should march up swiftly, so that Tughral might not march to the Vilāyet of Jājnagar which is in the kingdom of Bengal, and leaguing with the people of that part, might not hide himself in a jungle. And he himself with troopers went forward, and saw the tent of Tughral, and his army resting in false security, and his elephants and horses grazing about. Availing himself of the opportunity, he rushed with his cavalry towards the camp of Tughral. No one opposed their progress, fancying that they were officers attached to the army of Tughral. When they arrived in front of Tughral's tent, all of a sudden drawing their swords, they killed every one they found in the Audience-Hall, and shouted out that the kingdom of Bengal pertained to the Empire of Balban. Tughral fancied that the Emperor had himself arrived. Becoming totally confounded, he slipped out in great perplexity by the bath-room door, and mounting an unsaddled horse, and not mustering his own adherents, owing to great confusion of mind, he intended to plunge into the river near the soldiers' quarters, and then to swim across to Jājnagar. As misfortune would have it, owing to the disappearance of Tughral, all his officers, soldiers and followers turned towards different directions. And Malik Muqaddar, at whose hands the slaughter of Tughral had been destined, marched in pursuit of Tughral, and encountered him on the river-bank. Then Malik Muqaddar shot a shooting arrow at Tughral's shoulder, dismounted the latter from his horse, and himself dismounting from his own horse, severed Tughral's head from the body. Seeing that the followers of Tughral were searching for their master, Malik Muqaddar hid Tughral's head in the mud by the river-side, and flung his body into the river, and pulling off his own garments, he set himself to washing them. At this moment, Tughral's soldiers arrived,

across the river, or somewhere close to the modern Bhoyrab Bazar ferry, seriously planning to cross over on boats from the Dacca side to the Tipperah tract (which has been identified here with Jājnagar), with the old and powerful Emperor of Delhī (Ghiasu-d-dīn Balban) shadowing him. This Jājnagar, therefore, in Bengal, is different from Jājnagar in Orissa.

shouting out "Lord of the world! Lord of the world!" and searched for Tughral. Not finding him, they took to their heels.

They shot an arrow at his heart,[1]
Dismounted him from his horse, and cut off his head.
When Tughral at that place was killed owing to his inalertness,

One shout arose from every side.
The adherents of Tughral were completely routed,
From the absence of their leader, they were all cowed down.

At this time Malik Bārbak Baras[2] arrived, and Muqaddar running forward announced the joyful tidings of the victory. Malik Bārbak applauding him sent a despatch to the Emperor, announcing the victory, together with the head of Tughral. On the following day, together with the booty and prisoners of Tughral's army, he proceeded himself to the Emperor, and narrated the story of the victory. And Malik Muhammad Tīrandāz[3] was promoted to the first rank, and his brother Malik Muqaddar[4] received the title of Tughral-kush ("Tughral-slayer"), and was raised to the peerage. Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn Balban after this marched back to Lakhnautī, and set himself to the work of chastisement. Along both sides of the road passing through the market-place of the City, putting up scaffolds, the Emperor hanged such adherents of Tughral as had been taken prisoners, and capturing their women and children, wherever found, he had them slaughtered at Lakhnautī, after putting them to indescribable tortures. Till that time, none of the Emperors of Dehlī had slaughtered the children and women of miscreants.[5] After this, the Emperor bestowed the kingdom of

1 These verses, with slight variations, have been borrowed very probably from Amir Khusrau, the poet-laureate of Emperor Ghiasu-d-dīn Balban.

2 In Tarikh Firuz Shāhī (p. 88.) Malik Barbak Bektars.

3 In Tarikh Firuz Shāhī (p. 88) Malik Muhammad Shirandaz.

4 From Tarikh Firuz Shahī (pp. 88, 90 and 91) Malik Muqqadar and Tughral-kush would seem to be two different individuals.

5 The author of Tarikh Firuz Shāhī remarks that on both sides of the principal *bazaar* of Lakhnautī that was more than one *karoh* long, scaffolds were set up, and men, women and children were hanged. Such cruelty, sorrowfully remarks Ziau-d-dīn Barni, had never before been perpetrated by Musalman sovereigns of Delhī. (See pp. 91-92 Tarikh Firuz Shāhī).

Lakhnautī on his own son, Bughhrā Khān,[1] giving him at the same time the treasures, etc., and other valuables of Tughral that

[1] Bughra Khān, younger son of Emperor Balban, assumed the royal title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn at his elevation to the throne of Bengal. He was the first of a succession of Balbani Kings who ruled over Bengal, from 1282 A.C. to 1331 A.C. (or 681 A.H. to 731 A.H.) and had mostly their court at Sunargaon near Dacca. Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Khan, son of Emperor Balban, reigned over Bengal from 681 H. to 691 (1282 A.C. to 1292 A.C.) and was succeeded by his son Ruknu-d-din who assumed the title of Sulṭān Kai-Kaus. From inscriptions found at Gangarampur and Khagol, near Lakhisarai, he appears to have been alive in 697 H. (A.C. 1297). Mr. Thomas has published coins of this King bearing the dates 691, 693, 694, 695 A.H. He appears to have been succeeded by his brother who reigned under the name of Shamsu-d-dīn Firuz Shāh. Firuz Shāh had several sons, namely, Bughra Khān, Nāṣiru-d-dīn, Ghiasu-d-dīn or Bahadur Khān, Qutlu Khān, and Hatim Khān. The third son, Ghiasu-d-dīn, made conquests in Eastern Bengal, established himself at Sunargaon near Dacca, and struck coins from 1311 A.C. under the name of Bahadur Shāh. The fifth son Hatim Khān was in 1309 and 1315 A.C. Governor of Oudh. Firuz Shāh died in 718 H. (1318 A.C.) Quarrels then broke out between the several sons of Firuz Shāh, who was succeeded by his eldest son who took the title of Shahabu-d-dīn Bughra Shāh who ruled at Lakhnauti in 1318-19. Soon after his accession, Bughra Shāh was defeated by his brother Bahadur Shāh who reigned at Sunargaon. Bughra Shāh and his brother Nāṣiru-d-dīn took refuge with Emperor Tughluk Shāh who in 1320 had mounted the throne of Delhī. Qutlu Khān, another brother, was killed by Bahadur Shāh who was now supreme King over Bengal and Behar, and held a magnificent Court at Sunargaon.

At the instigation of Bughra Shāh and Nāṣiru-d-dīn, the fugitives (says Ibn Batutah), Emperor Tughlak Shāh invaded Bengal. When the Imperial army left Delhī, Bahadur Shāh retired to Sunargaon, whilst Nāṣiru-d-dīn joining the Emperor at Tirhut came with the latter to Lakhnautī, when the Emperor confirmed Nāṣiru-d-dīn as Governor of Lakhnautī. The Emperor sent his adopted son Tatar Khān, Governor of Zafarabad (near Jaunpur) with an army to operateagainst Sulṭān Bahadur Shāh, who was captured and sent to Delhī with a chain round his neck. At this time, also, two additional distinct Provinces in Bengal were constituted, *viz.*, Sunargaon and Satgaon, each being placed under a Military Governor; whilst Behar was separated from Bengal. Sunargaon was placed under Tatar Khān.

With the accidental death of Emperor Tughlak Shāh and the accession of his successor Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak, other changes took place in the administration of Bengal. The new Emperor released Bahadur Shāh, allowed him to return to Sunargaon, on condition that the Bengal coinage was to bear the joint names of Bahadur Shāh and the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak, and also that in the *Khuṭbah* the names of both were to

had been captured, except the elephants; and conferring on him the title of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn, he placed on the son's head the royal umbrella, and allowed also the *Khuṭbah* to be recited and the coin to be minted in his name. And at the time of departure, the Emperor giving his son some parting advice,[1] said: "It is not discreet for the king of Lakhnautī, be he a relation or a stranger, to quarrel with or rebel against the Emperor of Delhī. And if the Emperor of Delhī marches to Lakhnautī, the ruler of Lakhnautī should retreating take refuge in some distant corner, and when the Emperor of Delhī withdraws, he should return to Lakhnautī, and resume his work. And in the levy of revenue from subjects, he should observe the middle course, that is, he should not levy such a low amount, that they should become refractory and disloyal, nor such an excessive amount, that they should be ground down and oppressed. And he should pay such an amount of salary to his officers, that it may suffice for them from year to year, and that they may not be pinched in regard to their necessary expenses. In matters of administration, he should take counsel with wise people who are sincere and loyal; and in the enforcement of orders, he should abstain from self-indulgence, and

be recited. Tatar Khān who was hitherto Military Governor of Sunargaon, received the title of Bahram Khān, and was stationed at Sunargaon at the Court of Bahadur Shāh, as a sort of Imperial Resident. Nāṣiru-d-dīn was continued as Subordinate Governor of Lakhnautī.

In 726 A.H. (1326 A.C.), Nāṣiru-d-dīn died, and Muhammad Shāh appointed Malik Bidar Khiljī as Governor of Lakhnautī with the title of Qadr Khān. Bahadur Shāh, the king, at Sunargaon, attempted soon after to throw off all outward signs of allegiance to the Emperor, who sent an army to Bahram's assistance. Bahadur Shāh, the last Bengal Balbanī sovereign, and the last royal representative of the house of Emperor Ghiasu-d-dīn Balban, was defeated and put to death about 731 A.H. or 1331 A.C. Bengal remained Imperialist till the death of Bahram Khān in 1338 A.C., when Fakhru-d-dīn successfully revolted, killed Qadr Khān and established the independence of Bengal. (See Blochmann's contribution to History of Bengal, Thomas' Initial coinage, Ibn-i-Batutah, Tarikh Firuz Shāhī, pp. 92, 181, 254, 450, 451, 461, 480).

[1] The pieces of solemn advice given by Emperor Balban to his son Bughra Khān, at the time of former's departure from Bengal, are set forth in detail in the Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī (pp. 95 to 106), and will repay perusal. They contain golden rules for the conduct of sovereigns, and indicate that this Musalmān Emperor cherished a noble and exalted ideal of kingly duties and responsibilities.

should not act unjustly from selfishness. In the care for the condition of the army, he should not be negligent, and he should consider it incumbent upon himself to show them considerateness and to win their hearts, and he should not allow negligence and indolence to intervene. And whoever tempts you away from this course, you should look upon him as your enemy, and you should not listen to his talk. You should seek protection with persons who relinquishing this world, have dedicated themselves to God's service.

Help from the old hems of saints,
Is stronger than the strength of a hundred walls of Alexander."

After this, bidding adieu to his son, the Emperor returned to Delhī, by forced marches, after three months.[1] The period of the rule of Tug͟hral in Bengal was twenty-five years and some months.

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RULE OF BUG͟HRĀ K͟HĀN, STYLED SULṬĀN NAṢIRU-D-DĪN, SON OF EMPEROR G͟HIASU-D-DĪN BALBAN.

When Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn became ruler of the kingdom of Lakhnautī, after some time, his elder brother who was named Sulṭān Muhammad and was known as K͟hān-i-S͟hahīd[2] was killed at Multān, fighting against the Mug͟hals. And Sulṭān G͟hiāsu-d-dīn Balban who was much attached to him, became dejected by his death, and summoned Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn from Lakhnautī. When the latter reached Delhī, after observing the necessary mourning ceremonies for his elder brother, he attempted to console the heart of his father. The Emperor said: "The death of your brother has made me sick and feeble, and soon the time of

[1] In Tarik͟h Firuz S͟hāhī (p. 107), "after three *years*."

[2] Sulṭān Muhammad, eldest son of Emperor G͟hiasu-d-dīn Balban, was Imperial Viceroy of Multān Province or Vilāyet at this time. This Prince was brave, gallant and accomplished, and he fell gallantly fighting between Lahore and Dibalpur against the Mug͟hul hordes under Tamar from Central Asia who were harrying at this time the North-Western frontier of India. Hence the Prince is styled "K͟hān-i-S͟hahid" or "Martyred Prince or Chief." His death was a great shock to the aged Emperor. (See Tarik͟h-i-Firuz S͟hāhī, pp. 109-10). The Prince was a patron of learning, and to his court at Multān were attached the celebrated poets, Amir K͟husrau and Amir Hasan, for whose biographical sketch, see *Badaoni*, Vol. 1, pp. 200-201.

my departure from the world shall approach. At this time, your separation from me is not proper, because besides yourself, I have no other heir. Your son, Kaiqubād, and your nephew, Kai Khusrau, are young, and have no experience of life. Should the Empire fall into their hands, they would be incapable of defending it, and you would have to pay homage to either who might ascend the throne of Delhī. Therefore, it is meet that you should remain with me." Nāṣiru-d-dīn, according to his father's request, remained with his father. But on seeing his father regain some health, he quickly under pretext of hunting went out of the city, and without taking leave of the Emperor returned to Lakhnautī. The Emperor, being affected at this, again fell ill, and in the year 685 A.H., passed from this transitory world. And when Sulṭān Muizu-d-dīn Kaiqubād, after the death of his grand-father, at the age of eighteen years, mounted the throne of Delhī, in consequence of youth, indulging in frivolities and dissipations, he became unmindful of the affairs of the Empire, excepting women and wine.[1] And Malik Nizāmu-d-dīn setting himself to the destruction of the Balbanī family, induced Muizu-d-dīn to call his cousin Kaikhusraū from Multān, and to kill him on the way, and to dismiss many of the loyal Umarā. Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughrā Khān at Lakhnautī, on receiving news of the negligence of his son, and of the overbearing influence of Malik Nizāmu-d-dīn, wrote to his son letters containing instructions, and by insinuations and hints, advised

1 Ziauddin Barni, author of Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī (p. 121) states that shortly before his death in 686 A.H. (1287 A.C.), the aged and venerable Emperor Ghiasu-d-dīn Balban summoned to his presence in his palace in Delhī, Malik-ul-Umara Fakhru-d-dīn Kotwal (or police commissioner) of Delhī, Khwajah Hussain Baṣri, the Vizier or Prime Minister, and some others, and instructed them to place Kai Khusrau, son of Sulṭān Muhammad, on the throne. After the Emperor's death, however, the Kotwal and his party placed Kaiqubad, son of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Khān (King of Bengal, and second son of the Emperor) on the throne. The personnel of Sulṭān Muizu-d-dīn Kaiqubād's administration consisted of (1) Malik-ul-Umara Kotwal of Delhī, (2) Nizamu-d-dīn, nephew of Malik-ul-Umara, who became Dadbig or Chief Justice, and subsequently Wazir or Prime Minister, (3) Malik Quamu-d-dīn who became Wakildar or Administrator-General. Emperor Kaiqubad, who was a boy of seventeen years, was addicted to pleasures, and spent most of his time in the charming pleasure-villa of Kilukhari, in the suburbs of Delhī. Nizamu-d-dīn the Wazir who now assumed the title of Nizamu-l-Mulk, set about devising means to destroy the house of Balban (see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, p. 132).

him to beware of the wily enemy in the person of Nizamu-d-dīn. It was of no use. In despair, two years after the death of Emperor Balban, in the year 687 A.H., with the object of conquering the province of Delhi, and chastising his son, Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughrā Khān marched with his army. On reaching Behār, Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn passing from Behar to the banks of the river Sarū, encamped.[1]

The standards of the Emperor of the world were pitched
On the banks of the Ghagar, in the environs of the town.
The Ghagar was on one side, and the Sarū on the other,
From excessive heat, the soldiers foamed from their mouths.
The sword-casting East from yonder side of the river
Became bright as if the sun had risen;
On the banks of the river, the marshalling of the forces
Flashed like two Suns from two sides.

At length, after nearing each other, Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn, abandoning the idea of the conquest of Delhi, made overtures for peace. And Sultān Muizu-d-dīn, owing to the instigation of Malik Nizāmu-d-dīn, refused to make peace, and prepared to fight. After negotiations had proceeded for three days between the contending parties, on the fourth day, Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn with his own hand wrote :—

"Son! I have a great longing to meet you. I have no further strength of self-restraint in your separation. If you show a way by which I who am consumed by the fire of misfortune, may behold

[1] The text here is rather confused. In Ferishta, the rendering is as follows : "When Sultān Muizu-d-dīn Kaiqubād heard of the intention of his father (Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Khān, King of Bengal) and of the latter's arrival in Behar, he (Emperor Kaiqubād), too, arrayed his forces, and in the hottest part of the year reached the banks of the Ghagar river, and halted. And Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn, on hearing of the news, advanced from Behar, reached the banks of the river Sro, and halted." The meeting between Sultān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Khān and his son the Emperor Kaiqubad is immortalized in the pages of "Qiranu-s-Sadain" by Amir Khusrau, the celebrated poet of Delhi. The camp of the father was on the bank of the river Sro or Sarū or Sarju, the old river boundary-line between the Musalman Kingdom of Bengal (which included Behar in those days) and the Empire of Delhi, and the camp of the son was on the opposite banks of the Sro. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, p. 141. The Qiranu-s-Sadain fixes the meeting-place at Ajudheya on the banks of the Ghagar.

you, and, Jacob-like, if once more my eye which has become blind, becomes bright by the sight of Joseph, no harm shall betide to your sovereignty and enjoyment." The Sulṯān wound up this message with the following verse :—

"Although paradise is a happy region,
Nothing is better than the joy of union."

Sulṯān Muizu-d-dīn being touched by the perusal of his father's letter desired to proceed unattended, to meet his father. Nizāmu-d-dīn used dissuasion, and arranged that the Emperor, with all Imperial pomp and paraphernalia, should for the purpose of meeting his father march from the bank of the river Ghagar towards a plain, and then encamp on the bank of the Sarū. And it was also arranged that out of regard for the rank of the Emperor of Delhī, Nāṣiru-d-dīn crossing the Sarū should come to visit Kaiqubād, who should remain seated on the throne. Then Bughrā Khān embarking on a boat crossed the river, and proceeded to the tent of Muizu-d-dīn Kaiqubād. Kaiqubad being overpowered by feelings dismounted from the throne, prostrated himself on his father's feet, and both the father and the son embracing each other, and giving each other kisses on the head and the face shed tears. After this, the father catching the hand of the son, placed the latter on the throne, and desired to stand in front of it. The son descending from the throne placed the father on it, and himself respectfully sat before him; and ceremonies of rejoicings were performed. After a while, Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn left, and crossing the river returned to his tent. From both sides gifts were exchanged. Several days successively, Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn went to meet his son, and both were in each other's company. And on the day of departure, after speaking some words of advice, [1] and taking his son in the lap, he departed, and weeping and crying returned to his own camp. That day he ate no food, and told his confidants: "To-day I have bid the last farewell to my son."

[1] It is stated that on the day of departure, Sulṯān Naṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Khān exhorted his son, Emperor Kaiqubad, to attend to prayer and to observe the fast of Ramzan, taught him certain regulations and fixed rules of sovereignty, warned him against excesses in wine and neglect of State matters, rebuked him for killing Kai Khusrau and other noted Amirs and Maluks of Ghiasu-d-dīn Balban, and advised him to dismiss Nizamu-d-dīn *alias* Nizamul Mulk, the Wazir. (See *Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shāhī*, pp. 144 to 156).

Then marching back from that place, he returned to his kingdom. And when Sulṯān Muizu-d-dīn Kaiqubād at the end of 689 A.H. was slain,[1] and the Empire was transferred from the Ghorian dynasty to the Khiljī family, and Sulṯān Jalālu-d-dīn Khiljī[2] mounted the throne of Delhī, Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn seeing no alternative except profession of loyalty and submission put aside the royal umbrella and the *Khuṯbah*, conducted himself like other nobles, and remained contented with the fief of Lakhnautī. Till the reigns of Sulṯān Alāu-d-dīn and Sulṯān Quṯbu-d-dīn,[3] Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Khān conducted himself in this wise. The period of the rule of Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn in Bengal was six years.

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RULE OF BAHADUR SHAH.

In the reign of Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-dīn, Bahādur Khān who was one of the connexions[4] of Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn, and was one of the leading nobles of Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-dīn, was entrusted with the Viceroyalty of Bengal. For many years he occupied the Viceregal throne, and enforced the recital of the *Khuṯbah* and the minting

1 See *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi*, p. 173. According to other accounts Emperor Kaiqubad was poisoned at the instigation of the Amir-ul-Umara who was in league with Jallalu-d-dīn Khiljī. With him (Kaiqubad) ended the Balbani dynasty in Delhī, but, as will be observed in these pages, it lingered for a longer period in the Bengal Kingdom in the persons of the Balbani Kings of Bengal.

2 Sulṯān Jallalu-d-din Khiljī is said to have been descended from Qalej Khān, son-in-law of Changīz Khān. He was Governor of Samanah and held the office of State Secretary (Arzi Mamalik) in the Cabinet of Emperor Kaiqubad. Jallalu-d-din ascended the Delhī throne in 1290 A.C. or 689 A.H. and with him commenced the Khiljī dynasty which continued to reign over India till 1320 A.C. During his reign, Muhammadan conquests were extended into Southern India through the prowess of his nephew, Alau-d-dīn Khiljī. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi pp. 170-174, *Badaoni*, p. 167, vol. 1. Badaoni states that "Qalij" and "Khilj" were different, and that "Khilj" was one of the children of Yafus, son of Noah.

3 Sulṯān Qutbu-d-dīn Khiljī was son of Sulṯān Alau-d-dīn Khiljī. See Tarīkh-ī-Firuz Shahi p. 408 and 381.

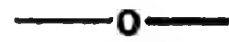
4 In respect of the weak rule in Bengal of Sulṯān Nasiru-d-dīn Bughra Shāh (son of Emperor Balban), Zīau-d-din Barni (p. 189) relates that Emperor Jalalu-d-dīn's favourite mode of disposing of dacoits captured in the Delhī territory, was to send them in shiploads to Bengal, where they were let loose.

of coins after the names of the Emperors of Delhī. During the reign, however, of Sulṯān Quṯbu-d-dīn Khilji, he usurped the sovereignty of Bengal, and proclaiming himself Bahādur Shāh, introduced the *Khuṯbah* and the coin in the kingdom of Bengal after his own name, and commenced oppressions. For some time, he passed in this wise. But when the Empire of Delhī passed to Ghiāsu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh,[1] in the year 724 A.H. petitions from Lakhnautī describing the oppressions of the rulers of that country were received. Sulṯān Tughlak Shāh with an efficient army marched towards Bengal. When he reached Tirhut, Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn[2] whose fief had not been confiscated during Alau-d-din's reign owing to his good conduct and who resided in a corner of Lakhnautī, not finding strength in himself to contend against Tughlak Shāh, submitted to his fate, marched from Lakhnautī to Tirhūt, and presenting himself before the Emperor offered

[1] On the defeat of Khusrau Khān, (Tarikh-i-Fīruz Shahi, pp. 420 and 421) the nobles placed Ghazī-ul-Mulk on the throne of Delhī. Ghazī-ul-Mulk then assumed the title of Ghiasu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh. His father was a Turkish slave, named Malik, of Sulṯān Ghiasu-d-dīn Balban, and his mother was of a Punjab family. Brave, noble, and magnanimous, he was the founder of the Tughlak dynasty which reigned for ninety-four years at Delhī (1320-1414 A.C.). He founded the city of Tughlakabad, about 4 miles east of Delhī. He reigned from 1320 to 1324 A.C. In order to put down the assumption of entire independence by Bahadur Shāh at Sunargaon in Bengal, Ghiasu-d-dīn Tughlak marched to Sunargaon, fought a decisive engagement, took Bahadur Shāh a prisoner, and marched back with the latter towards Delhī, storming the fort of Tirhut, and leaving Naṣiru-d-dīn as Governor of Vilayet-i-Lakhnautī. Ghiasu-d-dīn divided Bengal into three provinces, namely (1) Vilayet-i-Lakhnautī, (2) Vilayet-i-Sātgāon. (3) Vilayet-i-Sunargāon, placing each under a distinct Governor, and placing a Viceroy (stationed at Sunargāon) over all the Governors. Tarikh-i-Firuz-Shāhī p. 451.

[2] This Nāṣiru-d-dīn was a grandson of Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Shāh, son of Emperor Balban. He was Governor of Lakhnautī, but had been ousted by his brother Bahadur Shāh, king of Bengal, who held his court at Sunargaon. This Nāṣiru-d-dīn and another brother Bughra Khān had taken refuge at the time with the Emperor of Delhī (Tughlak Shāh) who at their instigation invaded Bengal to chastise their brother, Bahadur Shāh (king of Bengal). The text, however, is misleading, and would incorrectly indicate that the Nāsiru-d-dīn here referred to is Sulṯān Nāṣiru-d-dīn Bughra Shāh, king of Bengal (son of Emperor Balban). See, however, Blochmann's "Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal" and Ṯarikh-i-Fīruz Shahi, pp. 450-451.

numerous presents. Sulṭān Ghiāsu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh treated him honourably, bestowed on him the Royal Umbrella and the Royal Staff, and ratified according to the old custom the continuance of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn's fief. And bringing to his presence Bahādur Shāh who had proved hostile, the Emperor enrolled him in the ranks of nobles. He, too, submitting to the Emperor, behaved like one of the nobles. Emperor Ghiāsu-d-dīn, appointing his adopted son, Tatār Khān, Governor of Sunārgāon, and entrusting to Nāṣiru-d-dīn the over-lordship of Sunārgāon, Gaur and Bengal, returned to Delhi.[1] But soon after, Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn died. The period of the rule of Bahādur Shāh in Bengal was thirty-eight years.



RULE OF QADR KHĀN.

When Sulṭān Ghiāsu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh returned from Bengal, before he could reach Delhī, on the way, in the month of Rabiu-l-āwwāl in the year 725 A.H., he perished under the roof of a newly built pavilion. His son, Ulagh Khān[2], ascended the throne of Delhī and proclaiming himself Muhammad Shāh bestowed on all the nobles offices and *Jagirs*, and bestowing the title of Qadr

1 This text is not quite accurate on all points. See note *ante*, regarding the fortunes of the Balbani dynasty in Bengal.

2 Ulagh Khān or Alagh Khān *alias* Fakhru-d-dīn Juna, nephew and son-in-law of Emperor Ghiasu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh, on the death of the latter by the accidental fall of the roof of a newly erected pavilion, ascended the throne of Delhī under the title of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh Tughlak in 725 A.H. An accomplished scholar, a general of the first order, a man of consummate ability, his eccentricity and visionary schemes marred his success as a sovereign. His great ambition was to extend his empire over the world, and to be a second Alexander. He fruitlessly threw away the pick of his splendid army for the invasion of Persia and the conquest of China. Though the fertility of his genius evolved and organised a revenue system, his financial eccentricity in establishing a fixed currency of copper coins completely disorganised it. He received an embassy from the Khalifa of Egypt, who sent out to him the investiture of Royalty. In his reign a severe famine broke out in Delhi, and in consequence there was a general exodus of its population to Bengal. He restored Bahadur Shāh to the kingdom of Sunargaon on certain conditions, but subsequently dethroned him. In his reign, Bengal became independent under Fakhru-d-din. (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, pp. 428, 453, 457 to 461, 473, 475, 478, 80, 492.)

Khān on Malik Bedār Khiljī, who was one of his leading nobles, he assigned to him the country of Lakhnautī, which had fallen vacant by the death of Sulṭān Nāṣiru-d-dīn. And giving the title of Bahrām Khān to Tatār Khān, whom Tughlak Shāh had appointed Governor of Sunārgāon, and who was an adopted brother of Sulṭan Muhammad Shāh, and bestowing on him in one day one hundred elephants and one thousand horses and one *karor* gold coins, and conferring on him the royal umbrella and the staff, and making him Viceroy of Bengal and Sunārgāon, he sent him to Bengal with all honours. And after fourteen years' administration of that country, Qadr Khān was killed at the hands of his servant, Fakhru-d-dīn, as will be related hereafter.

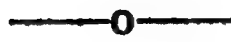
CHAPTER II.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE INDEPENDENT MUSALMAN KINGS WHO IN THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL MOUNTED THE THRONE, AND RECITED THE KHUṬBAH AFTER THEIR OWN NAMES.

It ought to be known that from the reign of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak to the reign of Sulṭān Ghiāsu-d-dīn Md. Tughlak Shāh, seventeen Emperors ruled at Delhī for a period of one hundred and fifty years, and that in the kingdom of Bengal its rulers exercised authority as Viceroys of the Emperors of Delhī, and that the *Khuṭbah* and the coins of the Emperors of Delhi were current in Bengal. If any of the Viceroys rebelling introduced the *Khuṭbah* and the coins after their own names, the Emperors of Delhī considering their chastisement necessary, swiftly punished them. In the reign of Muhammad Shāh, Qadr Khān, being appointed Governor of Lakhnautī, for fourteen years administered the affairs of that State. Then Malik Fakhru-d-dīn, who was Qadr Khān's Armour-Superintendent, meddling in administrative matters, obtained much influence, and, resolving in mind to usurp the Viceroyalty, watched for an opportunity. Finding Qadr Khān off his guard, Fakhru-d-dīn revolted, killed his own master, and became Viceroy of the kingdom of Bengal. When the Empire of Muhammad Shāh, the Emperor of Delhī, fell into complete decay, aiming in his mind amongst other things at the Emperor's capture, Fakhru-d-dīn withdrew his hand from submission to the Emperor of Delhī, and proclaimed himself king.[1] The Emperor of Delhī, owing to confusion in his own

[1] The period of the Independent Musalman Kings of Bengal lasted from 1338 to 1538 A.C., and began with Fakhru-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Mubarak Shāh, who was *Silahdar* or armour-bearer to Bahram Khān, the Governor of Sunārgāon. On his master's death in 739 H. or 1338 A.C., Fakhra killed Qadr Khān, Governor of Lakhnauti, and subdued provinces of Lakhnauti, Satgaon and Sunargaon, and assumed independence under the title of Fakhruddin (Tarikh-

Empire, could not direct his attention towards the kingdom of Bengal. From that time, the kingdom of Bengal became independent and distinct from the Delhi Empire. Fakhru-d-dīn was the first king who had the *Khutbah* of sovereignty recited after his own name in the Kingdom of Bengal.[1]



AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY OF SULṬĀN FAKHRU-D-DĪN.

When Sulṭān Fakhru-d-dīn ascended the throne of the kingdom of Lakhnautī, he sent out his officer Mukhaliṣ Khān with an efficient army for the subjugation of the outlying provinces of Bengal. Malik 'Alī Mubārik, the generalissimo of Qadr Khān, encountered him with a large army, and after much fighting killed Mukhaliṣ Khān, and routed the latter's entire force. Sulṭān Fakhru-d-dīn who had just become king, and was not confident of the loyalty of his officers, did not venture to attack

i-Firuz, Shāhī, p. 480). His coins minted at Sunārgāon, (published in Thomas's "Initial Coinage", would indicate that he reigned for ten years and some months. Ibn-i-Batutah mentions that he was an eminent man, and very generous His capital appears to have been at Sunārgāon. His son-in-law, Zafar Khān fled from Sunārgāon to Firuz Shāh in Delhī, who at his request (Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī by Shams-i-Siraj, pp. 105-114) invaded Bengal a second time during Sekandar Shāh's reign. Bengal attained great prosperity during the rule of these Independent Musalman Kings. Forts and public buildings were erected, Mosques, Colleges, Students' Hostels and Travellers' Guest-houses and Khanqahs were established in all parts of the Kingdom, tanks excavated, and roads laid down. Two great Royal Houses—one of Haji Ilyas and another of Alau-d-dīn Husain Shāh (with a brief break of about forty years, during which Rajah Kans and his successors usurped the Bengal Kingdom) reigned during this period. The Kingdom of Bengal received territorial expansion during this period. Western Assam (or Kamrūp), portions of Koch-Behar, and portions of Jajnagar (or Orissa), the whole of North Behar, (Tarikh-i-Fīruz Shahi. p. 586) and eastern portions of South Behar up to generally the town of Behar, were subject to the Bengal Kingdom. Musalman arms were carried far to the east across the Megna, which had hitherto proved a great barrier to Musalman extension, right up to Silhat and the western portions of Tiperah and Noakhali districts, including Chittagong. Great theistic movements having for their object the conciliation of the two races, sprang up. Kabir and Chaitanya, the great spiritual leaders who preached catholic doctrines, flourished in this period.

[1] This was in 1338 A.C.

'Alī Mubārik. And Malik 'Alī Mubārik collecting a large army proclaimed himself Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn, marched with his forces against Sulṭān Fakhru-d-dīn, and, in the a year 741 A.H., after fighting captured him, and slaying him,[1] avenged the murder of Qadr Khān.

Ye murdered, whom hast thou murdered, that to-day they
have murdered thee?
To-morrow they will kill him who has to-day killed thee!

After this, Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn, after leaving an efficient force to garrison Lakhnautī, himself proceeded to subjugate the outlying provinces of Bengal. The rule of Sulṭān Fakhru-d-dīn lasted two years and five months.

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THE ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF 'ALĪ MUBĀRIK STYLED SULṬĀN 'ALĀU-D-DĪN.[2]

It is said that in the beginning Malik 'Alī Mubārik was one of the trusty servants of Malik Fīruz Rajab. And MalikFīruz was

[1] The account in *Badaoni* (vol. I, p. 230 Pers. (text) gives a different version. *Badaoni* states as follows:—On the death of Bahram Khān, Governor of Sunargaon, in 739 A. H, Malik Fakhruddin who was his *Silahdar* or Quartermaster General, revolted, assumed the title of Fakhruddin, and fought against Qadr Khān, Governor of Lákhnauti, and was defeated. A second time, Fakhruddin fought against Qadr Khān, and defeated the latter (Qadr Khān's own soldiers killing Qadr Khān), established his rule over Sunargaon Province, and detached his officer Mukhalis to operate against Lakhnauti. Ali Mubarik, Adjutant General (Ariz-i-Lashkar) of the Army of Qadr Khān killed Mukhalis, established his own independence (in Lakhnauti), and sent out letters to the Emperor Muhammad Shah Tughlak, who sent out Malik-Yusaf, who died on his way to Bengal. After this, the Emperor being engaged with other affairs, did not send out any others to Bengal. For State reasons (observing the hostility of Fakhruddin of Sunargaon) Ali Mubarik in Lakhnauti assumed regal honours and the title of Sulṭān Alau-d-din. Malik Ilyas Haji, who was a tribal chief and a military commander, after some days, in collusion with certain Omara and Maliks of Lakhnauti, killed Alau-d-din, and himself assumed the title of Shamsu-d-din. In 741 A. H., the Emperor Muhammad Shāh Tughlak marched to Sunargaon, captured Fakhruddin, brought him to Lakhnauti, and killed him, and then retired to Delhī. Thenceforth Shamsuddin Ilyas Haji ruled independently over Bengal.

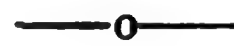
[2] His name appears from his coins (published in Thomas's "Initial Coinage), to be Alau-d-din Abul Muzaffar 'Ali Shāh. His capital appears to have

a nephew of Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh, and a cousin of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh. When Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh ascended the throne of Delhi, in the first year of his reign, he appointed Malik Firuz to be his Secretary. At that time, some misdemeanour came to pass on the part of Hājī Ilyās, foster-brother of 'Alī Mubārik, and owing to that he (Hājī Ilyās) escaped from Delhi. When Malik Firuz demanded him from 'Alī Mubārik, the latter searched for him. When no trace of his whereabouts was obtained, 'Alī Mubārik informed Malik Firuz of his escape. Malik Firuz remonstrating with him, banished him also from his presence. 'Alī Mubārik started for Bengal. On the way he saw in a dream Hazrat Shāh Makhdūm Jalālu-d-dīn Tabrizi[1] (may God sanctify his sepulchre!) and showing submissiveness and humility pleased the saint, who said: "We have bestowed on you the Ṣūbah of Bengal, but you should build for us a shrine." 'Alī Mubārik agreeing to this, enquired in what place the shrine was required to be built. The saint replied: "In the town of Pandūah, at a place where thou shalt find three bricks, one over the other, and one fresh hundred-leaved rose beneath those bricks; at that place the shrine should be built." When he reached Bengal, entering the service of Qadr Khān he stayed there, until gradually he became generalissimo of Qadr Khān's army. And when Malik Fakhru-d-dīn revolting against Qadr Khān, and killing his benefactor, assumed the reins of sovereignty, 'Alī Mubārik proclaiming himself Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn and drawing his forces against Fakhru-d-dīn, as has been mentioned before, avenged the murder of his benefactor, by slaying Fakhru-d-dīn. With great promptitude, posting a garrison at Lakhnautī, Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn turned his attention to the conquest of other provinces of Bengal. When he introduced the Khuṭbah and the

been at Pandūah, from the circumstance that his coins appear all to have been minted at Firuzabad (*i.e.*, Pandūah). Indeed, Pandūah is known as 'Alī Shāh's capital.'

[1] Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi was a disciple of Shaikh Said Tabrizi. After travelling for some time, he joined Shaikh Shahabuddin and became the latter's Khalifa or chief disciple. He was a great friend of Khwajah Quṭbuddin and Shaikh Bahauddin. Shaikh Najmuddin the junior who was at the time Shaikh-ul-Islam of Delhi, bore ill-feeling towards him, and made false accusations against his piety and character, and so Jalaluddin retired to Bengal. He is buried at the port of Deomahal (Maldive) See *Seir*, Vol. I, p. 231 and *Ain*.

coin of the kingdom of Bengal after his own name, becoming intoxicated with luxury and success, he forgot the injunction of the saint, so that one night he saw in a dream the saint, who said: "'Alāu-d-dīn, you have obtained the kingdom of Bengal, but forgotten my bidding." 'Alāu-d-dīn on the following day searching for the bricks, and finding them agreeably to the directions of the saint, erected there a shrine, the trace whereof exists up to this time. At that time Hāji Ilyās also came to Panduah. Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-dīn for some time kept him a prisoner, but by the intercession of Ilyas's mother, who was the nurse of Sulṯān 'Ālāu-d-dīn, he released him, and giving him an important position admitted him to his presence. Hāji Ilyās in a short time gaining over the army to his side, one day with the help of eunuchs slew Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-dīn, and proclaiming himself Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangrah usurped the provinces of Lakhnauti and Bengal. The reign of Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-din lasted one year and five months.



REIGN OF HĀJI ILYAS STYLED SULṮĀN SHAMSU-D-DĪN.

When Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-dīn was killed, and the sovereignty of Bengal passed to Hāji Ilyās 'Alāi, proclaiming himself Sulṯān Shamsu-d-dīn he mounted the throne in the holy city of Panduah.[1] As he took much *bhang*, he was called Shamsu-d-dīn Bhangrah. In conciliating the people, and winning the heart of the army, he put forth noble efforts. After a while, mustering an army, he went to Jājnagar, and from there obtaining many valuables and presents and large elephants, returned to his capital. And owing to the decay which had set in in the Empire of Delhi from the

1 Panduah is situate 12 miles north of English Bazar in Maldah district. From the beginning of the reign of Shamsuddīn Ilyās to the end of the reign of Rājah Kans, six kings ruled there for a period of 52 years, from 743 to 795 A.H. But perhaps 'Alī Mubārik should also be included amongst the kings who ruled at Panduah. His reign appears to have commenced in 741 A.H. (1340 A.C.) Professor Blochmann calls Panduah 'Ali Shāh's capital (J.A.S.B., XLII, 254) and Professor Blochmann's statement seems to be supported by the narrative of our author, *viz.*, the statement about 'Alī Mubārik building a shrine of the saint Jallāluddīn at Panduah, and also about Shamsuddīn Ilyā's arrival at Panduah. In 795 A.H. (1392), king Jallāluddīn (son of Rājah Kans) who became a Muhammadan, removed the capital back again to Gaur or Lakhnauti.

time of Sulṭān Muhammad Shāh, for thirteen years the Emperors of Delhi did not turn their attention to Bengal. Sulṭān Shamsu-d-dīn [1] with absolute independence devoted himself to the administrative affairs of Bengal, subjugated gradually all the tracts up to the limits of Banāras, and enhanced more than before his pomp and power, until the throne of Delhi passed to Fīrūz Shāh,[2] son

[1] Hājī Ilyās first appears to have in 746 A.H. made himself master of Western Bengal, whilst at that time Ikhtiaruddin Abul Muzaffar Ghazi Shāh (son of Mubarak Shāh) still reigned at Sunargaon in Eastern Bengal. Hājī Ilyās shortly after (753 A.H.) subdued Eastern Bengal also, and established himself at Sunargaon, and founded a dynasty which continued (with a brief break) to reign over Bengal till 896 A.H. or nearly a century and a half. He extended his western boundaries as far as Benares, founded Hajipur, and though Firuz Shāh Tughlak the Emperor led an expedition into Bengal to punish him, he had to return unsuccessful. For Ilyās Shāh's coinage, see Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S., 1867, pp. 57, 58.

The nearest contemporary account of this King will be found in Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī p. 586 by Ziauddin Barui and Siraj Afif p. 77.

[2] Sulṭān Fīruz Shāh Tughlak *alias* Malik Fīruz Bārbak was a son of an uncle of Muhammad Shah Tughlak, and a nephew of Ghiasu-d-dīn Tughlak Shāh. His father was Rajab Sālār who abandoning all worldly affairs, became a saint. When fifty years old, in 755 A.H., he was crowned as Emperor of Hindustan. He was a wise, noble and enlightened sovereign, He paid special attention to improvement of agriculture and of the economical condition of the country. He reformed the administration of justice, put down oppressions and corruption, lightly assessed land-revenue, and regulated its assessment according to the produce of the lands assessed and also according to the capacity of the tenantry to bear the assessment, and abolished octroi duties. He established thirty colleges, founded five hospitals and dispensaries, erected forty cathedral mosques and two hundred caravanserais, twenty monasteries, one hundred palaces and villas, and one hundred and fifty-two baths, and numerous gardens, and bridges. In the environs of Hansī, he erected a fort called Hisar-ī-Fīruz, and joined it by means of a canal with the river Jumna. His greatest work was the old Jumna canal; this canal drew its water from the Jumna, near a point where it leaves the mountains, and connected that river with the Ghaggar and the Sutlej by means of irrigation channels, spreading fertility all around. He caused the translation of several Sanskrit works into Persian, and encouraged learning and the learned. He was the recipient of a Royal investiture from Abūl Fatah Khalīf of Egypt. He reigned from 1351 to 88 A.C. The Tughlak dynasty ended in 1414 A.C., the Empire being shattered by the invasion of Timūr in 1398 A.C., during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Tughlak, the last real Tughlak king. (See Tarīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī pp. 548 570 by Ziauddīn Barni, and by Shams-i-Seraj).

of Rajab, who attempted to re-conquer Bengal. It is said that at that time Sulṭān S͟hamsu-d-dīn built a bath, similar to the S͟hamsī bath of Delhi. Sulṭān Fīrūz S͟hāh who was furious with anger against S͟hāmsu-d-dīn, in the year 754 A.H., set out for Lakhnautī, and after forced marches reached close to the city of Pandūah, which was then the metropolis of Bengal. The Emperor encamped at a place which is still called Fīrūzpūrabad,[1] and riding from that place besieged the Fort of Pandūah. Sulṭān S͟hamsu-d-dīn leaving his son with an army in the fort of Pandūah, entrenched himself in the fort of Ekdālah which was very impregnable. Fīrūz S͟hāh, not oppressing the people of Pandūah, captured in battle the son of Sulṭān S͟hamsu-d-dīn, and marched towards the fort of Ekdalāh.[2]

(END OF FASC. I.)

(FASC. II.)

On the first day, a bloody engagement took place. After that, for twenty-two days, he besieged the Fort.[3] Not succeeding, Firuz S͟hāh resolved to transfer his camp to the bank

[1] Firuzabadpur is a mistake here for Fīruzabad, close to Pandūah.

[2] Mr. Westmacott places Ekdalah near Dinajpur, whilst Mr. Beveridge places it near Dacca. For a discussion on the site of the fort of Ekdalah, also see Blochmann's Contributions to History and Geography of Bengal, J.A.S., 1873, p. 213 and also Mr. Beveridge's Analysis of "Khurshid Jahan Numa."

In Tarik͟h-i-Fīruz S͟hāhī by Zia 'Barnī, Ekdalah is described as follows (Pers. text, p. 588): "Ekdalah is the name of a mouza close to Panduah; on one side of it is a river, and on another a jungle." Zia 'Barnī is a contemporary historian for the period; therefore, this description given by him fixes the site of the Fort of Ekdalah *near* Panduah, and sets at rest all the speculations to the contrary raised by Mr. Beveridge (in his Analysis of Khurs͟hid Jahān Numa) who fixes it near the Bhowal jungle in Dacca district, and also by Mr. Westmacott who would place it towards Dinajpur. Professor Blochmann is inclined to treat 'Ekdalah' as a generic name, referring to several places. See J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 212-213. Rennel gives another Ekdalah north of Dacca "map of Hindustan." S͟hams-i-Siraj in his Tarik͟h-Firuz S͟hāhi (Pers. text p. 79) calls it the "isles of Ekdalah."

[3] The first expedition of Emperor Fīruz S͟hāh Tug͟hlak into Bengal (in 754 A.H.=1353 A.C.) is fully and humourously described by Zia 'Barnī, a contemporary historian, in the Tarik͟h-i-Fīruz S͟hāhī (Pers. text, p. 586), who

of the Ganges. Then, alone, he searched for a proper camping ground. Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn thinking that Fīruz Shāh

closes his history with a narrative of this expedition and of the events up to the sixth year of Fīruz Shāh's reign. The object of the expedition was to punish Sultān Shamsu-d-din Hajī Ilyās who had invaded and ravaged Tirhut and harried the frontier (then the Sro river) between the Bengal Kingdom and the Delhi Empire. The Emperor set out from Delhi on 10th Shawal 754 A.H., reached Oudh, crossed the Sro river, when Ilyās Shāh withdrew to Tirhut. The Emperor crossing the Sro, marched through Arsa-i-Kharosah (not identified) and Gorakpūr, the Rajahs whereof paid him homage and enlisted themselves on his side. Ilyās Shāh then returned from Tirhut to Pandūah, the Emperor following him towards Lakhnauti and Panduah, after traversing Jagat or Jakat (not identified) and Tirhut (the Rajahs whereof also paid homage to the Emperor). Ilyās Shāh, on approach of the Emperor to Panduah, retired to Fort Ekdalah, where he entrenched himself. The Emperor did not plunder Panduah, but left its population unmolested, crossed the river in front of the fort Ekdalah, and laid siege to it for several days. He had scruples about destroying promiscuously the garrison of the Fort, so he made a feint retreating movement back across the river, which resulted in drawing out Ilyās Shāh from the Fort. A battle was fought, the Bengal army in which elephants formed a prominent feature was defeated, and the Imperialists captured forty-four Bengal elephants, &c., &c. On finding that the rainy season was approaching, the Emperor by forced marches (after appointing Collectors in Tirhut district) returned to Delhi, which was reached on 12th Shāban 755 A.H. or 1354 A.C.

This first expedition is also narrated by Shams Siraj Afif, another nearly contemporary historian, who continued Barni's Tarikh-i-Fīruz Shāhī. (See Pers. MSS., text p. 76). From this account, the following additional interesting facts are gleaned :—

1. That Fīruz Shāh sailed to Bengal in one thousand flotilla of war-vessels, and his route lay across the Sro, the Ganges and the Kosī rivers, that his expeditionary force consisted of 70,000 Khanāns and Malūks, two *laks* infantry, 60,000 cavalry, besides an elephant-corps.

2. That when Fīruz Shāh crossed the Kosī river, Ilyās Shāh, king of Bengal, retired from Pandūah to Ekdalah, which is called here the "Isles of Ekdalah."

3. That Fīruz Shāh laid siege to the fort of Ekdalah for several days, and nothing decisive occurring, made a feint retreating movement westward seven *karoh* or Kos from Ekdalah, when Ilyās Shāh thinking Fīruz Shāh was retreating, came out of the fort Ekdalah, advanced, and attacked the Imperialists, who defeated and killed one *lak* of the Bengal army, and captured 50 Bengal elephants.

4. That then Ilyās Shāh escaped again to the Fort of Ekdalah, which was about to be stormed by the Imperialists, when the females of the garrison uncovering their heads, exhibited themselves, and raised loud lamentations,

had marched to retire, came out of the fort, and mustered his forces.

> Owing to the sword and the arrow and the spear and the gun,
> The market of fighting became warm on both sides.
> The bodies of heroes were emptied of their souls;
> Like roses, on their faces, budded forth wounds.

After much slaughter on both sides, a large number of people were killed and destroyed. At length, the breeze of victory wafted on the standard of Fīruz Shāh, and Shamsu-d-dīn being overpowered fled, and sought refuge in the Fort. Forty-four elephants which he had brought from Jajnagar, together with the Royal Umbrella and the standard and other regal chattels and paraphernalia, fell into the hands of the soldiers of Fīruz Shāh. It is said that at that time the Saint Shaikh Rāja Biyābāni[1] in whom Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn had great faith, died. Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn coming out of the Fort, in the guise of a mendicant, joined the Shaikh's funeral. After finishing the obsequies, he rode alone to see Fīruz Shāh, and without the latter recognizing him, returned to the Fort. When the Sultān came to know about it, he expressed regret. In short, when the period of siege was protracted, and the rainy season set in, in that in the rains, the country of Bengal becomes one sheet of water, and cause for anxiety arises, Sultān Fīruz Shāh made overtures for peace. Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn, who was hard-pressed by the siege, partially made his submission, and also sought for peace. Fīruz Shāh, releasing the son of Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn together with other prisoners of the kingdom of Lakhnauti, raised the standard of return. And in the year 755 A.H., Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn sent many presents and numerous rareties, in charge of wise envoys, to Sultān Fīruz Shāh. The latter also showing attentions to the envoys, sent them back. And since Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn had

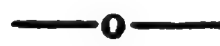
which softened the heart of Fīruz Shāh, who abandoned the work of destruction.

5. That before marching back towards Delhi, Fīruz Shāh halted for some days at Panduah, named it "Fīruzabad," introduced there the *Khutbah* after his own name, and also named "Ekdalah" "Azādpur."

6. That Fīruz Shāh's expedition lasted eleven months.

[1] He died in 1353 A.C. (754 A.H.) when Emperor Fīruz Shāh besieged Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn Haji Ilyās in Ekdalah Fort.

great anxiety from Fīruz Shāh, consequently in 757 A.H. the former sent to Delhī wise and sagacious envoys, and sought for peace. Fīruz Shāh agreeing, returned the envoys loaded with honours. From that time, the boundaries between the Kingdoms of Delhī and Bengal were delimitated; and the Emperors of Delhī adhering to the terms of the treaty, never meddled with the Kings of Bengal, and by mutual exchange of presents on both sides, they maintained friendly relations between the two kingdoms. And in the year 758 A.H., Sulṭān Shāmsu-d-dīn again sent from Bengal Malik Tāju-d-dīn with some nobles, in the form of an embassy, with many presents and gifts to Delhī. Sulṭān Fīruz Shāh bestowing attentions on the envoys more than before, after some days, sent in return to Sulṭān Shāmsu-d-dīn Arab and Turkish horses, together with other valuable presents, in charge of Malik Saifu-d-dīn Shāhnafīl. In the meantime, Sulṭān Shāmsu-d-dīn[1] had died in Bengal. Malik Tāju-d-dīn and Malik Saifu-d-dīn had approached Behar, when they heard the news of the death of Sultān Shāmsu-d-dīn. Malik Saifu-d-dīn communicated this intelligence to Delhī, and agreeably to the order of the Emperor, he gave away the horses and the presents in lieu of the pay due to the Imperial soldiers stationed in Behar. Malik Tāju-d-dīn returned to Bengal. The reign of Shāmsu-d-dīn lasted 16 years and some months.



THE REIGN OF SIKANDAR SHĀH, SON OF SHĀMSU-D-DĪN.

When Sulṭān Shāmsu-d-dīn Bhangra passed away from this fleeting world, on the third day, with the consent of the nobles

1 Regarding coinage of Ilyās Shāh, see Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S., 1867, pp. 57-58.

" Having in 746 become master of Western Bengal, Ilyās Shāh in 753 A.H. established himself at Sunargaon, near Dacca, and thus founded a dynasty which with an exception of about forty years in the beginning of the ninth century of the Hijrah, continued to rule over Bengal till 886 A.H." (Blochmann's Contribution, J.A.S., 1873, p. 254).

His coins (see p. 58, J.A.S. for 1867), disclose the interesting fact that several of them were minted at Sunargaon (which is termed on the coins Hazrat Jallal Sunargaon or the Illustrious Royal Residence of Sunargaon), bearing dates A.H. 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758. His name on the coins is " Shamsu-d-dīn Abūl Muzzaffar Ilyās Shāh."

and the generals, his eldest son, Sikandar S̲h̲āh, ascended the throne of Bengal, and spreading the hem of justice and generosity on the heads of the people, proclaimed joyful tidings of peace and security. And deeming it expedient to conciliate Sulṭān Fīruz S̲h̲āh, he sent, in the shape of presents, fifty elephants with sundry rareties. In the meantime, Fīruz S̲h̲āh, Emperor of Delhī, in the year 760 A.H. marched[1] to subjugate the kingdom of Bengal.

1 The object of this second expedition of Emperor Fīruz S̲h̲āh into Bengal in 760 A.H. (1359 A.C.) was to reinstate Zafar K̲h̲ān (son-in-law of Sulṭān Fak̲h̲ru-d-dīn Mubarak S̲h̲āh, king of Sunargaon) on the throne of Sunargaon. See details in Tarik̲h̲-i-Fīruz S̲h̲āhī by S̲h̲ams Sirāj Afīf (Pers. MS. text, p. 97). From it, it appears that the Musalman throne of Sunargaon was *more ancient* than the Musalman throne of Panduah, that on Fīruz S̲h̲ah's return from Bengal *after* his first expedition (this would necessitate a slight modification of Professor Blochmann's date in n: 1 *ante* p. 103) S̲h̲amsuddin Ilyas S̲h̲ah sailed and reached Sunargaon in a few days. At that time (755 A-H. or 1354 A-C.) Sulṭan Fak̲h̲ru-d-din was reigning in security at Sunargaon. S̲h̲amsuddin took him by surprise, captured and slew him, and usurped the Sunargaon Kingdom, in addition to his Kingdom of Lak̲h̲nautī and Pandūah. At that time Zafar Khan, son-in-law of Fak̲h̲ruddin who was touring out in the interior of Sunargaon, to collect revenue and to locally enquire into the conduct of collectors of revenue, heard the above news, sailed on a ship from Sunargaon by the ocean-route to Thatah and thence proceeded to Delhi, and sought help from Fīruz S̲h̲āh. Peace was concluded with Sikandar S̲h̲āh, on the latter agreeing to reinstate Zafar K̲h̲ān in the kingdom of Sunargaon—which however did not come to pass, as Zafar K̲h̲ān preferred to go back to Delhi. Like Ilyās S̲h̲āh, Sikandar took refuge in the Fort of Ekdalah. From Bengal, Fīruz S̲h̲āh invaded Jajnagar (Orissa), defeated the Rajah who made his submission, carried off the idol of Jaganath to Delhi, (p. 119) and captured many elephants. The Emperor's stay in Bengal and Jajnagar during this expedition covered 2 years and 7 months (p. 121). In this connection, an interesting description of Jajnagar is given by Shams Siraj Afīf (Tarik̲h̲-i-Fīruz S̲h̲āhī, Pers. MS. text, p. 115, and in Muntakhibal Tawarikh (Pers. text, p. 247, Vol. I, Fasc. III,). Bearing in mind what Zia 'Barnī states regarding Jajnagar in connection with Emperor Balban's expedition to Sunargaon, I am inclined to agree with Professor Blochmann that there were two Jajnagars: one in Orissa, and another towards Tipperah. The account in Muntakhiba Tawarik̲h̲ referred to above, is slightly different from that in Tarik̲h̲-i-Fīruz S̲h̲āhī by Shams Seraj Afīf. Badaoni in Muntakhib states that Fīruz S̲h̲āh after completing his second expedition into Bengal (760 A.H.) *returned* from Panduah by forced marches to Jaunpur (p. 247, Muntakhib Pers. text, Vol. I, Fasc. III), where he spent the rainy season, and that at the end of this year, by way of Behar, he marched into Jajnagar (Orissa), passing through Sāthīg̲h̲ira, Barānasī, and crossing the Mahandri river (the Rajah of Barāṇas

When he reached Zafarābād,[1] the rains setting in, the Emperor encamped there, and sent envoys to Sikandar Shāh. Sikandar Shāh was in anxiety about the aim of the Emperor of Delhi, when Firuz Shāh's envoys arrived. Sikandar Shāh immediately sent his aid-de-camp together with five elephants and other presents, and opened negociations for peace; but these resulted in nothing. After the rainy season was over, Sultān Firuz Shāh marched to Lakhnauti. When the Sultān encamped in the environs of Panduah, Sikandar Shāh feeling that he was no match for the Sultān followed his father's tactics, and entrenched himself in the Fort of Ekdālāh. Firuz Shāh pressed the siege hard. When the garrison was reduced to straits, Sikandar Shāh sending forty elephants together with other goods and presents and numerous rareties, and agreeing to pay an annual tribute, sought for peace. Firuz Shāh accepting these returned to Delhi. After this for some years, Sikandar Shāh with absolute independence gave full rein to enjoyments. And in the year 766 A.H., he built the Adīna mosque;[2] but before he could finish it, death overtook him, and the mosque remained half finished. Some trace of the mosque still exists in the jungles of Panduah, at a distance of one *karoh* from the town. The Author of this history has seen it. In

fleeing to Telinga and the Rājah of Sathghīra fleeing into a distant corner) marched into the territory of Rajah Prihan Deo, who sent to the Emperor as tribute 32 elephants, besides other valuable presents, and thence the Emperor marched on hunting expeditions into the forests of Padmāvatī and Piremtola which contained powerful and big elephants, bagged three live elephants, and killed two elephants, and in 762 A.H. returned to Delhi victorious.

The account in Tarīkh-i-Firuz Shahi by Shams-i-Siraj is more reliable, as Siraj's father was *with* Firuz Shah during the expedition (p. 115)—Siraj correctly mentions 'Banaresi' (which means evidently 'Katak Banares', therefore, *Badaonis* 'Baranasi' appears to be an error), also names 'Adabah' as Rai of Jajnagar, also "Rai Shanied," also 'Rai Thud.' The Rajah of Jajnagar owned ships, elephants, and lofty palaces constructed of stone, and laid out with gardens, (p. 116).

[1] Zafarabad lies on the right bank of the Gumtī, a little below Jaunpur, which lies on the left bank. The maps give instead "Jaffarabad," which is a corruption of "Zaffarabad." Zaffarabad is mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbarī as a pergunnah in Sarkar Jaunpur under the Subah of Ilahabad (Allahabad)—Jarrett's Tr., Ain., Vol. II, p. 164.

[2] This beautiful mosque is at Pandūah. Its inscription has been published in J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 257. The inscription was written in 770 A.H, (1369 A.C.)

truth, it is a beautiful mosque, and an enormous sum must have been expended on its erection. One ought to be thankful for his efforts. It is said that Sikandar Shāh had seventeen sons by his first wife, and by his second wife he had one son, named Ghiāsu-d-dīn, who, in polish of manners and other qualities, was superior to his other brothers, and was proficient in the art of government. Consequently, the first wife kindling the fire of envy and jealousy and wishing the destruction of Ghiāsu-d-dīn, sought for an opportunity to injure him. One day, finding an opportunity, she respectfully placed the hand on her chest, in the presence of the king, and desired to state her object. The king guessing from the manner of the wife said: "Speak out what thou hast to say." The wife said: "I would submit my prayer, if the king would take an oath to fulfil it and try his best to fulfil it." The king swore to fulfil it, and indulging in a bit of hyperbole said: "Unbosom the desire that thou hast, and make thy lip the mirror of the dust of thy heart." The shrewd queen said: "I am in great anxiety, in consequence of the conduct of Ghiāsu-d-dīn. He is scheming to mount the throne, by killing the king and destroying my sons. Although he is in the position of a son to me, and I do not wish that he should be killed, yet as the safeguarding of the life of the king is incumbent, you should not let slip from the hand the rein of alertness, but provide previously against any mishap. The best course would be that you should imprison him, or blind his eyes." The king on hearing this became perturbed, and said, "What is this aim of thine which thou hast mingled with the liquid of my welfare?, and what is this fire of envy that thou hast mixed with solicitude for me? Thou feelest no shame that thou hast seventeen sons, whilst the other frail lady has only this one son. What you do not like for yourself, do not desire unto others." The queen again anxiously said: "Envy and jealousy have nothing to do with my suggestion. The duty that I thought incumbent upon myself in the interests of thy well-being, I have discharged; after this, my sovereign is at liberty to do what he pleases." The king putting the padlock of silence on the portal of the tongue, kept quiet, and said within himself, "As Ghiāsu-d-dīn is a dutiful son and possesses capacity for ruling, even if he seeks to take my life, let it be so! Happy it is, if the son is dutiful. But if he is undutiful, may he perish!" After this, he

put the reins of authority entirely into the hands of Sulṭān G͟hiāsu-d-dīn. But G͟hiāsu-d-dīn, who suspected always the wiles and stratagems of the queen, one day on the pretext of hunting escaped towards Sunārgāon, and in a short time mobilising a large army, demanded the throne from his father. Shortly after, in order to wrest the kingdom, he marched with a large army from Sunārgāon, and encamped at Sunārgadhī.[1] From the other side, the father also with a powerful army advanced. On the next day, on the battlefield of Goālpāra,[2] both sides marshalling their forces prepared to fight.

The son shewed malice towards the father:
Blood flowed from the perturbed heart.
The father snapped the ties of kindness and affection:
You might say that love had vanished from the world.

Although G͟hiāṣu-d-dīn had given strict orders to his soldiers and commanders that to the utmost they should capture the king alive, but as fate willed otherwise, Sikandar S͟hāh was unknowingly killed at the hands of one of the commanders of G͟hiāṣu-d-dīn. Whilst still the slayer was standing at his head, one amongst them seeing Sikandar S͟hāh killed, enquired as to who had killed him. He said: "I have killed him;" the other man said, "You felt no pity for Sulṭān Sikandar." Then both in fright went to G͟hiāṣu-d-dīn and said: "In case we fear that by restraining our hands, we may be killed, can we kill him?" G͟hiāṣu-d-dīn said: "Certainly you may kill him," and after some reflection he said: "Apparently, thou hast killed the king." The slayer said: "Yes, unknowingly I inflicted a cut with the spear on the heart of the king. Still he has some remnants of life." G͟hiāṣu-d-dīn proceeded swiftly, dismounted from the horse, and placed the head of the father on his lap, and tears trickled down his cheek, and he said: "Father, open thy eyes, and express thy dying

[1] Not identified, but it must have been close to Sunargaon.

[2] Identified by Professor Blochmann to be a village quite close to Panduah, S.-W. of it (J.A.S., 1873, p. 256). But Dr. Wise in his interesting "Notes on Sunargaon" (J. A. S. for 1874, p. 85) correctly places it near Jafargunje in Dhaka district, and nearly opposite to the junction of the Ganges and the Jabuna. "Eight years ago," says Dr. Wise, "Sikandar Shah's tomb was pointed out in the above neighbourhood."

wish, that I may fulfil it." The king opened his eyes, and said: "My life's work is over; the kingdom is welcome to thee.

May you prosper in your sovereignty,
As I have quitted the world."

After he said this, the bird of his soul flew away. Ghiāṣu-d-dīn seeing no good in tarrying further, left behind some nobles to attend to the obsequies of his father, and himself rode forward towards Panduah, and ascended the throne. The reign of Sikandar Shāh[1] lasted nine years and some months. He was a contemporary of the saint 'Alaul Haq.[2]



THE REIGN OF GHIĀṢU-D-DĪN,[3] SON OF SIKANDAR SHĀH.

When Sikandar Shāh was laid in the grave, the throne of Bengal received eclat from the accession of Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn. First blinding the eyes of his step-brothers, he sent them to their mother, and freed himself from anxiety as to the wiles of his brothers. After this, he commenced dispensing justice, and throughout his life lived at rest and ease. It is related that once Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn falling seriously ill despaired of life, and selected three maids from his harem, one named *Sarv*, the

[1] For his coinage see Thomas's Initial Coinage (J.A.S., 1867, pt. II). His name from coins (see pp. 65-67 J.A.S., 1867), appears to be "Abul Majahid Sikandar Shāh." Some of his coins are of Sunargaon mint.

[2] Shaikh 'Alauddīn Alaul Haq died on the 1st Rajab, 800 A.H. or 29th March, 1398, and his tomb is at Panduah. A short biographical sketch of this saint is given by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B., p. 262 for 1873. His son and successor was Shaikh Nuruddīn Nūr Quṭb Alam who died in 851 A.H. or 1447 A.C., and lies buried at Panduah. Nūr Qutb Alam was succeeded by his sons Rafiuddīn and Shaikh Anwar.

[3] On the coins, he is called "Ghiaṣuddīn Abūl Muzaffar Azam Shāh." (See Thomas's Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S. for 1867, pp. 68-69). His early coins were minted at Muazzamabad in Eastern Bengal, and he held court at Sunargaon, during the lifetime of his father, Sikandar Shāh, against whom he rebelled. His court was an asylum for the learned and the cultured, and he was himself a just and righteous sovereign, and a man of light and sweetness. He invited the illustrious Persian poet Hafiz to his court. His tomb is at Sunargaon (See pl. 8 in J.A.S. 1874, p. 85.)

second named *Gul*, and the third named *Lalah*, to perform the last bathing ceremony. When God granted him recovery, considering them auspicious he bestowed attentions on them more than before. The other maids from envy used to taunt them about the bathing, so that one day whilst the king was in a jolly mood, they related to him this affair. The king recited the following line—

ساقي - حديث سرو وگل ولاله ميرود

"Cup-bearer, this is the story of *Sarv* (the cypress) *Gul* (the Rose) and *Lalah* (the Tulip").

The second line of the verse could not be supplied, and none of the poets attached to court could supply it. Then the king writing this line, sent it with an envoy to Shamsu-d-din Hāfiz to Shiraz. Hāfiz [1] quickly supplied the next line :—

اين بحث با ثلاثهٔ غساله ميرود

("This story relates to the three bathers"). This 2nd line is not devoid of ingenious excellencies, and he sent also another ghazal in his name. The king in return bestowed on him valuable presents. These two lines are from that ghazal :—

شکر شکن شوند همه طوطيان هند
زين قند پارسي که به بنگاله ميرود
حافظ ز شوق مجلس سلطان غياث دين
خامش مشو که کار تو از ناله ميرود [2]

(*Translation*). The parrots of Hindustan shall all be sugar-shedding

From this Persian sugar-candy that goes forth to Bengal.
Hāfiz, from the yearning for the company of Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn,
Rest not; for thy (this) lyric is the outcome of lamentation.

[1] Hafiz the renowned Persian poet of Shīraz died in 791 A.H.
[2] Translation of first two lines by Jarret (See Ain p. 148 Vol. 2.)
"And now shall India's parroquets on sugar revel all.
In this sweet Persian lyric that is borne to far Bengal."

In short, Sultān Ghiāsu-d-dīn was a good ruler, and adhered strictly to the injunctions of the sacred law. For instance, it is related that one day whilst at arrow-shooting, the king's arrow accidentally hit a widow's son. The widow sought for redress from Qāzī Sirāju-d-dīn. The Qāzi was in anxiety; for if he shewed partiality towards the king, he would be held culpable before the tribunal of God, and if he did not do so, the summoning of the king would be a difficult affair. After much deliberation, he sent a peon to summon the king, and himself sat on the tribunal of justice, placing a whip underneath the *masnad.* When the Qāzi's peon reached the palace, finding access to the king impossible, he commenced shouting out the call to prayer (Azan). The king hearing this untimely call to prayer, ordered the Muazzin (caller to prayer) to be brought to his presence. When the Royal servants carried the latter to the royal presence, the king enquired as to this untimely call to prayer. He (peon) said: "Qāzi Sirāju-d-dīn has deputed me, in order that I may take the king to the tribunal of justice. Since access to the king was difficult, I adopted this device to obtain access. Now get up, and come to the tribunal The widow's son whom you wounded with an arrow, is the complainant." The king immediately got up, and concealing a small sword under his arm-pit, set out. When he appeared before the Qāzi, the latter not at all paying attention to the king, said: "Consolate the heart of this old woman." The king consolated her in a way that he could, and said: "Qāzi, now the old woman is satisfied." Then the Qāzi turning to the old woman enquired, "Have you received redress and been satisfied?" The woman said: "Yes, I am satisfied."[1] Then the Qāzi got up in great delight, and showing respect to the king, seated him on the *masnad.* The king drawing out the sword from his arm-pit said: "Qāzi, in obedience to the injunctions of the sacred Law, I have appeared at your tribunal. If to-day I found you deviating by one hair-breadth from adherence to the injunctions of the Law, with this very sword I should have severed your head. God be thanked, that everything has been all-right." The Qāzi also drew his whip from underneath the *mansad,* and said: "Sire, if to-day I found thee in the least transgressing the injunctions of the sacred

[1] Commutation or compounding of certain offences is permitted by the Muhammadan Law, as is also permitted (though to a more limited extent) by the present English Criminal Procedure Law of India.

Law, by God, with this very whip I should have turned your back red and black"[1] and added—



رسیده بود بلائی ولی بخیر گذشت

"A calamity had come but has ended well." The king, being pleased, bestowing gifts and presents on the Qāzi, returned. The king from the beginning had great faith in the Saint Nur Quṯubul 'Alam, and was his contemporary and fellow-student; for both took their lessons from Shaikh Hamīdu-d-dīn[2] Kunjnashīn Nagorī. At length, in the year 775 A.H., by the stratagems of Rajah Kāns who was a zemindar in that part, the king was treacherously killed. The reign of Ghiāṣu-d-dīn lasted seven years and some months, and according to another account, it lasted sixteen years, five months and three days.[3]

——o——

REIGN OF SAIFU-D-DĪN STYLED SULṬANU-S-SALAṬĪN.[4]

When Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn passed from the narrow human frame into the wide space of the soul, the nobles and the generals

[1] This story speaks volumes in favour of the purity of the administration of justice that must have prevailed in the latter part of the fourteenth century under the Musalman *régime* in Bengal. History fails to furnish an instance that can surpass this, in exemplifying the honesty and sense of duty of a humble peon, the judicial fearlessness and integrity of a judge, and the law-abiding nature of a king.

[2] Shaikh Hamīd of Nagor belonged to Nagor in Jodhpūr.

[3] For Coinage of this King, see Thomas's Initial Coinage, J.A.S.B., 1867, pp. 68–70.

From the circumstance that his early coins were struck at the mint-town of Muazzamabad (territory whereof has been identified to have extended from the Megna to north-eastern Maimansingh and the right bank of the Surma), it would appear that he first acquired power in Eastern Bengal, and reigned first at Sunargaon, from which place according to the Riyaz he marched out to fight against his father, Sikandar Shāh, who reigned at Panduah. Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn must have invited Hafiz to his court at Sunargaon, (as Hafiz died in 791 A.H.,) when, according to Sikandar Shāh's coins noticed by Mr. Thomas, Sikandar Shāh yet ruled at Panduah. (See also J.A.S. for 1873, p. 258).

[4] On the coins he is called Saifu-d-dīn Abul Majahid Hamzah Shāh, son of Azam Shāh (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 259). Ferishta says: "The Rajahs of the country did not draw their heads out of the yoke of obedience, and did not

of the army placed his son, Saifu-d-din, on the paternal throne styling him Sultān-u-s-Salatin.

One goes out, and another comes in in his place :
The world is never left without a master.

He was sober in character, and generous and brave. He reigned over Bengal for ten years, and in the year 785 A.H. he died, and according to another account, he reigned three years and seven months and five days. God knows the truth.



REIGN OF SHAMSU-D-DĪN,[1] SON OF SULṬĀNU-S-SALĀṬĪN.

After the death of Sulṭānu-s-Salātīn, his son, Shamsu-d-dīn, with the consent of the councillors and members of Government, ascended the throne, and according to ancient usages he observed the ceremonies attendant on assumption of sovereignty, and for a period was at ease and comfort. In the year 788 A.H. either by some natural disease, or by the stratagem of Rajah Kāns, who at that time had become very powerful, he died. Some have written that this Shamsu-d-dīn was not an actual but adopted son of Sulṭānu-s-Salātīn, and that his name was Shahābu-d-dīn. Either way, he reigned for three years, four months, and six days. And the true account is, that Rajah Kāns who was zamindār of Bathuriah[2] attacking him, slew him, and usurped the throne.

neglect or delay in paying revenue to him." According to the Tabaqat, he reigned 10 years. The coins discovered of him, were struck at Firuzabad (or Panduah).

1 Ferishta says, that as the king was young and weak in intellect, an infidel named Rajah Kāns, who was attached to the court, usurped the executive and collection of taxes. The Tabaqat says that the king died after a quiet and peaceful reign of three years and a few months.

Professor Blochmann identifies this king (whose coins have not been discovered) with king Shahabu-d-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Bayazīd Shāh, whose coins are noticed by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S, p. 263, for 1873. Bayazīd Shāh, according to Professor Blochmann's theory, was "a puppet king—a benami transaction," whilst Rajah Kāns ruled over Bengal.

2 Professor Blochmann says (J.A.S.B., p. 263 for 1873):—

"The name of Bhaturiah does not occur in the Ain, nor have I seen it before the time of Rennel's Atlas (1778) in which the name of Bhaturiah is

USURPATION OF RAJAH KĀNS[1] ZAMINDAR.

When Sultān Shamsu-d-dīn died, Rajah Kāns a Hindū Zamindar, subjugating the whole kingdom of Bengal, seated himself on the throne, and commenced oppressions, and seeking to destroy the Musalmans, slew many of their learned and holy men. His aim was to extirpate Islām from his dominions. It is said one day Shaikh Badrul Islām, father of Shaikh Muinu-d-dīn 'Abbas, sat down before that wretch, without saluting him. Thereupon he said: "Shaikh, why did you not salute me?" The Shaikh said: "It is not becoming for the learned to salute infidels, especially a cruel and blood-shedding infidel, like thee, who has shed the blood of Musalmans." On hearing this, that unholy infidel kept silent, and, coiling like the serpent, aimed at killing him. One day he sat in a house which had a low and narrow entrance, and summoned in the Shaikh. When the Shaikh arrived, he guessed the Rajah's object, so he first put out his legs inside, and afterwards not bending the head, entered. That

given to a large district east of Maldah, bounded in the west by the Mahananda river and the Purnabhaba, its tributary, in the south by the left bank of the Ganges, in the east by the Karataya, and in the north by Dinajpur and Ghoraghat. Bhaturiah therefore is the district to both sides of the Atrai river." Professor Blochmann (J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 287), identifies "Bhaturiah" as part of old Barendra, in Rajshahi proper, between Amrūl and Bagura, and signifying Northern Rajshahi Proper including Tahirpur. Professor Blochmann also considers, that the name "Rajshahi" is connected with Rajah Kāns, who was a Rajah-Shāh, that is, a Hindu Rajah who ascended a Musalman throne.

[1] The Tabaqat-i-Akbari merely notices Kāns's usurption. Ferishta says that though not a Musalman, Kāns was a friend (*Sic.*) of Musalmans. The Riyaz gives the best account, based perhaps on local traditions. Mr. Westmacott inaccurately identifies "Rajah Kāns" of Bhathuriah with Rajah Ganesh of Dinajpur." Professor Blochmann (I think correctly) identifies "Rajah Kāns" with "Rajah Kāns Narayan" of Tahirpur which latter is included in Bhathuriah. (See J.A.S.B., p. 287 for 1875).

Rajah Kāns does not appear to have issued coins in his own name, but during his *régime*, posthumous coins of Azam Shāh (noticed by Hon'ble Sir E. C. Bayley in J.A.S., 1874, p. 294n.) and coins in the name of Shahabudin Bayazīd Shāh, a puppet king or a *benami* king (noticed by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 263), were issued.

Rajah Kāns from the testimony of coins appears to have reigned from 810 A.H. to 817 A.H. or 1407 to 1414 A.C. but he appears to have actually usurped the government earlier in 808 A.H.

infidel flew into rage, and ordered that the Shaikh should be placed in a line with his brothers. Immediately, the Shaikh was killed, and the rest of the learned that very day were placed on a boat and drowned in the river. The Saint Nūr Qutbu-l-'Alam becoming impatient by reason of the oppressions of that infidel and his slaughter of the Musalmans, wrote as follows to Sultān Ibrahīm Sharqī [1] who ruled at that time up to the limits of Behār: "The ruler of this country, named Kāns, is an infidel. He is committing oppressions, and shedding blood. He has killed many of the learned and holy men, and destroyed them. At present, he is aiming to kill the remainder of the Musalmans, and to extirpate Islām from this country. Since to help and protect Musalmans, is a duty incumbent on Musalman sovereigns, accordinly I intrude on your valuable time with these few lines. I pray for your auspicious arrival here, for the sake of the residents of this country, and also in order to oblige me, so that Musalmans may be rescued from the oppressive load of this tyrant. Peace

[1] Shamsu-d-dīn Ibrahīm Shāh Sharqī, king of Jaunpur, reigned from 804 to 845 A.H. (1401–1441 A.C.) The Sharqī kingdom was created in 795 A.H. by Sultān Mahmūd, son of Sultan Alauddin Sikandar Shāh, son of Sultān Muhammad, son of Sultān Firuz Shāh Tughluk, owing to the increasing feebleness of the Delhī Empire. The Sharqī kingdom, extended from Qanuj to Behar. Mahmud first bestowed the title of Sultān-us-Sharqī on Malik Sarwar, a eunuch who already held the title of Khajah-Jahan. The following table will be useful:—

	A.H.	A.C.
Khajah Jahan	800	1397
Mubark Shāh	803	1400
Shamsu-d-din Ibrahim Shāh	804	1401
Mahmud Shāh	845	1441
Muhammad Shāh ...	856	1451
Husain	856	1451

The last took refuge in the court of Alau-d-din Husain Shāh, king of Bengal about 900 A.-H. or 1497 B.-C. Jaunpur continued to be governed by the Lodi dynasty till the defeat and death of Ibrāhim, grandson of Bahlol at Panipat by Babar in 1526 A.C. A local kingdom was for a short time established under Bahadur Khān, governor of Behar; it was recovered by Humayun, passed again into the hands of Sher Shāh and his son Salīm Shāh. Jaunpur continued under the Afghans until Akbar in the 4th year of his reign took possession of it through Ali Qulī Khan. In 1575, the Viceregal court was removed to Allahabad, and Jaunpur was thenceforth governed by a Nazim.—See Jarrett's Tr. of Āin, Vol. II, pp. 169-170, and also *Badaoni*, Vol. I, pp. 264, 272, 273, 316, 307, Pers. text.

be on you." When this letter reached Sultān Ibrahim, the latter opened it with great respect, and read it. Qāzi Shahābu-d-dīn[1] Jaunpurī who was one of the scholars of the time, and the chief of the body of the learned men, and who was highly respected by Sultān Ibrahīm who used to seat him on a silver chair on auspicious occasions, also used his great persuasions and said: "You ought to set out quickly; for in this invasion both worldly and religious benefits are to be obtained, namely the country of Bengal will be subjugated, and you would also meet the Saint Shaikh Nūr Qutbu-l-'Alam, who is the fountain-head of both worldly and eternal boons, and you would also be doing a pious deed by avenging the oppression of Muhammadans." Sultān Ibrāhim pitching out his tents struck the kettle-drum of march, and making forced marches, in a short time, with a powerful army reached Bengal, and encamped at Firuzpur.[2] Rajah Kāns, on hearing this news, was confounded, and hastened to wait on the Saint Qutbu-l-'Alam. Showing submissiveness and humility, and weeping, the Rajah said: "Pray, draw the pen of forgiveness across the page of the offences of this sinner, and dissuade Sultān Ibrāhim from subjugating this country." The Saint replied: "In order to intercede on behalf of an oppressive infidel, I cannot stand in the way of a Musalman sovereign, especially of one who has come out at my desire and request." In despair, Kāns prostrated his head on the feet of the Saint, and added, "Whatever the Saint may bid, I am willing to submit thereto." The Saint said: "So long as thou dost not embrace the Musalman religion, I cannot intercede for thee." Kāns assented to this condition, but his wife casting that misguided man into the well of misguidance, prevented his conversion to Islām. At length, Kāns brought to the presence of the Saint his son named Jadū who was twelve years old, and said: "I have become old, and desire to retire from the world. You may convert to Islām this

1 "Qāzī Shahābu-d-dīn, a sage of Hindustan, flourished in the time (of Ibrahim Shāh). He was born at Delhī and in that city acquired a comprehensive knowledge of the inductive sciences and traditional lore, and at the time of the arrival of Timur, he set out for Jaunpur in the company of his master Maulana Khwajigi who was the successor of Nasiru-d-dīn Cherāgh of Delhī, and then continued his progress and became the envy of his time."—Āīn-i-Akbarī (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, pp. 169-170).

2 *i.e.*, Panduah.

son of mine, and then bestow on him the kingdom of Bengal." The saint Quṭbu-l-'Alam taking out from his own mouth some chewed betel, put it into Jadū's mouth, and making him pronounce the creed of the Musalman faith, converted him to Islām, and naming him Jalālu-d-dīn, had the fact proclaimed in the city, and caused the *Khuṭba* of the kingdom to be recited after his name The ordinances of the sacred Muhammadan law from that day were again put in force. After this, the saint Quṭbu-l-'Alam went to meet Sulṭān Ibrāhim, and after making apologies, prayed that the latter might withdraw. The Sulṭān was annoyed at this request, and turned his face towards Qazī Shahābu-d-dīn. The Qazī said: "Saint, the king has come here at your requisition; and now you yourself siding with Kāns, appear as his agent; what is your aim?" The Saint said: "At that time (when I made the requisition) an oppressive ruler was tyrannising over the Musalmans; now owing to the auspicious arrival of the Sulṭān, he has embraced the Muhammadan faith. The Jihād (or holy war) is enjoined against infidels, not against Musalmans." The Qāzī, finding no answer, kept quiet. But as the Sulṭān's temper was irritated, in order to soothe the Sulṭān, the Qāzī commenced testing the learning and miracles of the saint, and was discomfitted. After much questions and answers, the Saint said: "To view with contempt saints and to try to test them, ends in nothing but discomfiture. Before long, thou shalt die in a wretched plight." And the saint at the same time cast an angry glance towards the Sulṭān. In short, the Sulṭān, annoyed and vexed, returned to Jaunpūr. It is said that shortly after Sulṭān Ibrāhim and Qāzī Shahābu-d-dīn Jaunpurī died.

'Whoever quarrels with saints, suffers.'

Rajah Kāns hearing that Sulṭān Ibrāhim had died, displaced Sulṭan Jalālu-d-dīn, and himself re-ascended the throne. According to the injunctions of his false creed, the Rajah prepared several gold-figures of cows, shoved in Jalālu-d-dīn through their mouths, and pulled him out from their buttock-sides, and then distributed the gold of those cow-figures among the Brahmans, and thus re-perverted his son to his own creed. As Jalālu-d-dīn, however, had been converted by the Saint Quṭbu-l-'Alam, he did not abandon his faith in Islām, and the persuasions of the infidels had no effect

on his heart. And Rajah Kāns again unfurling the standard of misbehaviour, attempted to destroy and extirpate Muhammadans. When his cruelties passed all bounds, one day Shaikh Anwār, son of the Saint Quṭbu-l-'Alam, complained to his father of the oppressions of that tyrant, and said: "It is a matter of regret that in spite of such a holy saint of the time as yourself, Musalmans should be oppressed and ground down by the hand of this infidel." The saint at that time was absorbed in prayer and devotion. On hearing this utterance of his son, the saint was enraged, and replied: "This tyranny shall cease only, when thy blood shall be shed on the earth." Shaikh Anwār knew full well that whatever fell from the lips of his holy father, was sure to come to pass, and so after a moment, said: "What you have said about me, is meet and proper; but in respect of my nephew, Shaikh Zāhid, what is your will?" The saint said: "Tho drum of the virtues of Zāhid shall resound till resurrection-day." In short, Rajah Kāns extending more than before his oppressions and cruelties, gradually oppressed the servants and dependants of the saint himself, plundered their effects and chattels, imprisoned Shaikh Anwār and Shaikh Zāhid. As he had heard the Saints' prophecy about Shaikh Zahid, not daring to kill him, he banished both to Sunārgāon, and sent orders to his agents there, that after ascertaining from them the whereabouts of the hidden treasures of their fathers and grandfathers, they should slay both. And on the Shaikh's arrival at Sunārgāon, they perpetrated many cruelties, yet not finding any clue to the hidden treasures which did not exist, first they murdered Shaikh Anwār, and when they attempted to take the life of Shaikh Zāhid, the latter stated that in a certain village a large cauldron was hidden. When they dug it up, they found a large chatty, but did not find more than one gold coin in it. They enquired, "What has become of the rest?" Zāhid said: "Apparently some one has stolen it." And this affair was the outcome of a miracle. It is said that on the very day and at the very moment when Anwār was murdered at Sunārgāon, and his sacred blood shed on the earth, Rajah Kāns passed away from his sovereignty to hell. According to some accounts, his son, Jalālu-d-dīn, who was in prison leagued with his father's servants, and slew him. The rule and tyranny of that heathen lasted seven years.

THE REIGN OF JALALU-D-DĪN,[1] SON OF RAJAH KĀNS.

After this, Jalālu-d-dīn mounted the throne with full independence. He converted, contrary to his father, many infidels to the Moslem faith, and compelled the Hindūs who had tasted of the gold-made figures of cows, to eat beef. And calling back the saint Shaikh Zāhid from Sunārgāon, he paid him every respect and honour, and rendering him services, was very often in attendance on him. He managed the affairs of Government in an efficient manner. In his reign, people passed their lives in ease and comfort. It is said that in his time the town of Panduah became so populous that it cannot be described. At Gaur, he erected a mosque, a resevoir, the Jalālī tank and a caravanserai. The city of Gaur commenced being re-populated in his time. He reigned for seventeen years. In the year 812 A.H.[2] he removed the capital back again to Gaur. To this day, a large tower exists over his mausoleum at Panduah. The graves of his wife and his son lie by the sides of his mausoleum.

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REIGN OF AHMAD SHAH,[3] SON OF JALĀLU-D-DĪN.

When Sultān Jalālu-d-dīn was laid in the grave, his son Ahmad Shāh, with the consent of the nobles and the generals of the army, ascended the throne, in succession to his father. As he was very peevish, oppressive and blood-thirsty, he shed blood for

1 He is described in coins (see J.A.S.B., p. 267, for 1873), as Jalālu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Muhammad Shāh. His reign probably lasted from 817 to 834 A.H. (1413 to 1430 A.C.) Some of his coins were struck at the mint-town of Sunargaon. He resided at Panduah, but in 822 A.H. built a Palace at Gaur, and shifted his residence to the latter place. Panduah also became very populous in his time.

2 The date is a mistake for 822 A.H.

3 His name as appearing on his coins is Shamsu-d-dīn Abūl Mujahid Ahmad Shāh. He reigned for 16 years from 834 to 850 A.H. (that is 1430–1446 A.C.)

The Tabaqat states that he reigned for sixteen years, and died in 830 A.H. Stewart says he reigned for eighteen years. Ferishta says he was a good and generous king, whilst Riyaz states he was a tyrant. With Ahmad Shāh ended the dynasty of Rajah Kāns, and commenced the restoration of the Ilyās Shāhī dynasty. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 268).

nothing, and used to cut open the bodies of pregnant woman. When his oppressions reached the utmost limits, and the low and the high were exasperated to desperation by his tyranny, S͟hādi K͟hān and Nāṣir K͟hān who were his two slaves and held the rank of nobles intrigued, and killed Ahmad S͟hāh; and this event occurred in 830 A.H. His reign lasted sixteen years, and according to another account, eighteen years.

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REIGN OF NAṢIR K͟HAN, THE SLAVE.

When the throne became vacant by the murder of Ahmad S͟hāh, S͟hādi K͟hān desired to put Nāṣir K͟hān out of the way and to become himself the Administrator-General of the kingdom. Nāṣir K͟hān, guessing his design, forestalled him, and slew S͟hādi K͟hān, and boldly placing himself on the throne, commenced to enforce orders. The nobles and the Malūk of Ahmad S͟hāh not submitting to him, slew him. His reign lasted seven days, and according to another account, half a day.

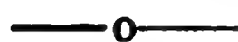
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REIGN OF NAṢIR S͟HĀH.[1]

When Nāṣir K͟hān the slave in retribution for his misdeeds was killed, the nobles and the generals leaguing together, raised to the throne one of the grand-sons of Sulṭān S͟hamsu-d-dīn Bhangra who had capacity for this onerous charge, styling him

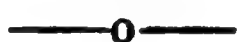
1 His name, as appearing on his coins, is Nāṣiru-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd S͟hāh. With him commenced the restoration of the Ilyās S͟hāhī dynasty in Bengal. He reigned for thirty-two years in peace (this peace being probably due to the wars that then prevailed between Jaunpur and Delhi), and according to another account for 'not more than twenty-seven years,' and died in A.H. 862. In the histories, he is simply called Nāṣir S͟hāh. Dates of his reign, as ascertained from coins and inscriptions, are 846; 861; 863; whilst the earliest dates ascertained for the reign of Barbak S͟hāh, Mahmūd S͟hāh's successor, is 865. Mahmūd S͟hāh therefore must have reigned till the beginning of 864 A.H. If his reign lasted twenty-seven years, this would put back the commencement of his reign to 836 (the year in which Marsden's Ahmad S͟hāhī's coin was struck), and render Mahmūd S͟hāh an opposition king during 14 years of Ahmad S͟hāh's reign which is doubtful. Inscriptions of this king from Satgaon, Dacca, and Gaur have been published. (See J.A.S. for 1873, pp. 269, 271 and for 1872, p. 108).

Nāṣir Shāh. Nāṣir Shāh conducted himself with justice and liberality, so that the people, both young and old, were contented, and the wounds of oppression inflicted by Ahmad Shāh were healed. The buildings of Gaur and the Fort there, were erected by this high-ranked king. Reigning thirty-two years over Bengal, he passed away like others before him from the world, and according to another account, his reign did not exceed twenty-seven years.



REIGN OF BARBAK SHĀH,[1] SON OF NĀṢIRU-D-DĪN.

When Nāṣir Shāh died, his son Barbak Shāh mounted the throne. He was a sagacious and law-abiding sovereign. In his time, the soldiers were happy and contented, and he also spent his life in comfort and ease. He died in 879 A.H. His reign lasted seventeen or sixteen years.



REIGN OF YŪSUF SHĀH.

After the death of Barbak Shāh, his son Yūsuf Shāh with the consent of the nobles and the elitê of the kingdom ascended the throne. He was a sovereign of gentle temperament, solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, and virtuous and learned and pious. He reigned seven years and six months, and died in 887 A.H.[2]

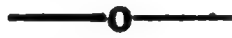
[1] The coins do not give his full name, which however appears from inscriptions (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 272), to have been Ruknu-d-dīn Abul Mujahid Barbak Shāh. His reign commenced in 864 A.H., and as appears from the Triheni inscriptions (published by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S.B. for 1870, p. 290), before that, he ruled as Governor of South-Western Bengal in 860 A.H. The Dinajpur inscription (published by Mr. Westmacott in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 272), proves that Barbak Shāh undoubtedly reigned as king in Bengal in 865 A.H. (1460 A.C.)

[2] His name from inscriptions (published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 275) appears to be Shamsu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Yūsuf Shāh. He appears to have reigned from 879 to 886 A.H., when he died. From his inscriptions found at Panduah, Hazrat Panduah, and Gaur, the following dates of his reign have been ascertained, namely, A.H. 882, 884, 885 (that is 1477, 1479, 1480 A.C.)

Ferishta says he was a scholar who charged the Ulema to see the law of the Prophet duly observed. "No one dared to drink wine" (Blochmann's Contr. J.A.S. for 1873, p. 275).

REIGN OF FATḤ SHĀH, SON OF YŪSUF SHĀH.

After the death of Yūsuf Shāh, his son Sikandar Shāh,[1] ascended the throne. He had a little touch of lunacy. As he had no capacity for this important function, the nobles and the leaders deliberating that very day superceded him, and raised to the throne another son of Yūsuf Shāh, named Fatḥ Shāh. The latter was wise and sagacious. Observing with wisdom the usages of the rulers and sovereigns of the past, and bestowing on the nobles dignities according to their individual ranks, he pursued a liberal policy towards his subjects. In his reign, the gates of happiness and comfort were thrown open to the people of Bengal. It was then the established custom in Bengal for five thousand *paiks* to turn out every night with music, and for the king to go out for a while in the morning to receive their salute, and then to give them leave to depart, a new corps of *paiks* relieving them. One day, the eunuch of Fatḥ Shāh, bearing the name of Barbag, leagued with the *paiks*, and slew Fatḥ Shāh.[2] This event took place in the year 896 A.H. Fatḥ Shāh's reign lasted seven years and five months.



REIGN OF BARBAG, THE EUNUCH, STYLED SULṬĀN SHĀHZĀDĀ.

Barbag the eunuch, the faithless miscreant, after slaying his own master, placed himself on the throne, according to the saying—

When a forest is untenanted, jackals give themselves the airs of lions.

[1] Stewart calls him a "youth of the royal family"; other histories say nothing about his relationship. The Āīn-i-Akbarī gives him half a day; the Tabaqat gives him two and a half days; Ferishta gives no period, and Stewart gives him two months (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 281).

[2] His name from coins and inscriptions (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 281), appears to be Jalālu d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Fatḥ Shāh. He appears from histories to have reigned from 887 to 896 A.H.; but inscriptions and coins shew that he reigned in 886 A.H. Some of his coins were struck at Fathabad (Farīdpūr town) in 886 and 892 A.H. These together with the inscriptions on Baba Salih's mosque at Bandar, near Dacca (dated 886 A.H. or 1482 A.C.), of Bikrampūr (Dacca District) on Adam Shahīd's mosque (dated 888 A.H. or 1483), of Sunargaon on Muqqarabud-daulah-dīn's mosque (dated 889 or 1484 A.C.) are published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 282–285), and fix the dates of his reign. Fathabad (or Faridpur town) is named after him.

He styled himself Sulṭān Shāhzādā. He collected together eunuchs from all places; and bestowing largesses on low people, won them over to his side, and attempted to enhance his rank and power. Finding that only his own peers would come within his clutches, he tried to destroy the high and influential nobles. Out of these, the premier-nobleman, Malik Andīl, the Abyssinian, who was on the frontiers, becoming apprised of the eunuch's designs, planned to set his own capable son on the throne, and to finish off the eunuch's life-work. At that time, the doomed eunuch thought of summoning Malik Andīl, in order to imprison him by means of a trap; then he issued orders summoning him. Malik Andīl guessing the real significance of the summons, with a large number proceeded to meet the eunuch. Since the Malik observed great precaution in his ingress to and egress from the *darbar*, the eunuch despaired of destroying him. In consequence, one day, the eunuch arranging an entertainment, showed great intimacy towards Malik Andīl, and placing a Qorān, said: "Place your hand on the Holy Book, and vow that you will not injure me." Malik Andīl vowed, "So long as you are on the throne, I shall do you no injury." Inasmuch as all the people were designing to destroy that miscreant eunuch, Malik Andīl also schemed to avenge the murder of his benefactor, and leaguing with the porters sought for an opportunity. One night, whilst that miscreant was intoxicated by excessive indulgence in liquor, and lay asleep on the throne, Malik Andīl, being led in by the porters, entered the *harem*, to kill the eunuch. When he found the latter asleep on the throne, he hesitated, on recollecting his vow. Suddenly, that miscreant over whom a fatality was hanging, by the will of Povidence which flings one from the throne of pride down to the dust of degradation, and places on another's head the crown of sovereignty, owing to his intoxication from liquor, slipped down from the throne. Malik Andīl was delighted at this incident, and drew his sword on him, but did not succeed in despatching him. Sulṭān Shāhzādā, awaking, and seeing himself in front of an unsheathed sword, seized Malik Andīl, and being strong, in the wrestling, threw down the latter, and sat on his chest. Malik Andīl who held tightly the hair of the eunuch's head, did not let it go, but shouted out to Yugrush Khān who was standing outside the room, to come up quickly. Yugrush Khān, the Turk, with a number of Abyssinians, instantly

came in, and finding Malik Andīl underneath the eunuch, hesitated in attacking with the sword. In the interval of search, the lights had fallen under the hands and feet of the two wrestlers and had got extinguished, and all was dark. Malik Andīl shouted out to Yugrush Khān, "I am holding the hair of the eunuch's head, and he is so broad and robust, that his body has become in a way my shield; do not hesitate to strike with your sword, since it will not penetrate through, and even if it does, it does not matter; for I and a hundred thousand like me can die in avenging the death of our late master." Yugrush Khān gently inflicted some strokes with his sword on the back and shoulder of Sultān Shāhzādā, who feigned being dead. Malik Andīl then got up, and along with Yugrush Khān and the Abyssinians, went out, and Tawachī Bashī, entering the bed-room of Sultān Shāhzādā, lighted up the lamp. Sultān Shāhzāda, fancying him to be Malik Andīl, before the lamp was lit, from fear not mounting the throne, had escaped into a cellar. Tawachī Bashī proceeding towards the cellar, entered it; then again Sultān Shāhzādā feigned being dead. The Bashī cried out: "It is a pity that rebels have killed my master, and ruined the kingdom." Sultān Shāhzādā, fancying him to be one of his own loyal adherents, cried out: "Look here, hold your peace, for I am alive," and enquired where Malik Andīl was. Tawachī said: "Thinking that he has killed the king, he has returned home with peace of mind." Sultān Shāhzādā told him, "go out, call together the nobles and set them to fetch Malik Andīl's head, after killing him, and place watchmen in charge of the gates, warning them to be armed and on the alert." Tawachī the Abyssinian replied: "Very well, now I go to effect a radical cure." Coming out, he quickly told the whole affair to Malik Andīl, who again went in, and inflicting cuts with the dagger, finished off the eunuch's life, and leaving his corpse in that cellar, locked it, and coming out sent a person to summon Khān Jahān, the *Vizier*. And after the arrival of the *Vizier*, he held a council for the election of a king. And since the son of Fath Shāh was only two years old, the nobles were diffident as to how he could be placed on the throne, so that, in the morning, all the nobles being of one mind went to the house of the widow-queen of Fath Shāh, related to her the story of the night, and said: "As the prince is a child, you should appoint one to manage the affairs of Government, until

the prince comes of age." The queen, on learning their anxiety, knew what to say. She said: "I have made a vow to God that I would bestow the kingdom on the person who kills the murderer of Fath S͟hāh."[1] Malik Andīl, at first, declined to accept the burden of kingdom, but afterwards, when all the nobles collecting in that assembly unanimously besought him, he mounted the throne. The period of Sulṭan S͟hāhzādā's reign according to one account was eight months, and, according to another account, two and a half months. After this incident in connection with Sulṭan S͟hāhzādā, for some years, it became the ruling practice in Bengal that whoever slew the ruling king, and got an opportunity to seat himself on the throne, became recipient of homage and submission of the people, who did not protest against his installation.[2] In one pamphlet, the period of the rule of Sulṭān S͟hāhzāda is stated to be six months. God knows the truth.



REIGN OF MALIK ANDĪL, THE ABYSSINIAN, STYLED FĪRUZ S͟HĀH.[3]

When Malik Andīl the Abyssinian, by his good fortune, took in lap the bride of the sovereignty of Bengal, he styled himself

1 This affords another instance to illustrate the great influence exercised by Musalman ladies in the past, and the chivalrous deference paid to their wishes by Musalmans.

2 "The pretorian band of Abyssinians, which Barbak S͟hāh had introduced into Bengal, became from the protectors of the dynasty the masters of the kingdom, and eunuchs were the actual rulers of the country. . . . What royalty at that time was in Bengal is well described by Abul Fazl, who says that after the murder of Fath S͟hāh, low hirelings flourished; and Ferishta sarcastically remarks that the people would obey him who had killed a king and usurped the throne." Blochmann's Contr. (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 286).

With Sulṭān S͟hāhzādā begins a succession of Habshī or Abyssinian kings, which terminated only with the rise of the Husaini dynasty of Bengal.

3 His name, as appearing on his coins (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 288), is Saifu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Fīruz S͟hāh. He was an Abyssinian or Habshī, and reigned from 893 to 895 A.H. (according to the testimony of coins); whilst histories give (incorrectly) the year of his death to be 899. He was (according to Riyaz) the premier nobleman and a generalissimo under Fath S͟hāh. He proved a wise king.

Firuz Shāh, and proceeding to the metropolis of Gaur established himself there. In the directions of justice and liberality, he put forth noble efforts, and secured for his subjects peace and comfort. In that, during the time he was a noble, Malik Andīl had done great and heroic deeds, both his soldiers and subjects dreaded him, and did not lean towards disaffection. In liberality and generosity, he was matchless. In a short time, he bestowed on the poor the treasures and largesses of past sovereigns, who had hoarded the same with considerable exertions and pains. It is said that on one occasion in one day he bestowed on the poor one *lak* of rupees. The members of Government did not like this lavishness, and used to say to one another: "This Abyssinian does not appreciate the value of the money which has fallen into his hands, without toil and labour. We ought to set about discovering a means by which he might be taught the value of money, and to withhold his hand from useless extravagance and lavishness." Then they collected that treasure on the floor, that the king might behold it with his own eyes, and appreciating its value, might attach value to it. When the king saw the treasure, he enquired: "Why is this treasure left in this place?" The members of Government said: "This is the same treasure that you allotted to the poor." The king said: "How can this amount suffice? Add another *lak* to it." The members of Government, getting confounded, distributed the treasure amongst the beggars. Malik Andil, after reigning for three years, in 899 A.H. fell ill, and the light of his life was extinguished by the breeze of death. But the more reliable account is, that Firuz Shāh also was slain at the hands of the *Paiks.*[1] A mosque, a tower and a reservoir in the city of Gaur, were erected by him.

[1] For a humourous description of the cowardice of the Bengal *Paiks* (an Infantry corps of Bengal) in the time of Sulṭān Ilyās Shāh (1353 A.C.), see Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhi by Zia' Barni (Pers. text, Fasc. 7, p. 593), from which the following is translated: "And the well-known Bengal Paiks who for years dubbed themselves "Abu Bangal," and gave themselves martial airs, and proclaimed their readiness to sacrifice their lives for Ilyās Shāh the Bhang-eater, and used to attend that maniac of a monarch, in the company of the dusky-looking Bengali Rajahs—at the time of actual warefare, put from fear their fingers into their mouths, ceased to be on the alert, threw down their swords and arrows, rubbed their foreheads on the ground, and were all put to the sword (by the army of Emperor Firūz Shāh Tughlak)."

THE REIGN OF SULṬĀN MAHMŪD, SON OF FIRUZ SHĀH.

When Fīrūz Shāh passed to the secret-house of non-existence, the nobles and the ministers placed on the throne his eldest son, named Mahmūd. And an Abyssinian slave, named Habash Khān, became the Administrator-General of financial and administrative affairs, and his influence so completely pervaded all affairs of government, that, except a bare title, nothing of sovereignty was left to Mahmūd Shāh, and the latter was compelled to live in this way, until another Abyssinian, who was called Sidī Badr Dīwāna, despairing of his ways, killed Habash Khān, and himself became the Administrator of the affairs of government. After some time, leaguing with the commandant of the *Paiks*, at night-time, he killed Mahmūd Shāh, and next morning with the concurrence of the nobles of the palace, who were in league with him, he ascended the throne, assuming the title of Muzaffar Shāh. The reign of Mahmūd Shāh lasted one year. And in the history of Haji Muhammad Qandaharī, it is related that Sulṭān Mahmūd Shāh[1] was a son of Fath Shāh. Jashn Khān,[2] a slave of Barbag Shāh, under order of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, trained him up; and after the death of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, Sulṭān Mahmūd was placed on the throne. After six months had passed, Habash Khān, harboured notions of sovereignty in his head. Malik Badr Dīwāna killing Habash Khān, as has been related before, himself mounted the throne.

THE REIGN OF SĪDĪ BADR, STYLED MUZAFFAR SHĀH.

When Muzaffar Shāh mounted the throne in the city of Gaur, being very blood-thirsty and audacious, he slew many of the

[1] His name from coins and inscriptions (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 289), appears to be Nasiru-d-dīn Abūl Mujahid Mahmūd Shāh. Though the histories generally call him a son of Fīruz Shāh, the account of Haji Muhammad Qandaharī referred to in the text, namely, that Mahmūd Shāh was a son of Fath Shāh, appears to be more reliable. Mahmūd Shāh reigned in 896 A.H.

[2] "Jashn Khān" in the text is evidently a copyist's mistake for "Habsh Khān," an eunuch-slave of Barbag Shāh, who according to Haji Muhammad Qandaharī, was entrusted by Fīrūz Shāh with the bringing up of Mahmūd Shāh, who was only two years old, when his father Fath Shāh died, and Malik Andīl Fīrūz Shāh ascended the throne, with the consent of Fath Shāh's queen.

learned and the pious and the nobility of the city, and also killed the infidel Rajahs who were opposed to the sovereigns of Bengal. He bestowed on Syed Husain Sharif *Maki* the office of *Vizier*, and made him Administrator of the affairs of Government. And he became assiduous in hoarding treasure, and by the counsel of Syed Husain, he cut down pay of soldiers, and set about building a treasury, and he committed oppressions in the collection of revenue. Consequently the people, receiving injuries at the hands of Muzaffar Shāh, became disgusted with him. Gradually, Syed Husain's mind was also changed, so that matters came to this pass, that in the year 903 A.H., most of the principal noblemen, seceding from the king, went out of the city, whilst Sultān Muzaffar Shāh with five thousand Abyssinians and three thousand Afghāns and Bengalis entrenched himself in the fort of Gaur. For a period of four months, between the people inside, and outside, the city, fightings raged, and daily a large number of people were killed.[1] It is said that, during the period Sultān Muzaffar was entrenched in the fort, whenever any one was captured and brought before him, he used to kill him with the sword with his own hand, with a ferocity characteristic of the Abyssinians, so that the number of people killed by him amounted to four thousand. At length, Muzaffar Shāh,[2] sallying out with his force from the city, gave battle to the nobles, whose leader was Syed Husain Sharif; and from both sides, twenty thousand men fell, either by the sword or the arrow.

[1] This sanguinary civil war in Bengal, about the end of the fifteenth century, between the Royalists on one side and the people on the other, headed by the nobles, reminds one of a similar war between king John and his barons in England, and illustrates that the people in Bengal were not " dumb, driven cattle," but that they had sufficient political life and strength and powers of organization to control the monarchy, when its acts exceeded all constitutional bounds, as set by the Shara' or Muhammadan law. Indeed, Moslem monarchies, wherever established, (barring individual aberrations) have been constitutional in the strict sense of the word, from the time, when, in the seventh century, the first Khalifate was established in Arabia (see Sir W. Muir's " Annals of the Early Caliphate ").

[2] His name on inscriptions and coins (published in J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 289-290), appears to be Shamsu-d-dīn Abu-Nasr Muzaffar Shāh. His inscriptions and coins shew that he reigned from 896 to 899 A.H. (that is, from 1491 A.C. to 1494 A.C.) Histories allot to his reign three years and five months. He was an Abyssinian, and his original name was Sīdī Badr.

The field was heaped up with the slaughtered:
You might say another rampart had been raised!

At length, the zephyr of victory wafted on the standard of the nobles. Muzaffar S͟hāh, with a number of his associates and adherents, was killed on the field. And according to the statement of Haji Muhammad Qandahari, during that time, from the beginning to the end of the war, one *lakh* and twenty thousand people, of both Musalman and Hindu persuasions, passed to the regions of destruction. And Syed Husain S͟harif Makī, gaining the throne, raised the standard of sovereignty. And in the history of Nizamu-d-dīn Ahmad,[1] it is related that when the people got disgusted with the misconduct of Muzaffar S͟hāh, Syed S͟harīf Makī becoming aware of this state of national disgust, won over to his side the Commandant of the Household troops and, one night, with thirteen men entering the inner chambers, slew Muzaffar S͟hāh, and next morning mounted the throne, and proclaimed himself Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn. The reign of Muzaffar S͟hāh lasted three years and five months. A mosque, amongst his other buildings, exists at Gaur.



THE REIGN OF 'ALAU-D-DĪN SYED HUSAIN S͟HARĪF MAKĪ.[2]

Syed Husain S͟harīf Makī, during the period of his *Vizarat*, used to treat the people with affability. He used to tell them:

1 Nizāmū-d-dīn Ahmad was Bakhshī under Akbar, and was a patron of the historian Badaonī. Nizāmū-d-dīn completed his history called Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī in 1590 A.C.; he is the first writer who gives a concise connected account of the Independent Musalman kings of Bengal from 1338 A.C. to 1538 A.C.

2 His name on coins and inscriptions (*vide* J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 292-293), is "Alau-d-dīn Abūl Muzzafar Husain S͟hāh, son of Syed Ashraf-al-Husainī." Nowhere on coins and inscriptions is he called "Sharif Maki," as in the text. The Tabaqat-i-Akbarī simply calls him "Alauddin"; Ferishta erroneously calls him "Syed Sharif Makī"; whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him "Sharif Mecca." He reigned from 899 to 927 A.H. (according to coins and inscriptions). The *Riyaz* states that Alauddīn, after arriving as an adventurer in Bengal, settled at a place called Chandpur in Radha district (Western Bengal), but Professor Blochmann (J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 228 n.) is inclined to identify the Chandpur in question near 'Alaipur or 'Alau-d-dīn's town,' on the Bhariab, east of Khulna, in Jessore district, as the place where the Husain dynasty of Bengal

"Muzaffar Shāh is very stingy, and rude in behaviour. Although I advise him to attend to the happiness of the army and the

independent kings had its adopted home, because Husain Shāh *first* obtained power in the adjacent district of Farīdpur or Fathābābad (which latter at the time was included in, or rather included portions of, Jessore), where his first coins were struck in 899 A.H. (Marsden's pl. XXXVIII, No. DCCLXXIX), and also because Husain Shāh's son, Nasrat Shāh, erected a mint at the neighbouring place of Khalīfatābad (or Bagerhat, formerly in Jessore district) and minted there coins in the lifetime of his father in 922 A.H. (see p. 297, J.A.S.B. for 1873 and pl. IX, No. 10). Anothor circumstance which also supports the above theory of Professor Blochmann about the *locale* of Alau-ddīn Hussain Shāh's adopted home, appears to be this, that the names of Husain Shāh, his brother Yusuf Shāh, and his sons Nasrat Shāh, and Mahmūd Shāh, are found in connection with several parganas of Jessore (Jasar) district (as formerly constituted, before its being split up into Pabna, Khulna and Faridpur districts), such as parganas Nasratshāhī and Mahmūdshāhī and Yusuf-Shāhī, and Mahmūdabad (a whole Sirkar including Northern Jessore or Jasar and Bosnah). In regard to Alauddīn Husain Shāh, Professor Blochmann observes (J.A.S. for 1873, p. 291) that "of the reign of no king of Bengal—perhaps of all Upper India before the middle of the 10th century—do we possess so many inscriptions. Whilst the names of other Bengal kings scarcely ever occur in legends, and remain even unrecognized in the geographical names of the country, the name of 'Husain Shāh the Good' is still remembered from the frontiers of Orissa to the Brahmaputra." This great and good king extended his empire into Orissa, into Assam, into Chittagong, and reigned over all north Behar, and all south Behar up to the western limits of Sarkar Monghyr, where his son Danyal erected a vault over the shrine of Peer Nafa. (See Tabaqat-i-Akbarī and also Badaoni, Vol. I, p. 371). A cathedral mosque amongst his other edifices was erected by this king, in 907 A.H. at Machain, opposite to Faridpur in Dhakah ; the inscription of this mosque appears in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 293. The Husain Shāhī dynasty consisted of four sovereigns: (1) Alauddīn Husain Shāh who reigned from 899 to 929 A.H. (2) Alau-d-dīn's son, Naṣīru-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Naṣrat Shāh (929 to 939). (3) Alau-d-dīn Fīruz Shāh (939), a son of No. 2, and (4) Ghiasu-d-dīn Mahmūd Shāh, (940–945 A.H.) the last Independent king of Bengal, who was defeated by Sher Shāh's army at Gaur under Jalal Khān and Khwaṣ Khān in 944 A.H. or 1538 A.D. That is, for forty-four years, this Husainī dynasty consisting of four kings, reigned over Bengal. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 332). The Tabaqat-i-Akbari's notice of Bengal closes with an account of the reign of Naṣrat Shāh, the second king of the above Husainī dynasty. The fourth king of the Husainī dynasty, it may be of interest to remark, is the "El Ray Mamud de Bengala" of the Portuguese, who described Gaur, the capital at the time, as being "three leagues in length, well-fortified and with wide and straight roads, along which rows of trees were planted to shade the people." This Mahmūd Shāh died in 945 A.H. at Colgong (Kāhalgaon), where he lies buried.

nobility, and dissuade him from evil pursuits, it is all in vain; for he is simply bent on hoarding wealth." In consequence, the nobles looked upon Husain as their friend, patron and sympathiser. As his virtues and Muzaffar S̱ẖāh's vices were known to the public and to the *elite*, on the day that Muzaffar S̱ẖāh was slain, all the nobles held a council for the purpose of electing a king, and favoured the installation of Syed S̱ẖarīf Makī, and said, "If we elect you king, in what way will you conduct yourself towards us?" S̱ẖarīf Makī said: "I will meet all your wishes, and immediately I will allot to you whatever may be found over-ground in the city, whilst all that is under-ground I will appropriate to myself." The patricians as well as the plebeians fell in with this tempting offer, and hurried out to pillage the city of Gaur, which at this time eclipsed Cairo (in point of wealth).

In this way, a city was pillaged:
You might say, it was swept by the broom of plunder.

Syed S̱ẖarīf Makī by this easy contrivance, seized the umbrella of sovereignty, and introduced the Ḵẖuṭba and the coin in his own name. Historians write that his name was Syed S̱ẖarīf Makī,[1] and that when he ascended the throne, he styled himself 'Alau-d-dīn. But I note that throughout the kingdom of Bengal and in the neighbourhood of Gaur, his name as Husain S̱ẖāh is on the lips of the *elité* and the mass. Since I did not find the name of Husain S̱ẖāh in history, I was in doubt. After much research, by deciphering wordings of inscriptions which exist up to this day, and are engraved on the ruins of the City of Gaur, on the stone of the large gate-way of the Qadam Rasūl building,[2] and on the Golden Mosque, and also on some other shrines, which are amongst the edifices erected by Sulṭān Husain S̱ẖāh and his sons Naṣrat S̱ẖāh and

[1] The Tabaqat-i-Akbarī and *Badaoni* (p. 317 vol. 1) simply call him Alauddīn (which however was obviously the *Jalūs* name), Ferishta erroneously calls him "Sayid S̱ẖarif Maki," whilst Stewart incorrectly calls him "S̱ẖīref Mecca," erroneously led no doubt by the remark of the 'Riyaz' whose author *thinks* that Husain's father or one of his ancestors might perhaps have been a S̱ẖerīf of Mecca. The *Alamgirnamah* (p. 730) calls him Husain S̱ẖah.

[2] The inscription dated 937 A.H. on the Qadam Rasūl building at Gaur is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338; in it Naṣrat S̱ẖāh is described as son of Husain S̱ẖāh, son of Syed Ashraful Husainī.

Mahmūd Shāh, it appears that Syed 'Alāu-d-dīn Abūl Muzaffar Husain Shāh is the son of Syed Ashrafal-Husainī. In regard to the months and years of Syed Sharif Makī's period, all these inscriptions tally, and thus all doubts are set at rest. It appears that apparently his venerable father—Syed Ashrafal Husainī—was Sharīf of Makka; hence the son also was known as Sharīf-i-Makī; or else, his name was Syed Ḥusain. In a pamphlet, I have noticed that Ḥusain Shāh and his brother Yūsuf, together with their father, Sayyid Ashrafal Ḥusainī, were residents of the town of Tarmūz.[1] By chance, they came to Bengal, and stayed in the mouzā of Chandpur in the zillā of Raḍha,[2] and both the brothers took their lessons from the Qāzī of that place. On knowing their noble pedigree, the Qāzī married his daughter to Ḥusain Shāh. After this, he entered the service of Muzaffar Shāh, and reached the office of Vizier, as has been related before. When he ascended the throne in the city of Gaur, after some days, he forbade the people from the pillage of the city, and when they did not cease, he slaughtered twelve thousand plunderers; then these stayed their hands from the work of pillage. And making search, he found much of the hidden treasures including thirteen hundred plates of gold. From ancient times, the custom in the country of Lakhnautī and East Bengal was that rich people preparing plates of gold, used to take their food thereon, and on days of carnivals and festivities, whoever displayed a large number of golden plates, became the object of pre-eminence. And this custom up to this time prevails amongst the rich and high-ranked people. Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, since he was a wise and sagacious sovereign, shewed considerateness towards the influential nobles, and raised his select officers to high positions and trusty offices. And he prohibited the *Paiks*—whose faithlessness and regicides had become characteristic—from guarding the Palace, and totally disbanded them, so that no harm might befal him. And in place of the *Paiks*, in the Guard-room and on the Band-stand, he appointed other body-guards. And he also expelled totally the Abyssinians from his entire dominions.

1 A town in Turkestan.

2 That is, the Western Bengal tract. See however, note 13 to p. 48, where Professor Blochmann identifies Chandpur, near Alaipur on the Bhairab, in Jessore district.

Since these Abyssinians were notorious for their wickedness, regicides and infamous conduct, obtaining no footing in Jaunpur and Hindustan, they went to Gujrat and the Dakhīn. Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, girding up the waist of justice, unlike other kings of Bengal, removed his seat of government to Ekdālā, which adjoins the city of Gaur. And excepting Ḥusain Shāh, no one amongst the kings of Bengal made his seat of government anywhere, except at Pandua and the city of Gaur. As he was himself of noble descent, according to the saying, "Every thing turns back to its origin" he took the Syeds, Mughals and Afghāns by the hand, and sent efficient District Officers to different places, so that peace in the country being secured, anarchy and revolutions which had occurred during the period of the Abyssinian kings, etc., vanished, and all disloyal elements were reduced to order. And subjugating the Rajas of the environs and conquering up to Orissa, he levied tribute. After this, he planned to conquer Assam, which is north-east of Bengal. With an overwhelming army consisting of infantry and a numerous fleet, he marched towards that kingdom, and conquered it. And conquering the whole of that country up to Kāmrup, Kāmtah and other districts which were subject to powerful Rajas, like Rūp Narain, and Mal Kunwar, and Gasa Lakhan and Lachmī Narain and others, he collected much wealth from the conquered tracts; and the Afghāns demolishing those Rajas' buildings, erected new buildings. The Raja of Assam not being able to oppose him, relinquishing his country, fled to the mountains. The king, leaving his son [1] with a large army to

[1] This was Prince Danyal (incorrectly known as Dulal Ghazī). This invasion of Assam took place in 1498 A.C. See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 335. Particulars of this invasion of Assam in 1498 A.C. or 903-4 A.H. are given in the Alamgīrnamah pp. 730 and 731 and the Assam Buranji (J.A.S., for 1874, p. 281). Husain Shāh's conquest of Kamrūp and Kamta (western Assam) is also chronicled in a contemporaneous inscription of 907 A.H. (1501 A.C.) in a Madrasah or College founded by Husain Shāh at Gaur. This inscription is also published in J.A.S., for 1874, p. 303. Husain Shāh's first Governor of Western Assam or Kamrup was his son, Prince Danyal,—the same prince who erected the vault over the shrine of Pir Nafa in Monghyr fort in 903 A.C., whilst returning from a mission on behalf of his father to meet Sulṭān Sikandar Lodi in Behar, and immediatly before setting out on this Assam expedition (*Badaoni*, p. 317 Vol. I). He was followed as Governor of Assam by Musunder Ghazi, who was succeeded by Sulṭān Ghiasu-d-dīn who introduced a colony of Muhammadans into Assam.

complete the settlement of the conquered country, returned triumphant and victorious to Bengal. After the withdrawal of the king, his son devoted himself to the pacification and defences of the conquered country. But when the rainy season set in, owing to floods, the roads and tracks became closed; and the Rajah with his adherents issued from the hills, surrounded the Royal army, engaged in warfare, cut off supplies of provisions, and in a short time put all to the sword. And the king, erecting a fort on the bank of the river Bhatah,[1] bestowed great efforts on the improvement and advancement of the Kingdom of Bengal. And erecting and establishing Mosques and Rest-houses at different places in every district, he conferred numerous gifts on saints and recluses.[2] And for the maintenance of the Rest-house in connection with the eminent saint, Nur Qutbu-l-'Alam, he endowed several villages, and every year, from Ekdālā, which was the seat of his government, he used to come to Pandua, for pilgrimage to the bright shrine of that holy saint.[3] And because of his meed-worthy courteousness and affable deportment, and owing to the exuberance of his good sense and wisdom, he ruled for a long period with complete independence. In the year 900 A.H., Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī, ruler of the Jaunpūr kingdom, on being defeated and pursued by Sultān Sikandar, proceeded to Colgong (Kahlgaon),[4] and took shelter with Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. The latter, paying regard to the refugee's rank, provided him with means of comfort, so that relinquishing anxieties and cares of sovereignty, Sultān Ḥusain Sharqī passed the rest of his life at the above place. Towards the end of 'Alau-d-dīn's reign, Muḥammad Babar the Emperor invaded Hindustan. Sultān Ḥusain Shāh, in the year 927 A.H., died a natural death. His reign lasted 27 years, and according to some, 24 years,

1 Stewart has 'Bateah,' and says it is the name of a stream, which also bears the name of Gandak. I do not know how far Stewart is correct.

2 He also founded Madrasahs or Colleges for the advancement of learning, as is evidenced by the testimony of the contemporaneous inscription of 907 A.H. published in J.A.S.B., for 1874, p. 303. This inscription opens with the remarkable saying of the Prophet, "Search after knowledge even as far as China."

" اطلبوا العلم و لو بالصين "

3 See note p. 46.

4 See *Badaoni*, p. 316, Vol. I.

and according to others, 29 years and 5 months. Amongst the sovereigns of Bengal, none has been equal to 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. And traces of his beneficence in this country are well-known to all. He had eighteen sons. Naṣrat Shāh, after his father, became king of Bengal.

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THE REIGN OF NAṢRAT SHĀH,[1] SON OF 'ALĀU-D-DĪN ḤUSAIN SHĀH.

When Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh died, the adherents of the kingdom and the members of the government placed on the throne his eldest son, named Naṣrat Shāh, commonly known as Naṣib Shāh, who was wise and just, and well-behaved, and in affairs of administration was more proficient than his other brothers. The most laudable work that he performed was that, instead of imprisoning his brothers, he doubled the offices which had been conferred on the latter by their father. And capturing the Rajah of Tirhūt, he killed him. And he set two officers, named 'Alāu-d-dīn and Makhdum 'Alim, otherwise known as Shāh 'Alim, and who were sons-in-law of Ḥusain Shāh, for the conquest of the limits of Tirhūt and Ḥājīpur,[2] and posted them there. And when Emperor Babar, killing Sulṭān Ibrāhīm,[3] son of Sulṭān

[1] His name, as appearing on his coins and inscriptions, is Nāṣiru-d-dīn Abul Muzzafar Naṣrat Shāh. (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, pp. 296 and 297). Historians call him also Nasīb Shāh, (Badaoni, p. 348), but perhaps whilst as a prince, he held the name of Nasīb Khān. He appears to have reconquered Chittagong Tract (see Tarikh-i-Hamidī and J.A.S. for 1872, p. 336), and to have subdued Tirhūt and Hajipur tracts in North Behar—and to have also held temporary sway over Azimgarh in the N.-W. Provinces (see Sikandarpūr Azimgarh inscription published in J.A.S. for 1873, p. 296). Kharīd mentioned in this inscription is on the right bank of the Ghagra river.

Naṣrat Shāh reigned from 929 to 939 A.H. (J.A.S. for 1872, p. 332).

[2] Hajīpur was long the head-quarters of the Bengal Governors of Behar from the time of Haji Ilyās, and was founded by Haji *Ilyās alias* Shamsu-d-dīn Ilyās, king of Bengal. It sank in importance with the transfer of the head-quarters to Patna, on the establishment of Mughal rule under Emperor Akbar.

[3] Ibrāhim Lodī, son of Sikandar Lodī and grandson of Bahlol Lodī, was defeated and killed by Babar at the decisive battle of Panipat in 1526 A.C. or 932 A.H. See the graphic description of this decisive battle in *Badaoni* (Pers. text, Vol. I, pp. 334–336.) By this great battle, the sovereignty of

Sikandar Lodi, conquered the great empire of Hindustan, many of the Afghān Omra escaping, sought refuge with Naṣrat Shāh. And at length, Sultān Maḥmūd,[1] brother of Sultān Ibrāhim, being expelled from his kingdom, came to Bengal. Naṣrat Shāh showing kindness to every one, bestowed on all pargannahs and villages, in accordance with their respective rank and condition, and consistently with the resources of his kingdom. And he married Sultān Ibrāhim's daughter, who had also come to Bengal. And planning the subjugation of the Mughal forces, he despatched Qutb Khān with a large force towards the environs of Bharaich.[2] And the latter fought several battles with the Mughals, and for a period the contending forces were bivouacked there, fighting. But Khān Zamān,[3] son-in-law of Emperor Babar, had conquered up to Jaunpur, and when in the year 930 A.H., Emperor Babar came to Jaunpur, and brought to his subjugation all its limits and environs, and planned to march to Bengal and to bring it also under his domination, Naṣrat Shāh, foreseeing the result, sent valuable presents and gifts in charge of wise envoys, and offered submission. Emperor Babar, in view of the exigencies of the times, made peace with Naṣrat Shāh, and retired. When Emperor Babar died on the 5th of the month of Jamādiu-l-Awal

India was transferred from Afghan hands to those of the Mughals. Strange enough to add, this revolution was effected by the intrigues of Afghan officers and *Omara* of Ibrāhīm who had joined Babar, and invited the latter to India. (*Badaoni*, Pers. text, p. 331, Vol. I). No doubt, it was a penalty paid by Sultān Ibrāhīm for his ill-treatment of his brothers, officers and noblemen, whom he constantly distrusted and disgraced.

[1] Sultān Maḥmūd was a son of Sultān Sikandar Lodī. He was set up as a King by Ḥasan Khan Mewati and Rana Sanka, and induced to fight with Babar who defeated him. After defeat, he lived at Chitor, whence he was brought by Afghans to Behar, and proclaimed its King. Sher Khan joined him, but subsequently deserted him in favour of Mughals, who defeated him. From Patna, he fled to Orissa, where he died in 949 A.H. (See Badaoni, pp. 361 and 338, Vol. I).

[2] Sarkar Bharaich is included in the Subah of Oudh, and is mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbarī (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 93).

This was the furthest western incursion made by the Musalman kings of Bengal (barring of course Sher Shāh, who from king of Bengal rose to be Emperor of all India).

[3] See p. 139 Bloch. Tr., Ain, Vol. I. From Badaoni's account (p. 338, Vol. I), the conquest of Jaunpur appears to have been made by Humayun, during Babar's lifetime. In Badaoni (p. 344, Vol. I), Md. Zaman Mirza.

937 A.H., and Emperor Humāyun ascended the throne of Delhi, it was rumoured that the Emperor of Delhi was planning the conquest of Bengal. Consequently, Naṣrat Shāh in the year 939 A.H., in view of demonstrating his sincerity and friendship, sent rare presents in charge of Malik Marjān, the eunuch, to Sulṭān Bahādur Gujrati.[1] Malik Marjān met Sulṭān Bahādur in the fort of Maudu, and became the recipient of a special Khill'at. In the meantime, Naṣrat Shāh, in spite of his being a Syed, indulged in dissipations and sundry oppressions, to detail which would be to harrow the feelings of all. And a world was grinding under his tyranny. In that interval, Naṣrat Shāh rode to Aknakah, in the city of Gaūr, in order to visit the tomb of his father. As will would have it, there he punished an eunuch for some fault. From fear of life, this eunuch leagued with other eunuchs, and murdered Naṣrat Shāh on his return to the palace, in the year 943 A.H. His reign lasted 16 years, and according to some, 13 years, and according to others, less than 13 years. The foundations of the building of Qadam Rasūl[2] in the year 939,[3] and the Golden mosque commonly called the Sona Musjid[4] in the year 932 A.H., were laid by him, and these with their shattered doors and walls exist to this day, amongst the buildings of Naṣrat Shāh, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, amidst the ruins of Gaūr. And the foundation of the luminous shrine of the saint Makhdūm Akhi Sirāju-d-dīn[5] at Sādu-l-lāhpur is also amongst the noble relics of that monarch.

[1] He reigned in Gujarat from 1526 A.C. to 1536 A.C.—see Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. II, p. 261, and *Badaoni*, pp. 344 to 347, Vol. I.

He foolishly engaged in a war with Humayun and was defeated, (Vol. II, p. 266, and *Badaoni*, p. 346, Vol. I).

[2] This building was in fair order when I visited Gaūr in 1887. It is a square one-domed building in the enclosure of the Fort. Its length from east to west is 24 cubits, and its breadth is the same. The Bhagirati flows to the west of it, about a distance of 30 *rasis*. This building was erected by Naṣrat Shāh in 937 A.H. (1530 A.D). Inside the mosque under the dome, there is a foot-print of the Arabian prophet on a piece of stone, which is said to have been formerly at Panduah in the *Chillakhana* of the Saint Jallalu-d-dīn Tabrīzi, who is supposed to have brought it from Arabia.

The inscription on the building is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338.

[3] The date on the inscription is however, 937 A.H. (See J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 338).

[4] See Ravenshaw's and Creighton's "Ruins of Gaūr."

[5] He was a Saint of Gaūr. He came as a boy to Nizamu-d-dīn Auliah of

[*Note by the author, Salīm*: In all the inscriptions that engraved on stones exist to this time, the king's name is mentioned as Naṣrat Shāh, son of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. In histories, his name is mentioned as Naṣib Shāh. Apparently, this is a corruption or a mistake, in that there is no room for mistake in the inscriptions engraved on stones.]



REIGN OF FĪRUZ SHĀH,[1] SON OF NAṢRAT SHĀH.

When Naṣrat Shāh drank the disagreeable syrup of death, his son, Fīruz Shāh, by the counsels of the grandees, ascended the throne. He had reigned for three[2] years, when Sulṭān Maḥmūd Bengalī, who was one of the eighteen sons of Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, and whom Naṣrat Shāh had installed to the rank of a nobleman, and who in the life-time of Naṣrat, conducted himself like an *ameer*, finding an opportunity, slew Fīruz Shāh, and ascended the throne by right of inheritance from his father.

Delhi and in course of time acquired great learning. He was then sent to Bengal, where he died in 758 A.H. or 1357 A.C. After Nizamu-d-dīn's death (according to the *Haft I qlim*), he went to Lakhnauti—(See J.A.S. for 1873 p. 260).

Naṣrat Shāh could not have laid the foundation of the Saint's shrine; he could have only repaired and improved it, for the inscription on the shrine (see J.A.S. for 1873, p. 294), shews that its door was built by Naṣrat Shāh's father, Sulṭān 'Alau-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, in 916 A.H. (A.C. 1510).

Akhī's pupil was the Saint Alau-l-Huq, father of the Saint Nūr Quṭb 'Alam of history.

Akhī was a contemporary of Shamsu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Ilyās Shāh, King of Bengal.

1 His name appears to be 'Alau-d-dīn Abul Muzzafar Fīruz Shāh, both on his coins and his inscriptions (See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 297). He reigned for only one year (939 A.H.) when he was slain by his uncle Mahmūd Shāh the next King. This would also put back the date of Naṣrat Shāh's murder to end of 938 or beginning of 939 A.H.; but *Badaoni's* account (p. 348, Vol. I), renders it doubtful.

2 "Three years," is evidently a copyist's mistake, for Stewart who bases his history on the Riyaz, mentions "three months" which he must have found in his copy of the MS. of the Riyaz, and which appears otherwise more consistent, chronologically.

REIGN OF SULṬĀN MAḤMŪD,[1] SON OF 'ALĀU-D-DĪN.

When Maḥmūd Shāh ascended the throne, Makhdūm 'Alam, his brother-in-law, who was Governor of Hājipur, raised the standard of rebellion, and intrigued and allied himself with Sher Khān, who was in the tract of Behar.[2] Maḥmūd Shāh deputed Quṭb Khān, Commandant of Monghyr, to conquer the Province of Behar, and to chastise Makhdūm 'Alam. Sher Khān made efforts to conclude peace, but they were of no avail; and at length, by the concurrence of the Afghāns, resolving to die, he determined to fight. When the two forces closed together, a great battle ensued. Quṭb Khān was killed in the battle, and Sher Khān, obtaining his elephants and baggage, became powerful. After this, Makhdūm 'Alam, in order to avenge himself, or to usurp the throne, raised the standard of rebellion, and fighting with Maḥmūd Shāh, was killed. And Sher Khān Afghān instantly, who had usurped the throne of Delhi,[3] drew his force towards Bengal. The nobles of Bengal, guarding the passes of Telīagadhi

1 The name of this King as appearing on his coins and inscriptions is Ghiāṣu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Mahmūd Shāh (See J.A.S. for 1872, p. 339, and for 1873 p. 298). He was the last Independent King of Bengal, and reigned from 940 to 944 A.H. He is the "El Rey Mamud de Bangala," with whom the Portuguese Alfonso de Mello made a treaty. At this time, Sher Khān and his brother Adil Khān had deserted the Mughal cause, and gone over to the side of the King of Bengal. But subsequently Sher Khān on the pretext of avenging the murder of Firuz Shāh, made war on Maḥmūd Shāh, besieged him at Gaūr, and Maḥmūd Shāh fled to Colgong (Kahalgaon), where he died in 945 A.H. (1538 A.C.) of injuries received on the battle-field. (See *Badaoni*, p. 348, Vol. I).

2 The town of Behar is meant. It appears that at this time both Sarkar Monghyr in South Behar and the whole of North Behar were subject to the Bengal kings, and Hajīpur was the head-quarters from a long time of the Bengal Governor of North Behar. West of Sarkar Monghyr in South Behar, which was subject to the Sharqī kingdom of Jaunpur, on the decay of the latter kingdom, fell into the hands of semi-independent Afghan chiefs, including Daria Khān, his son Bahadur Khān (who proclaimed himself Sulṭān Muhammad), Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and Sher Khān. At this time, as the text shews, Makhdūm 'Alam, Maḥmūd Shāh's brother-in-law, who was his Governor of North Behar, and had his head-quarters at Hajīpur, also rebelled against his sovereign, and intrigued with Sher Khān (afterwards Sher Shāh). (See *Badaoni*, pp. 360, 358, 361, Vol. I).

3 How Sher Shāh acquired the Delhi Empire, is related in Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhī, and also in Badaonī, and the Akbarnamah.

and Sakrigali[1] for one month continued fighting. At length, the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali were captured, and Sher Khān entered Bengal, and Maḥmūd Shāh, drawing his force, encountered the former, when a great battle ensued. Sulṭān Maḥmūd, being vanquished in the field, entrenched himself in the citadel, and sent a message to Emperor Humāyun in Delhi, seeking for help. Humāyun Shāh in the year 944 A.H. turned towards the conquest of the province of Jaunpur. Since at that time, Sher Khān was in Bengal, Emperor Humāyun going to the foot of the fort of Chunar,[2] laid siege to it. Ghazi Khān Sūr, who was in the fort on behalf of Sher Khān, raised the standard of opposition, and for six months the siege was protracted.[3] By the efforts of Rūmi Khān,[4] ladders being mounted, the fort was scaled and captured by Humāyun. Sher Khān also put forth grand efforts for capturing the fort of Gaūr, and the garrison were hardpressed. But as in the meantime one of the zamindars of Behar, becoming refractory, raised disturbance, Sher Khān, finding it inexpedient to halt at Gaūr, left his son, Jallāl Khān, and Khawāṣ Khān, one of his trusty nobles, to besiege the fort of Gaūr, whilst he himself marched back to Behar. And Jallāl Khān, son of Sher Khān, skirmished with Maḥmūd Shāh, so that the garrison were reduced to straits, and food-grains became scarce in the city. On Sunday, the 13th of the month of Farwardi, corresponding to the 6th of Ẕil-Qadh, 944 A.H.,[5] Jallāl

1 These passes are close to Colgong, and are now traversed by the E.I. Railway line. They were in those days considered the 'key' to Bengal. They were fortified under Sher Shāh's order by Quṭb Khān, son of Sher Khān and Khawas Khān, slave of Sher Khān. (See *Badaoni*, p. 349, Vol. I).

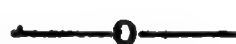
2 In the Āin-i-Akbarī, under the Sūbah of Allahabad, Chunar is described "as a stone-fort in the summit of a hill, scarcely equalled for its loftiness and strength." The river Ganges flows at its foot—Āin-i-Akbarī (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. 2, p. 159).

3 It is stated that its siege by Emperor Humāyun commenced on 8th January, 1538 A.C. As its siege lasted six months, and as it was stormed *before* Gaūr fell (on 6th April, 1538 A.C.) into the hands of Sher Shāh's general, Khawas Khān, the siege of Chunar must have commenced in October 1537 A.C. (See Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhī), or it may be that the fall of Gaūr took place in July 1538 A.C. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I).

4 See p. 441 Blochmann's Trans. of Āin, Vol. I, p. 441, and *Badaoni*, p. 348, Vol. I. Chunar was captured by Humāyun in 943 A.H.

5 This corresponds to 6th April, 1538 A.C.

Khān with other grandees, such as Khawāṣ Khān, etc., struck up the kettle-drum of battle. Sultān Maḥmūd, who was hard-pressed by the siege, sallying out of the fort, advanced to fight. Since the period of his fortune had turned to declension, and the luck of Sher Khān assisted the latter, Sultan Maḥmūd, unable to cope in battle, escaping by the way of Bhata,[1] fled, and Maḥmūd Shāh's sons were taken prisoners; and the fort of Gaūr, together with other booty, fell into the hands of Jallāl Khān, son of Sher Khān. Jallāl Khān and Khawāṣ Khān, entering the fort, engaged in slaughter and capture and plunder of the garrison. And Sher Khān also, being set free from the disturbance in Behar, pursued Sultān Maḥmūd. When they closed each other, Sultān Maḥmūd was obliged to fight, and receiving a serious wound, fled from the battle-field. Sher Khān, victorious and triumphant, spurred on to Gaūr, and became master of Bengal. The Cathedral Mosque at S'adu-l-lāhpur,[2] amongst the buildings of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh, exists to this day. From the inscriptions engraved on it, it appears that he was a son of Sultān 'Alaū-d-dīn Ḥusain Shāh. The period of his reign appears to have lasted five years.[3]



ACCESSION OF NAṢIRU-D-DĪN MUḤAMMAD HUMĀYUN PĀDSHĀH TO THE THRONE OF GAŪR.

Sultān Maḥmūd, fleeing wounded from the battle with Sher Khān, turned to meet Sultān Muhammad Humāyun, the Emperor. At the time when Sultān Humāyun the Emperor captured the fort of Chunar, Sultān Maḥmūd arriving at Darvishpura,[4] and meeting the Emperor, and using much cajolery and persuasion, requested the Emperor to invade Bengal. The Emperor, taking pity on Maḥmūd, left Mirzā Dost Beg[5] in charge of the fort of

[1] See note *ante*.

[2] This was a quarter of Gaūr. The inscription on this mosque is published in J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 339.

[3] The fate of Maḥmūd Shāh is fully described in the Tarīkh-i-Sher Shāhī, of which the Hon'ble Sir Edward Clive Bayley has published a translation in Dowson's edition of Elliot's History of India, IV, pp. 360-364.

[4] I have not identified this place; but it must have been close to Chunar.

[5] In *Badaoni* (p. 348, Vol. I), it is stated that when the King of Bengal

Chunar, and in the beginning of 945 A.H.[1] raised the standard of march towards the conquest of Bengal. Sher Khān,[2] learning about this, despatched Jallāl Khān and Khawāṣ Khān to defend the pass of Teliagadhī, which leads to Bengal. And this Teliagadhi and Sakrigalī is a place between the provinces of Behar and Bengal, it is very impregnable ; it is flanked on one side by a lofty hill and a dense forest which are quite impassable, and on another side by the river Ganges, to ford which is very difficult. Emperor Humāyun detached Jahāngir Beg[3] Mughal to capture Teliagadhī and Sakrigalī. On the day that Jahāngir Beg reached that place, just after he had dismounted, Jallāl Khān and Khawāṣ Khān, marching up quickly with an efficient force, attacked him. The Mughal forces, unable to cope, were vanquished, and Jahāngir Beg, getting wounded, in a hapless condition, retreated to the Emperor's camp.[4] But when Emperor Humāyun himself marched up to Teliagadhī and Sakrigalī, Jallāl Khān and Khawāṣ Khān, seeing their inability to stand the Emperor's onslaught, fled towards the hills, and from thence, to Sher Khān at Gaūr. The Imperial army, forcing its way easily through that narrow defile, marched up, stage by stage. And when the Imperial camp halted at Kohal Gāon (Colgong), Maḥmūd Shāh, who was in the company of the Emperor, heard that his two sons who had been taken prisoners by Jallāl Khān, had been slain. From this grief and affliction, he pined away

(named erroneously Nasib Shāh, which should be Maḥmūd Shāh) getting wounded in the war against Sher Shāh, came and met the Emperor (Humāyun), and invoked his help, the latter left Mir Hindu Beg Quchīn in charge of Jaunpur province, and marched (from Chunar) towards Bengal, forcing the pass of Telīagadhī, which was fortified and held by Quṭb Khān and Khawas Khan (son and servant respectively of Sher Shāh).

1 *i.e.*, 1538 A.C.

2 Sher Khān or Sher Shāh was at this time at Gaūr and had made himself master of it. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 348 and 349, Vol. I). Mughal historians, to please the Mughal Emperors, invariably belittle Sher Shāh by calling him "Sher Khān." Sher Shāh finally defeated Humāyun (Jarrett's Tr., *Ain*, p. 421, and *Badaoni*, pp 354 and 356, Vol. I) near Kanauj in A.H. 947 (A.C. 1540), when Humāyun fled to Sindh.

3 He is mentioned as Governor of Bengal under Humāyun (*vide* Blochmann's Tr., Āīn-i-Akbarī, and also the text, Fasc. 1, p. 331, and also *Badaoni*, p. 352, Vol. I.)

4 This must have been near Colgong (Kahlgaon), at the time.

day by day, and in a short time died.[1] And since Sher Khān, on hearing about the approach of the Imperial forces, became anxious, he removed the treasures of the kings of Gaūr and Bengal, fled towards Rāḍhā,[2] and from thence towards the hills of Jhārkand.[3] Emperor Humāyun captured without opposition the city of Gaūr[4], which was the capital of Bengal, and owing to the ominous nature of its name, he changed it to Jinnatabad, and introduced the Imperial Khuṭba and coin. The ports of Sunārgāon and Chātgāon (Chittagong), etc., came into the possession of the Emperor. For some time, the Emperor lived in ease and comfort, and did not pursue Sher Khan, and made light of the enemy. Three months had not yet passed, since his stay in that city, when owing to the badness of the climate of that place, many horses and camels died, and many soldiers fell ill. Suddenly, the news was received that the Afghāns, marching by way of Jhārkand, had captured the fort of Rohtas,[5] and that leaving a force for the defence of the fort, Sher Khān himself had marched to Monghyr, and had put to the sword the Emperor's grandees, who were there. And the news of the successful rebellion of Mirzā Hindal which had come to pass at Delhi,[6] was also received. The Emperor becoming anxious on the a receipt of the

1 Maḥmūd Shāh, the last Independent Musalman king of Bengal, died at Colgong in 1538 A.C.

2 This was the name which Western Bengal bore under Hindu Rajas.

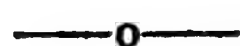
3 Chuta Nagpūr tract was so called during Moslem rule in India.

4 Humāyun captured Gaūr, about July 1538. Humāyun stayed at Gaūr for three months, that is, till September 1538 A.C., and named the place Jinnatabad. (See *Badaoni*, p. 349, Vol. I).

5 This important fort in South Behar was captured by Sher Shāh in 945 A.H. or about September 1538 A.C. by an ingenious stratagem. (See *Badaoni*, p. 349, Vol. I). Sher Khan induced the Rajah of Rohtās to give shelter to his family in the Fort, and then sent in there two thousand armed Afghans in *mahfas* or palanquins; these latter killed the Rajah and his soldiers, and easily captured the Fort for Sher Shāh.

6 In Firishta occurs the following: "At this time news was received that Mirza Hindal had raised the standard of rebellion in Agrah and Mewat, had caused the Khuṭba to be recited after his own name, and had killed Shaikh Bahlol" (Vol. I, p. 423, Pers. text). Delhi mentioned here therefore appears to be a mistake for Agra, as appears also from the text which follows. (See *Badaoni*, p. 350, Vol. I).

news from Delhi, appointed Jahangir Quli Beg[1] Governor of Bengal, and leaving Ibrāhim Beg, who was one of the principal Omra, with five thousand select cavalry in the former's company, himself swiftly marched back towards Agra. This happened in 946 A.H.



THE ACCESSION OF SHER SHĀH[2] TO THE THRONE, IN THE CITY OF GAŪR.

When Emperor Humāyun in the year 946 A.H. withdrew towards Agra, Sher Khān, apprised of the unpreparedness of the Imperial army and of the rebellion of Mirzā Hindal, set out from the fort of Rohtas with a large army. And at the time, when the Imperial camp arrived at Chausa, capturing the high way, for three months Sher Khān bivouacked facing it,[3] and caused as much harassment as he could. At length, by way of treachery and stratagem, sending to the Emperor Shaikh Khalil, the well-known saint who was his spiritual guide, Sher Khān sought

[1] In *Badaoni* (p. 350, Vol. I). "Jahangīr Beg Mughal."

[2] His regal style was Faridu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Sher Shāh. He reigned from 944 to 952 A.H or 1538 to 1545 A.C. He lies buried at Sahasrām (Sasseram) in Behar. His first Governor of Bengal, Khizr Khān, who married a daughter of Maḥmūd Shāh III, king of Bengal, was replaced by Qazī Fazīlat, of Agra. Those who care to know the life and career of this remarkable Sovereign, will find a full account in *Badaoni* (Vol. I, pp. 356 to 374). A man of learning and wonderful resources, a dashing soldier, a general of high order (always ready to avail himself of all stratagems and tactics in war), a politician of keen diplomacy, when he mounted the throne, he exhibited the highest qualities of a statesman and a beneficent sovereign. Moderate and scientific in his revenue-assessments, liberal in his gifts, *Jageers* and benefactions, generous in supporting learning and the learned, wise in his army-reforms (copied subsequently by Akbar) munificent in laying down trunk roads, planting trees, sinking wells, establishing caravanserais, building Mosques, Madrasahs and *Khanqahs*, and erecting bridges, few Indo-Moslem Kings come up to his level. He administered justice so vigorously that he impressed his personality on all, and established thorough peace, so that, says *Badaoni* (p. 363, Vol. I), no dacoit or robber would dare to touch a gold plate, though it might be left on the road by an old woman, during her sleep.

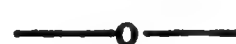
[3] Sher Khān had encamped on the right bank of the river between Chausa and Baksar. The river here is called Thorā Nadī. The battle of Chausa was fought on 9th Safar 946 A.-H. or 26th June, 1539 A.C. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 351 and 352, Vol. I).

for peace. The Emperor, owing to the exigencies of the times, accepted his overtures,[1] and it was agreed that Bengal and the fort of Rohtas would continue in the possession of Sher Khān, and that the latter would put forth no further pretensions, but that the Imperial coin and Khutba would be in force in those provinces. Sher Khān, taking his oath on the holy Qorān, accepted these terms; and the Imperial army were re-assured by this oath. But Sher Khān, on the following day, with an efficient and well-equipped Afghān force, taking the Imperial army by surprise, did not allow it time to rally into ranks, and after fighting became victorious, and closed the ferries where boats were moored. Owing to this cause, the king as well as the beggar, the high as well as the low, became dispirited and straitened, and being hardpressed by the Afghāns, plunged pell-mell into the river Ganges, so that besides the Hindustanis, nearly twenty thousand Mughals got drowned. The Emperor also, plunging into the river, with the help of a water-carrier, with great difficulty crossed over to the bank of safety, and with a small number of followers, the cup of whose lives was not yet full to the brim, set out for Agra. Sher Khān, after gaining this strange victory, returned to Bengal, fought repeatedly with Jahāngir Qulī Beg, and at length by way of deception and treachery, invited him to his presence, and slew him and his *retinue*. And putting to the sword the remainder of the Imperial army who were at other places, he introduced the Khutba and the coin after his own name, and brought the provinces of Bengal and Behār absolutely under his domination. And from that time he assumed the title of Sher Shāh,[2] and that year devoting himself to the

[1] Rather the overtures for peace were made by Humāyun, who sent Mulla Muhammad Aziz for the purpose to Sher Khān, who was then at Chausa. At the time, Sher Khān with his sleeves stuck up and with a spade in hand, in grilling weather, was digging a trench, and fortifying the place On seeing the Mulla, he sat down on the bare ground, and in reply to the Mulla said: "Tell this one word on my behalf to the Emperor, that he seeks war, and not his soldiers, whilst I do not seek war, but my soldiers do." Sher Shāh then sent to the Emperor his spiritual guide Shaikh Khalil, a descendant of Shaikh Farid Ganj Shakar. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 350 and 351, Vol. I).

[2] After defeating Humāyun at Chausa on 26th June, 1539 A.C. (9th Safar, 946 A.H.) Sher Khān marched to Gaūr, slew Humāyun's Governor, Jahangir Qulī Beg, and assumed the same year at Gaūr the royal title of Faridu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Sher Shāh, and struck coins. Sher Shāh stayed

settlement of his kingdom, attained great power and pomp. At the end of the year, leaving Khizr Khān to rule over Bengal, he himself started for Agra. And from that side, Humāyun's force, despite the fraternal dissensions, consisting of one hundred thousand soldiers, marched forward to encounter him. And in the year 947 A.H.[1] on the tenth day of the month of Muharram, in the neighbourhood of Qanauj, on the banks of the river Ganges, the contending hosts faced each other. And whilst the Mughal forces were preparing to encamp at this stage, nearly fifty thousand Afghān cavalry dashed up. The Imperial army, without fighting, was routed, and Sher Shāh chasing it up to the river, marched forward to Agra.



RULE OF KHIZR KHAN AT GAUR.

When Khizr Khān was appointed Governor of Bengal on behalf of Sher Shāh, he married a daughter of one of the kings of Bengal,[2] and in his mode of living, and in his paraphernalia of comforts and luxuries, observed the kingly mode. And when Sher Shāh at Agra came to know about this, exercising foresight, he deemed it proper to adopt remedial measures against the disease before it shewed itself, and swiftly marched to Bengal. And when Khizr Khān went forward to receive him, Sher Shāh imprisoning him, divided the province of Bengal amongst several tribal chiefs, and appointed Qazī Fazilat, who was one of the learned scholars of Agra, and who was distinguished for his virtues, honesty and trustworthiness, to be the over-lord, and entrusting to his hands the power of making peace and war in the country, he himself returned to Agra.[3]

till end of December 1539 A.C. at Gaūr, and then leaving Khizr Khān as his Governor of Bengal, he marched towards Agra. (*Badaoni*, pp. 352 and 364 Vol. I).

[1] Corresponding to the year 1540 A.C. See description of battle of Qanauj in *Badaoni*, p. 354, Vol. I.

[2] He married a daughter of Maḥmūd Shāh III, the late king of Bengal, and gave himself royal airs, in consequence of which Sher Shāh promptly removed him, and appointed Qazī Fazilat as Governor of Bengal in his place. (See Badaoni, p. 365, Vol. I).

[3] In 948 A.H. Khizr Khān was deposed at Gaūr by Sher Shāh. Sher Shāh had political insight of a high order. The administrative arrange-

ACCOUNT OF THE OVER-LORDSHIP OF MUḤAMMAD KHĀN SUR IN BENGAL.

When in the year 952 A.H., Sher Shāh, in capturing the fort of Kalinjar,[1] by the will of Providence, was accidentally burnt by the explosion of the gunpowder of a mine that had been laid underneath tne rampart, and his younger son, named Jallāl Khān, ascended the throne of Delhi and assumed the title of Islām Shāh,[2] popularly known as Salīm Shāh, Muḥammad Khān Sur, who was one of the principal Omra and a connexion of Salīm Shāh, and who was renowned for his justice and equity and courteous deportment, was appointed Governor of Bengal. And for some years until the end of Salim Shāh's reign he continued so, after which he raised the standard of rebellion, and turned towards the

ments that he introduced at this time in Bengal, *viz*., of placing different tribal chiefs to rule over different territorial divisions would indicate that he was fully alive to the policy "Divide and rule." His installation of Qazī Fazīlat, a scholar of Agra, in a position of over-lordship over these tribal chiefs, further indicates that he set a high value on learning. Sher Shāh died on 12th Rabi I, 952 A.H. (3rd June, 1545); he lies buried at Sahsram, in South Behar, See Tarikh-i-Sher Shāhī for an interesting account of Sher Shāh's career, and also Badaoni, p. 365, Vol. I, Firishta and Akbarnamah.

Sher Shāh was the first ruler who from a king of Bengal, became the Emperor of all India. His triumph was a triumph for Bengal, whose prosperity and welfare continued to receive his special attention, even after he became Emperor of India. Mughal historians generally (no doubt from their delicate position) have failed to appraise Sher Shāh's qualities as a statesman and as a soldier at their proper worth. His reign was fruitful of military, fiscal, agricultural, economic, currency and revenue reforms in Bengal, and also of many public works of utility, such as roads, rest-houses, bridges, fortifications, Khanqas, colleges and wells, &c.

1 "Kalinjar is a stone fortress in Sūbah Allahabad, upon heaven-reaching hill."—Ain. During its siege in 1545 A.C., a shell rebounded from the walls into the battery where Sher Shāh stood, and set fire to the gun-powder. He was severely burnt, and died next day. (Jarrett's Tr., Ain., Vol. II, p. 1604). Ain simply says "he fell at the powder magazine when the fire opened in the fort." (See *Badaoni*, p. 372, Vol. I).

2 Jallāl Khān assumed the royal title of Jallālu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Islam Shāh in 1545 A.C. (or 952 A.H.) He reigned from 1545 to 1553 A.C. He appointed his relative Muḥammad Khān Sur as his Governor of Bengal, removing Qazī Fazīlat. Islam Shāh lies buried at Sassaram. He drew up a comprehensive Procedure Code, and followed the enlightened and statesman-like policy of his illustrious father. See *Badaoni*, Vol. I, p. 374.

conquest of Chunār, Jaunpūr[1] and Kalpī.[2] Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī,[3] taking in his company Hemu[4] the grocer, who was one of his leading Omra, with a large army, proceeded to encounter Muḥammad Khān, and in the village of Chaparghatha, which is fifteen *kro* distant from Kalpī, between the two armies, a sanguinary engagement took place.[5] Many persons on both sides were killed, and Muḥammad Khān, too, was killed. The grandees who escaped from the sword fled, and rallied together at Jhosī,[6] and installed in power Muḥammad Khān's son, named Khizr

1 "Jaunpur is a large city. Sulṭān Firuz Tughlak laid its foundation and named it after his cousin Fakhru-d-dīn Junai."—Ain.

2 Kalpi is mentioned in the Ain under Sūbah Agra (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 184).

3 Mubariz Khān killed Firūz Khān, son of Islam Shāh, and assumed (in 960 A.H. or 1553 A.C.) the title of Muḥammad Shāh 'Adil. Owing to this unwarranted assassination, popularly he was known as 'Adil Shāh or simply as "Andhali" which means "the blind" in Hindustani.

In Firishta and Stewart, it is stated that Muḥammad Khān Sur ruled over Bengal and North Behar wisely and beneficently till the close of the reign of Salim Shāh; but when in 960 A.H. Muḥammad 'Adilī who was addicted to debauchery and pleasures, mounted the throne, after slaying Firuz Khân, Muḥammad Khān refused to pay him homage, viewing him as the assassin of his late master's son.

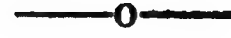
Muḥammad Khān Sur was appointed in 952 A.H. (1545 A.C.) Governor of Bengal and North Behar by Islam Shāh, who had deposed Qazī Fazīlat, the nominee of Sher Shāh. Islam Shāh at the same time confirmed Miyan Sulaiman Karrarani to continue as Governor of South Behar.

4 Hemu the grocer was made a Superintendent of the Markets by Salīm Shāh, and raised to the office of Administrator-General of the Empire by Muḥammad Shāh 'Adil. He was defeated by Akbar's General, Bairam Khān, in 1556 A.C. at Panipat.

5 Muḥammad Khān Sur, Islam Shāh's Governor of Bengal, refused to acknowledge Muḥammad 'Adlī Shāh, and himself assumed the royal title of Shāmsu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, and invaded Jaunpur and Kalpi. The battle of Chapparghatta was fought between the two in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) Chapparghatta is east of Kalpi, on the Jamūna river. He ruled as Islam Shāh's Governor of Bengal from 952 to 960 A.H. and reigned as king of Bengal from 960 A.H. to 962 A.H., that is from 1553 to 1555 A.C. (See *Badaoni*, p. 432, Vol. I).

6 Jhosī is on the left bank of the Ganges, opposite to Allahabad; there Khizr Khān, son of Muḥammad Shāh, who was killed in the battle of Chapparghatta, celebrated his *julus*, and assumed the royal title of Bahadur Shāh in 962 A.H. (1555 A.C.) (See *Badaoni*, p. 433, Vol. I).

Khān. Bahādur Shāh (that is, Khizr Khān), to avenge the death of his father, set about collecting his forces, subdued many of the eastern provinces, and invaded Bengal.



RULE OF KHIZR KHAN, STYLED BAHADUR SHAH.[1]

When Bahādur Shāh, with an efficient army, invaded Bengal, Shāhbāz Khān, who, on behalf of Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī, was at that time Governor of Gaūr, advanced to fight. The grandees of Shāhbāz Khān, seeing the overwhelming force of Bahādur Shāh, deserted to the latter. Shāhbāz Khān, with the remnant of the soldiery who held on to him, resolved to fight, and was slain on the battle-field.

The man whom Fortune favours,
Who has power to vanquish?

Bahādur Shāh, triumphant and victorious, captured the City of Gaur, and introduced the coin and Khuṭba in his own name. After this, he drew his forces against Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī, and a great battle was fought at a point between Surajgaḍha and Jahāngīrah.[2] Muḥammad Shāh, receiving mortal wounds on

[1] Bahadur Shāh or Khizr Khān, son of Muḥammad Khān Sur *alias* Shamsu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Muḥammad Shāh, was installed in power at Jhosī, where Muḥammad Shāh's defeated grandees and officers rallied after the battle of Chapparghatta. He reigned over Bengal as king from 962 to 968 A.H. (or 1555 to 1561 A.C.) Badaonī calls him Muḥammad Bahadur. The most important event of his reign was his war with 'Adlī Shāh, whom he defeated at the decisive battle of Surajgarha in Monghyr district, in 964 A.H. At this battle, Sulaimān Kararanī who held South Behar from Sher Shāh's reign assisted Bahadur Shāh. (See Tarikh-i-Daudī and *Badaoni*, pp. 433-434, Vol. I).

Bahadur Shāh was king of Bengal and North Behar from 962 to 968 A.H. (that is 1555 to 1561 A.C.) During this period, South Behar continued under its old Governor, Mīyan Sulaimān Kararanī.

It may be noted here that Bahadur Shāh was a contemporary of Emperor Akbar who ascended the Imperial throne in 963 A.H. (or 1556 A.C.)

[2] Jahangīrah village is close to Jamalpur railway station, in Monghyr district. Surajgaḍha or Surajgarha is a town close to Maulanagar, on the banks of the river Ganges, in Monghyr district.

the battle-field,[1] was killed. And this Muhammad Shāh *alias* Mubariz Khān, was a son of Nizām Khān Sur, who was a nephew of Sher Shāh, and a cousin and brother-in-law of Salīm Shāh. After the death of Salīm Shāh, on the third day, slaying the former's son, named Fīruz Shāh, who was his nephew, Muhammad Shāh mounted the throne of Delhi, and assumed the title of Muhammad Shāh 'Adlī.[2] As the latter had no capacity for Government, the Afghāns nick-named him 'Adlī,' and by a slight change of pronunciation, they called him 'Andlī.' And 'Andlī,' in the Hindustanī language, means "the blind." After this, Bahādur Shāh, reigning over Bengal for six years, died.



REIGN OF JALLĀLU-D-DĪN, SON OF MUHAMMAD KHĀN.

After Bahādur Shāh's death, his brother Jallālu-d-dīn[3] ascended the throne, and after five years' reign, in the City of Gaūr, died.



REIGN OF JALLĀLU-D-DĪN'S SON.

After Jallālu-d-dīn's death, his son, whose name is unknown, ascending the throne, struck up the drum of brief authority, and

1 At this battle in 964 A.H. (1557 A.C.) Bahadur Shāh was assisted by Sulaimān Kararani. According to Tarikh-i-Daudī, the decisive battle was fought at the "stream of Surajgarh, near Monghyr" (which is the Keol Nadī). Professor Blochmann locates the battle-field at Fathpur village, 4 miles west of Surajgarh and the Keol nadi. Tarikh-i-Daudī inaccurately places Surajgarha one kos, more or less, from Monghyr.

2 See Badaoni, p. 384, Vol. I.

3 His royal title was Ghiāsu-d-dīn Abul Muzaffar Jallāl Shāh. He reigned over Bengal and North Behar from 968 to 971 A.H. (or 1561 A.C. to 1564 A.C.) During this period, Sulaimān Kararani continued as semi-independent Governor of South Behar, whilst Hajipur which had risen in importance from the time of Nasrat Shāh continued to be the head-quarters fo the Bengal Governor of North Behar. Patna became the seat of Behar Governors from the time of Emperor Akbar. Sher Shāh had built the Fort of Patna (see Bloch. Contr. J.A.S. for 1875, p. 302). Jallāl Shāh died at Gaūr in 971 A.H. With Jallāl Shāh and his son, ended the Sūr dynasty in Bengal. *Badaoni* (p. 430, Vol. I) states "that Muhammad Khān Sūr, ruler of Bengal, assumed the title of Sultān Jallalu-d-dīn, and extended the Bengal Kingdom up to Jaunpur."

as yet more than seven months and nine days had not elapsed, when Ghiāṣu-d-dīn, slaying him, usurped the reins of the sovereignty of Bengal.

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REIGN OF GHĪĀṢU-D-DĪN.

When Sulṭān Ghiāṣu-d-dīn drew to his lap the bride of the kingdom of Bengal, as yet he had not more than one year and eleven days rested on the bed of ease, when Tāj Khān Kranī [1] gathering strength, slew him, and by means of the sharp sword conquered the kingdom.

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REIGN OF TĀJ KHĀN KRANĪ.

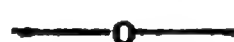
Tāj Khān Kranī was one of the grandees of Salīm Shāh, and Governor of Sambhal.[2] At the time of the decline of Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī, escaping from Gwalior, he set out for Bengal. Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī detached a large army in pursuit of him. In the environs of Chaprampūr, which is forty *kro* distant from Akbarabād and thirty *kro* distant from Qanauj, the two forces encountering each other, a battle was fought, when Tāj Khān being routed, retired towards Chunār. On the way, winning over certain Revenue Collectors of the Crown-lands of Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī, he levied from them in the shape of cash and goods whatever he could, and taking one *halqāh* of elephants—a *halqāh* consisting of 100 elephants—from the pargannahs, united with his brothers, 'Ahmād Khān and Īlyās Khān, who were Governors of certain districts alongside the

1 Sulaimān Khān Karani, Governor of South Behar in 971 A.H. (1564 A.C.) sent his elder brother Tāj Khān Kararani, to Gaūr, to put down the usurper, Ghiāṣu-d-dīn. Tāj Khān killed the usurper, and established himself at Gaūr, in 971, and from 971 to 972 A.H. (1564 to 1565 A.C.) ruled as Governor of Bengal, on behalf of his brother Sulaimān Kararani (J.A.S. for 1875, p. 295, and *Badaoni*, pp. 409, 420 and 421, Vol. I). Badaoni describes Taj Khān as one of the most learned scholars of his time. He died in 972 A.H.

2 Sarkar Sambhal under the Sūbah of Delhi is mentioned in the Ain (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 104).

The *Ain* further states: "In the city of Sambhal is a temple called *Hari Mandal* (the temple of Vishnu) belonging to a Brahman, from whose descendants the tenth *avatar* will appear in this spot" (Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 281).

banks of the Ganges, and of Khwaṣpur Tandah, and raised the standard of rebellion. When Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī marched from Gwalior with his army against the Karanians, and on the bank of the Ganges, the two armies encountered each other, Hemū[1] the grocer, who was the generalissimo of Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī's army, taking with him one *halqāh* of elephants, and crossing the river, and fighting, became victorious. And when Ibrāhīm Khān Sur,[2] who was 'Adlī's sister's husband, escaping and capturing Delhi raised troubles, Muḥammad Shāh 'Adlī was compelled to leave the Karanians, and to march back towards Delhi. And the Karanians thus became independent. And, as has been related, when Tāj Khān reduced to his subjection the City of Gaūr, after nearly nine years ruling over it, and conquering the kingdom of Bengal, like others, he died.



REIGN OF SULAIMĀN KARANĪ.[3]

In the beginning of his career, Sulaimān Karani was one of the grandees of Sher Shāh. Sher Shāh appointed him Gover-

1 Though a grocer or *baqāl*, Hemu rose to the officer of Vizier and generalissimo under Muhammad Shāh Adlī, and exhibited great personal courage at the battle of Panipat fought in 964 A.H. between him and Akbar. He assumed the title of Rajah Bikrammadit at Delhi. He ill-treated the Afghans, who at heart despised him, and who, therefore, for the most part threw in their lot with Akbar. (See Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 13 to 16).

2 See *Badaoni*, Vol. I, pp. 422 to 428. During the chaos which arose during the latter part of the feeble reign of Muhammad Shāh Adlī, it was arranged between Ibrahim and Sikandar *alias* Ahmad Khān, that the former would rule over the Eastern Empire from Delhi to the easternmost portions of India, whilst the latter would be master of the Panjab, Multan and other western tracts.

3 According to the Akbarnamah, Badaonī and the Tabaqat-i-Akbarī, he died in 980 A.H. and reigned in Bengal from 971 to 980 A.H., or 1563 to 1572 A.C. He is sometimes called Kararani and sometimes Karani and also Krani. It is related of him that he held every morning a devotional meeting, in company with 150 Shāikhs and 'Ulamas, after which he used to transact business during fixed hours, (See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, p. 171, and *Badaoni*, Vol. II, pp. 76, 173, 174 and 200), and that this practice influenced Akbar's conduct. His conquest of Orissa (in 975 A.H. or 1567 A.C.) mainly through the efforts of his distinguished general, Kalaphar, is detailed in a following section in the text, and also in Firishta, Akbarnamah, and Tarikh-i-Daudī.

nor of the Sūbah of Behar, which he continued to hold in the reign of Salīm Shāh. When Salīm Shāh passed to the regions of eternity, in Hindustan, tribal chiefs established themselves, and in every head the ambition of sovereignty, and in every heart the aspiration of suzerainty, arose. Sulaimān Khān, after the death of his brother, Tāj Khān, established himself with full independence as king of Bengal and Behar, and abandoning the City of Gaūr, owing to the inclemency of its climate, established himself in the town of Tandah.[1] And in the year 975 A.H., he conquered the country of Orissa, and placing it under a permanent Governor with a large army, he himself set out for the conquest of the country of Kuch Behar. He subjugated its environs and outlying parts, and whilst he was besieging its capital, he got news that the insurgents in Orissa had again raised the standard of insurrection. Thus, of necessity, he abandoned the siege of Kuch Behar town,[2] and returned to Tandah, which was his Capital. And for some time, in a similar manner, there was commotion all over Hindustān. And when Emperor Humāyun returned to Hindustān from Persia, Sulaimān Khān, exercising foresight, sent a letter embodying sentiments of loyalty and

His principal nobleman and officer, Khān Jahan Lodī, held a conference with Akbar's general, Munim Khān-i-Khānan, in the neighbourhood of Patna, and it was arranged to recite the Khutba and strike coins in Bengal after Akbar's name (see p. 427, Bloch. Tran., Āīn, and *Badaoni*, p. 174). In 972 A.H., Sulaimān removed his capital from Gaūr to Tandah. Akbar sent an embassy to him (Badaoni, p. 76, Vol. II).

1 Tandah was on the west side of the Ganges, nearly opposite to Gaūr.

In 972 A.H. (1564 A.C.) Sulaimān Kararani, the Afghan king of Bengal, abandoned Gaūr on account of its bad climate, and shifted the capital westward to Tandah, which was also called Khwaspūr Tandah. In 983 A.H. (1575 A.C.) Munim Khān-i-Khanān, Akbar's *Sipasalar*, re-occupied Gaūr, where a pestilence soon broke out, and he as well as many Mughal officers and soldiers died. (See *Badaoni*, pp. 216 and 217, Vol. II). About 1242 A.H. (1826 A.C.) Tandah was destroyed by floods, and disappeared into the river. Now-a-days it lies as a heap of dust about a mile from Lakhīpur. (See Beveridge's Analysis of Khurshid Jahan Numa, J.A.S., 1895, p. 215).

2 Taking advantage of the dissensions between the Afghans under Sher Shāh and the Mughals under Emperor Humāyun, Kuch Behar which had previously been subdued by Alau-d-dīn Husain Shāh, king of Bengal, and partially re-conquered by Sulaimān Kararani rose into semi-independence in 944 A.H. under Bisa, and became independent under Rajas Nara Narayan (962 A.H.) and Bal Gosain (980 A.H.) Subsequently it was reconquered.

friendship, together with presents. From the other side also, owing to the exigencies of the times which called for the destruction and extirpation of the descendants and adherents of Sher Shāh, the presents and gifts were accepted, and a condescending reply containing expressions of reassurance and good-will was sent, together with a Royal manifesto, ratifying Sulaimān's continuance in his office. After this, though Sulaimān Khān continued the *Khutba* and the coin after his own name in the kingdom of Bengal,[1] he styled himself Hazrat 'Alā (the Supreme Chief), and outwardly showing submission to Jallālu-d-dīn Muḥammad Akbar Bādshāh, he sent occasionally presents and gifts. Nearly sixteen years[2] ruling independently over Bengal, in the year 981 A.H. he died. And he was very energetic, industrious, and strict. In the history of Firishta, the reign of Tāj Khān is not given, and the reign of Sulaimān Khān is described as lasting 25 years. Since the brothers, from the beginning, held conjointly the rule of this country, and Tāj Khān came afterwards, therefore the rule of both has been ascribed to one. God knows the truth!

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REIGN OF BAYAZĪD KHĀN,[3] SON OF SULAIMĀN KHĀN.

After Sulaimān's death, his son Bayazīd Khān, assuming the sovereignty, ascended the throne of Bengal. As yet more than a month had not elapsed, and according to another account, one year and six months he had ruled, when an Afghān named Hanso, who was a cousin and brother-in-law of Bayazīd, attacking him,

[1] From note *ante*, it would appear that he ceased to do so in Akbar's time.

[2] From note *ante*, it would appear that he ruled only for ten years over Bengal, whilst he held Behar from the time of Sher Shāh.

[3] He reigned in 980 A.H. or 1572 A.C. (See extract from Badaonī and the Sawanih Akbarī regarding the death of Sulaimān, accession and assassination of his son Bayazīd, and the installation of Bayazīd's brother Dāud, chiefly through the efforts of Lodī Khān, the premier nobleman of the Bengal kingdom (J.A.S. for 1875, pp. 304-305).

Badaonī who was a zealous Moslem remarks that 'Sulaimān conquered the town of Katak-Benaras, the mine of unbelief,' and made Jagannah (Puri) a dar-ul Islam, and ruled from Kamrūp to Orissa. Sulaiman's first Viceroy of Orissa (including Katak) was Lodī Khān *alias* Khān Jahan Lodī, and his first Governor of Jagannath or Puri was Qutlu Khān (see *Badaoni*, p. 174, Vol. II).

killed him by stratagem in the Audience-hall, and attempted to become Administrator of the affairs of the kingdom.[1] Lodī Khān who was a principal and trusty officer of Sulaimān Khān, demurring, tried to kill him. According to a tradition, after 2½ days, the younger brother, named Dāud Khān, killed Hanso, to avenge the death of his brother. Either way, after Bayazīd, his brother, Dāud Khān, succeeded to the throne.



REIGN OF DĀUD KHĀN, SON OF SULAIMĀN KHĀN.

When Dāud Khān[2] ascended the throne of Bengal, subduing completely all parts of Bengal, he introduced the *Khuṭba* and the coin after his own name. Owing to continual indulgence in wine and association with low and mean people, and because of numerous troops and retinue, and plethora of equipage, and abundance of effects and riches, and greatness of rank and dignity (in that he had 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, and 3,300 elephants, and 140,000 infantry, consisting of musketeers, matchlockmen and rocketeers and archers, and 20,000 pieces of ordnance, most of which were battering guns, and many armed cruisers, and other

[1] It is related in the Sawanih Akbarī and *Badaoni* that Bayazīd 'in his youthful folly read the *Khuṭba* in his own name, neglected all forms of courtesy, and also ill-treated the chief nobles of his father who consequently hated him. Hanso, the son of his uncle Imad (brother of Sulaimān), who was also his brother-in-law, then killed him. Lodī Khān then killed Hanso, installed Dāud. (See J.A.S. for 1875, pp. 304-305).

[2] Dāud Khān became king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 980 A.H. (1572 A.C.) and reigned from 980 A.H. to 984 A.H. (1572 to 1576 A.C.), under the title of Abul Muzaffer Dāud Shāh. In 982 A.H. Akbar personally wrested Behar from him by storming Patna and Hajīpur forts, and Dāud fled to Orissa, where the battle of Mughulmari or Tukaroi north of Jalīsar, was fought in 1575 A.C. between him and the Imperialists, commanded by Munim Khān-i-Khanān. Dāud was defeated, and concluded the Peace of Katak, under which Bengal and Behar were ceded by him to Akbar, the latter recognising Dāud's sovereignty over Orissa. In 983 A.H. Munim Khān-i-Khanān died of malaria at Gaūr, with a large part of his army, and Dāud Khān, encouraged by this circumstance, invaded Bengal, and on 15th Rabi II 948 A.H. (12th July, 1576 A.C.), was defeated by Akbar's General, Husain Qulī Khān Jahān, at Akmahal or Rajmahal, captured and beheaded. (See Tarikh-i-Dāudi, Firishta, Badaonī and Akbarnamah). With Dāud Khān's death (1576 A.C.), the Kararani dynasty ended in Bengal.

implements of war, which he had ready and in store) he became haughty, and aiming at conquests caused troubles to the frontiers of the Empire of Emperor Akbar. Although the well-wishers dissuaded him from this policy, and gave him good counsel, he did not listen. And Munim Khān,[1] styled the Khān-i-Khānān, who was Akbar's Governor of Jaunpur, and held a *manṣab* of Panjhazārī, under the order of the Emperor, turned towards the destruction and extirpation of Dāud Khān, and sent in advance of himself a small body of Mughal officers. Dāud Khān, on hearing of this, appointed Lodī Khān Afghān, who was his premier grandee, to oppose the Mughals. At Patna, both the armies encountered each other, and for some time were engaged in skirmishes. At length, both the factions patched up terms, and both the armies withdrew to their respective Provinces. But Emperor Akbar, declining to ratify the treaty, appointed Rāja Todar Mal[2] (after

1 He was appointed to his jagirs in Jaunpur in the 12th year of Akbar's reign, when he concluded peace with Sulaimān Kararani, king of Bengal, who promised to read the *Khuṭba* and strike coins in Akbar's name. Munim in 982 A.H. was appointed Governor of Behar (after Akbar captured Hajīpur and Patna from Dāud) and ordered to follow Dāud into Bengal. Munim moved to Tandah, opposite to Gāur, on the right side of the Ganges, to settle political matters, and left the pursuit to Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlas. The latter followed Dāud to Satgaon, whence however, Dāud withdrew to Orissa, and Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlas from Satgaon invaded the district of Jasar (Jessore), where Sarmadi, a friend of Dāud, had rebelled, but the Imperialists, here too met with no success, and returned to Satgaon. Muḥammad Qulī soon after died at Midnīpur, and Munim Khān with Todar Mal invaded Orissa, defeated Dāud at the battle of Mughulmari or Tikaroi, when the Peace of Katak was concluded, under which Bengal and Behar were ceded by Dāud to Akbar. Munim died of malaria at Gāur in 983 A.H. The great bridge of Jaunpur was built by him. It may also be of interest to note that another general, named Murad Khān, under Munim Khān-i-Khānān, about 982 A.H. invaded Fathabad (or Faridpur), and conquered it as well as Sarkar Bogla. This Murad Khān died at Fathabad (Faridpur) in 988 A.H., and Mukund, the zamindar of Fathabad and Bhosna, invited Murad's sons to a feast and treacherously murdered them. See Bloch. Trans., Ain, Vol. I, p. 318 and *Badaoni*, pp. 178 and 180.

2 For a biographical account, see Blochmann's Tr. of Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 32. He was a Khetri by caste, and attained the *mansab* of *Chaharhazārī* and also the office of Akbar's Naib Dīwan or Deputy Finance Minister. He was very loyal to his sovereign, and Akbar held a high opinion of him. The rent-roll associated with his name and prepared under the direction of his sovereign, is well-known, and is given in the Āīn-i-Akbarī. (See Āīn-i-

raising him to the rank of Hazārī) to the office of Administrator of Bengal, and sent him in advance of the Khān-i-Khānān, and detached other officers and soldiers under the command of the aforesaid Khān for chastising Dāud Khān, and repeated his order to the Khān-i-Khānān in regard to the conquest of Behar. Since at that time, between Dāud Khān and Lodī Khān, some estrangement had arisen, Lodī Khān, being displeased, opened with the Khān-i-Khānān communications of conciliation, and avowed towards Emperor Akbar sentiments of submission and loyalty. Another Afghān officer, named Qutlu Khān, who bore a grudge against Lodī Khān, shaking the chain of enmity, denounced Lodī Khān before Dāud Khān, stating that Lodī Khān had been in collusion with Akbar's grandees, and that covertly he was of one mind with the latter. Dāud Khān, on being apprised of this, writing a soothing letter to Lodī Khān, and bringing him over to his side, had him in his presence, and churlishly slew Lodī Khān, who was renowned for his soundness of views, sagacity, bravery and valour. Dāud Khān then himself with a large army marched towards the bank of the river Sone, to encounter Akbar's army. And at the point of the confluence of the rivers Sone, Sro and the Ganges, a great naval engagement took place.

The young and the old were tired out with the battle,
Owing to incessant shower of spears and arrows.
The hurtle of daggers rose to the skies,
Hearts were pierced, and a torrent of blood set a-flowing in the river.
The battle-axe became inlaid on the helmets of the heroes,
Like the comb of fighting cocks on the head.

At length, the fortune of Akbar triumphed, and the Afghāns being routed, took to flight, and retired to Patna. Some of their war-vessels fell into the hands of the Mughals. The Khān-i-Khānān also following up and crossing the river, marched with the greatest expedition to Patna, and investing that fort, where Dāud Khān had entrenched himself, prepared to assault it.

Akbarī, Vol. II, Jarrett's Tr., p. 88, and also Vol. I, pp. 366 and 348 Blochmann's Tr.) It would appear that this great rent-roll which has made Todar Mal so famous, was jointly prepared by him and his Chief, Muzaffar Khān, Akbar's Chief Finance Minister or Dīwan. (See Badaonī).

When the signal to assault the fort was given,
From both sides a hundred guns and muskets roared.
From the booming of the thundering guns, and their smoke,
Like unto the sable cloud wherein the thundering angel dwells,
From the shower of cannon-balls, like the hail,
Gushed in amidst those armies a deluge of destruction.

When this news reached Muḥammad Jallālu-d-dīn Akbar, he came to realize that without his effort the conquest of the fort of Patna was impossible. Therefore, mustering up Imperial courage, he with all his princes and nobles set out in one thousand flotilla of boats, placing over them covers of variegated colours, in the thick of the rainy season. When the Emperor reached the suburbs of Patna, he got news that 'Aesh K͟hān Neāzī, who was one of the faithful officers of Dāud K͟hān, sallying out of the fort, had been killed whilst fighting with the K͟hān-i-K͟hānān, and that the garrison of the fort were contemplating flight. The Emperor then detached K͟hān 'Ālim [1] with a corps of 3,000 cavalry for storming the fort of Hajīpur; and the latter arriving there, wrested the fort from Fatḥ K͟hān, and reduced it to his own possession. Dāud K͟hān, on hearing of the fall of the fort of Hajīpur, deputed sagacious envoys to the Emperor Akbar, asking forgiveness for his misconduct. The Emperor replied that on his personal attendance, his crimes would be forgiven; and in the event of his non-attendance, he might choose one out of the following three alternatives: "(1) either he might engage singly in a combat with me, (2) or he might send one of his grandees to fight singly with one of my grandees, (3) or he might send one of his war-elephants to fight singly with one of my elephants; whoever is triumphant in either, the country shall be his." Dāud K͟hān, on receiving this message, was frightened, and seeing no advantage in tarrying at Patna, at night-fall slipped

[1] His name was Chalmah Beg. He was Humāyun's *Safarchi* or table-attendant. Humāyun sent him with Mirza Kamran to Mecca, and on the latter's death, he returned to India, was graciously received by Akbar who conferred on him the title of K͟hān 'Ālim. 'When Akbar moved against Dāud S͟hāh in Patna, K͟hān 'Ālim commanded a corps, and passing up the river on boats towards the mouth of the Gandak, effected a landing.' (See Blochmann's Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, pp. 378-379).

out through the iron-gate, and getting into a boat, and leaving behind effects and equipage, fled towards Bengal. The forts of Hajīpur and Patna were seized by the Imperialists, and the Emperor Akbar pursued the vanquished Afghān army to a distance of 25 kro, and 400 war-elephants of Dāud Khān, together with other equipages, fell into the hands of the Mughal heroes. Whoever (amongst the vanquished) fled, saved his life, the rest were put to the sword. The Emperor, leaving Munim Khān to subjugate the outlying provinces and to extirpate Dāud Khān, retired from Dariapur.[1] When the Khān-i-Khānān reached Sakrigali, Dāud Khān becoming helpless fled to Orissa. And some of the grandees of Akbar, like Rajah Todar Mal and others, who had taken the route[2] to Orissa in pursuit of him, were twice vanquished by Junaid Khān, son of Dāud Khān, Munim Khān, hearing of this, himself[3] marched to Orissa. Dāud Khān advanced to encounter the latter; when both the forces approached each other, they fell into battle-array.[4]

1 There is a Dariapūr about 2 miles south of Mokamah railway ghât station. This was probably the point up to which the Emperor Akbar advanced from Patna on boats in pursuit of Dāud Shāh, the king of Bengal. With the fall of the forts of Patna and Hajīpur, (See *Badaoni*, pp. 180-181, Vol. II), Behar was practically lost by Dāud Shāh, who under the Peace of Katak subsequently ceded Bengal also.

2 The route appears to have been through Bardwan across Madaran and Midnipur to parganah Chittua in Orissa, where Todar Mal was subsequently joined by Munim Khān. Dāud Khān at this time advanced to Haripur lying intermediate between Orissa and Bengal (see Akbarnamah).

3 At this time the Khān-i-Khānān was at Tandah, opposite to Gāur, settling political matters. On receiving Todar Mal's appeal for help, the Khān-i-Khānān promptly left Tandah, and quickly advanced to Orissa across Bīrbhūm, Bardwan and Midnipur into parganah Chittua in Orissa, where Todar Mal was.

4 See Akbarnamah, Tabaqat-i-Akbarī, Badaonī, for full particulars of this battle. The Akbarnamah places the battle in a village called Takadhi or Takroī (two miles from the bank of the Soobanarika river and close to Jalesar). Professor Blochmann has traced also a village called Mughulmari (or Mughal's Flight) close to this Takroi or Tookaroi. (See Blochmann's Tr. of Ain, Vol. I, p. 375, and also Badaoni, p. 193, Vol. II.)

Todar Mal, says Professor Blochmann "moved from Bardwan over Madaran into the perguna of Chittua, where he was subsequently joined by Munim. Dāud had taken up a strong position at Harīpūr which lies between Bengal and Orissa. Battle took place on 3rd March, 1575 A.D. After the battle, Todar Mal leads the pursuit, and reaches the town of Bhadrak. Not long after he

The heroes arrayed themselves on the battle-field,
All were armed with daggers, arrows and spears.
On two sides the two armies sprang up like mountains,
One without terror, the other with terror.
All vied with each other,
And charged, and themselves were charged with guns, arrows and spears.
From the blood of the heroes of both the armies,
Flowed a torrent on that battle-field.
On the field fell many a slaughtered,
On both sides, towered heaps of corpses.

An Afghān named Gujra,[1] who in heroism and valour was the Rustam of his time, and who commanded the van of Dāud Khān's army, made a bold onslaught on the commander of the Khān-i-Khānān's van, named Khān-i-'Alim, discomfited the Imperial vanguard, slew Khān 'Alim, and shook the van. And a number of Imperialists who were between the centre and the van, becoming discomfited by the attack of Dāud Khān, reeled back to the centre, and caused confusion. The Khān-i-Khānān, with the small remnant of troops that yet held the ground, advanced in front of Gujra, and by chance, Gujra and the Khān-i-Khānān encountered each other.

When the two heroes encountered each other,
They unsheathed from both sides dazzling swords.
Now one, and then the other, inflicted sword-cuts,
Worthy of heroes.
The one did not succeed in penetrating the cuirass,
The other defended himself with a shield.
At length, by the sword of Gujra,
The body of the Khān-i-Khānān got wounded.
Other adherents came in the midst,
And intervened between the two combatants.

writes to Munim to come up and join him, as Dāud had collected his troops near Katak, and the whole Imperial army moves to Katak, where a peace is concluded."

[1] When Bayazīd was killed by Hanso, it is related in the Sawanih Akbarī that Gujra Khān attempted to raise in Behar Bayazīd's son to the throne. It may be noted that a village called Gujarpur lies about 5 miles from Katak, and that there is a family there that claims Gujra Khān as its ancestor.

The Khān-i-Khānān, in that plight fighting, retired from the battle-field and halted, and when the scattered Mughal forces again rallied round him, he again advanced to fight with Gujra.

When Gujra a second time came to fight,
From the aim of destiny, the bow became stretched,
When the arrow hit him clean on the forehead,
The arrow passsd right through the head.
Gujra fell on the field like a mountain,
By his fall, his army became dispirited.
When fortune turned its face from Dāud Khān,
From every side, misfortune hemmed him in.
Dāud Khān fled from the battle,
As he no longer dreamt of victory.

Dāud Khān, leaving behind the war-elephants and other armaments, in despair fled from the battle-field. And Rajah Todar Mal and other Imperial grandees marched in pursuit[1] of Dāud Khān. When Dāud Khān reached the environs of the river Chin,[2] he took refuge in the fort of Katak. Since every avenue of escape was closed, he was obliged to place his family and children inside the Fort, and then himself advanced to fight, putting the coffin on the shoulder, and preparing to die. Rajah Todar Mal communicated to the Khān Khānān the state of affairs. Although wounded, the Khān Khānān on the wings of swiftness proceeded to that place. But Dāud Khān negociated terms of peace through the mediation of one of the Omra; and

1 It appears from the Akbarnamah that after the battle of Takroī, Todar Mal pursued Dāud Khān up to Bhadrak, whilst Mun'im Khān the Khān-i-Khanān owing to his wounds still lay behind. At this time Dāud Khān collected his troops at Katak, and so Todar Mal wrote to Mun'im Khān to come up, and Mun'im Khān in spite of his wounds, moved up with the whole Imperial army to Katak, when the Peace of Katak was concluded. Under it, Dāud Khān formally resigned the sovereignty of Behar and Bengal to Akbar, retaining only Orissa. The battle of Takroī (3rd March, 1 575 A.C.)—called by Badaonī 'Bīchwā—was a most decisive battle, as it virtually ended Afghan supremacy in Bengal and Behar, and substituted Mughal rule in its place.

2 "Chin" is apparently a copyist's mistake for the "Mahanadi" river. In *shekista* writing, the words 'Chin' and Mahanadi in Persian might resemble each other.

when the basis of the treaty [1] was settled, he went to meet Mun'im Khān. The Khān Khānān, showing chivalry and generosity, presented to him a belt, a dagger, and a sword set in jewels, left to him the province of Orissa and Katak Benares, and himself (on behalf of the Emperor) taking possession of other parts of the kingdom, returned with triumph and pomp, entered the city of Tandah, and set himself to administer the country. Since in former days, from the time of Muḥammad Bakhtiār Khiljī down to the time of Sher Shāh, Gaūr had formed the Capital of Bengal, (though owing to the climate of the latter place not suiting foreigners, the Afghāns had built Khawaṣpūr Tandah for the settlement of the rulers), the Khān Khānān, setting himself to the reconstruction of the city of Gaūr, proceeded to the latter place, and built it anew, and made it his head-quarters. Soon after, owing to the badness of its climate, he fell ill, and on the 19th Rajab, 983 A.H.[2] died. Dāud Khān, on hearing the news of the Khān Khānān's death, with the assistance of the Afghāns, re-occupied Bengal and Behar, and immediately marched to wrest the city of Khawaṣpūr Tandah. The Imperialists, not being able to tarry, evacuated the place. Dāud Khān with full independence resumed his former sovereignty.



THE RULE OF NAWĀB KHĀN JAHĀN IN BENGAL, AND AN ACCOUNT OF DĀUD KHĀN'S DEATH.

When the news of Mun'im Khān, Khān Khānān's death reached Delhi, Emperor Akbar appointed Ḥusain Qulī Khān

[1] Under this treaty of Katak, Behar and Bengal were formally ceded by Dāud Shāh, the Afghan king of Bengal, to the Mughal Emperor (Akbar), Orissa being still retained by Dāud Shāh. *Badaoni* gives an interesting description of the *Darbar* held on the occasion by Mun'im Khān Khān Khanan, across the Mahanadi river, opposite to the fort of Katak (Cuttack). Both Mun'im and Dāud shewed refined chivalry and magnanimity towards each other, at this State function.

[2] Corresponding to 1576 A.C.

Professor Blochmann, in his Tr. of Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 376, gives a list (compiled from the Akbarnamah) of 14 other principal Mughal officers who died at Gaūr of malaria at this time (983 A.H. or 1576 A.C.) *Badaoni* also gives the list.

Turkman, after bestowing on him the title of Khān Jahān,[1] to the office of Governor of Bengal. And when Khān Jahān reached the frontiers of Bengal, Khwājah Muzaffar Ali Turbati,[2] who was a servant of Bahrām[3] Khān, and, obtaining the title of Muzaffar Khān, was Governor of Behār, and had come for the conquest of the Rohtas fort, joined him with the troops of Behār, Tirhut and Hajīpur, &c. And all the Imperialists uniting their forces, advanced to storm the fort of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali. Dāud Khān also with a formidable army advanced to Akmahal,[4] which lies midway between Gadhī and Tandah, to fight with Khān Jahān. But Khān Jahān, by delivery of the first assault, stormed Gadhī, slaughtered about 1,500 Afghāns, and advanced towards the site where Dāud Khān was entrenched. When the distance

1 He was appointed in 983 A.H. (1576 A.C.) by Akbar Military Governor of Bengal, on the death of Mun'im Khān Khān-i-Khānān. His second-in-command was Rajah Todar Mal. He was a sister's son of Bairam Khān Khān-i-Khānān. See his biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 329, and also *Maasir-ul-Umara.*

At Bhagalpur, the Amirs of Bengal waited on Khān Jahān.

From this period the whole of Behar, including South and North Behar, was placed under a separate Mughal Governor, whilst Bengal was similarly governed by another separate Mughal Governor. The Governorship of Behar generally henceforth formed a sort of stepping-stone for the more responsible and lucrative office of Governor of Bengal (see the text).

2 "Tirhuti" is a copyist's mistake in the text for "Turbati." He was Akbar's Governor of Behar, and held all Behar from Chausa to Telīagadhī. He was ordered by Akbar to assist Khān Jahān, Akbar's Governor of Bengal, when the latter encountered opposition from the Afghāns under Dāud Khān, who had at this time entrenched himself in the fort of Akmahal (subsequently, Rajmahal or Akbarnagar). He was at one time Finance Minister or Dewan of Akbar, and had Todar Mal under him. He, together with his Deputy, Todar Mal, was the author of Akbar's revenue-roll called "jam-i-hasil-i-hal," which supplanted the former revenue-roll of the Emperor, called 'Jami Raqmi,' that had existed from Bairam's time. He was previously Bairam's Dewan also. The old Jam-i-Masjid (now in ruins) of Agra was erected by him. He was killed at Tandah by Masūm Khān, the rebel. (See his full biographical sketch in Blochmann's Tr. of Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 348, and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*).

3 "Bahram" is a copyist's mistake in the text for "Bairam."

4 *i.e.*, Rajmahal or Akbarnagar—Previous to Man Singh selecting it, Sher Shāh had selected its site.

between was covered, on the 15th Muḥarram, 983 A.H., which was a Thursday, both the contending hosts arrayed their forces in battle-rank.

The two armies fell into battle-array;
The warriors became anxious to fight.
When the market of fight and combat became warm,
The warriors drew against each other sharp swords.
From the thundering of guns, and the raging of war-rockets,
The sky itself quaked.

Kālā Pāhār who was one of the renowned generals of Dāud K͟hān, attacking the right wing of K͟hān Jahān,[1] spread consternation, and Muẕaffar K͟hān assaulting the left wing of Dāud K͟hān, caused it to reel back, and simultaneously, K͟hān Jahān assaulted the centre of Dāud K͟hān, and a great battle commenced.

On that battle-field,[2] mutual fightings occurred:
Both the armies lost numbers of men.
From the numbers of the killed, mounds were raised,
And signs of the Day of Resurrection appeared.
The renowned hero, K͟hān Jahān, in the battle,
Reduced to dust the army of Dāud:
Whichever side he raised his sword,
He severed the head of the enemy from the body.
And from this side, Dāud with the sharp sword,
Caused havoc in the army of K͟hān Jāhan:
Whichever side he turned with his sword,
He felled on his feet the helmet of the enemy's head.
If he struck a horse with his sharp sword,
It was ripped into two pieces up to the bow of the saddle.

1 "K͟hān Jahān" was a title next in importance to "K͟hān-i-K͟hānān."

2 This was the decisive battle of Akmahal or Agmahal (subsequently called Rajmahal or Akbarnagar), on 15th Rabi II 984 A.H., corresponding to 12th July, 1576 A.C. It finally crushed Dāud S͟hāh or Dāud K͟hān, the last Afg͟han king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and laid firmly the foundation of Mug͟hal supremacy over those provinces, reduced Bengal to a Ṣūbah of the Great Mug͟hal Empire, and extinguished for ever Independent Moslem Royalty in Bengal.

See full account of this great battle in the Akbarnamah and Badaonī, which are contemporary accounts.

And if he struck a spear on the chest of any person,
Its point passed right through his back:
By the strength of arm, that furious lion
Killed many, and squeezed many.
But as fortune did not favour him,
He could not stand his ground on the battle-field.
He was vanquished, and he lost his treasures and effects,
Misfortune, like a post-boy, ran towards him.

When the eagle of victory and triumph cast its shadow on the army of Emperor Akbar, and Dāud Khān fled from the battle-field, the heroes of Khān Jahān's army, not abandoning Dāud's pursuit, followed him up, and at length Dāud Khān was captured, and brought to Khān Jahān. The latter, considering Dāud's life to be a source of disturbance and insurrection, ordered him to be killed.[1]

His head was cut off with the sharp sword,
From the blood of Dāud, the ground underneath reddened.
The Royal throne (of Bengal) became emptied of kings,
From Bengal, Royalty vanished!

Junaid Khān, son of Dāud Khān, who receiving a mortal wound, had fled from the battle-field, some two or three days subsequently also died. Khān Jahān reduced to subjection as much of the country as was in the possession of the Khān-i-Khanān, and sent all the elephants captured from the Afghāns, together with other booty, to Emperor Akbar. And Muzaffar Khān, striking up the kettle-drum of return, proceeded to Patnā, and in 984 A.H., turned to the conquest of the fort of Rohtas.[2]

1 One cannot help noting the entire absence of chivalry on the part of this Mughal General, Khān Jahān. If he possessed one-quarter of the chivalry of his own predecessor in office, the Khān-i-Khānan, he could have never extended his hand to the perpetration of this brutality, which was as ferocious as it was ungallant. A worthy and heroic foe like Dāud Shāh deserved a better fate, and it is a pity that Khān Jahān's master, the Great Akbar, should not have provided against such a misdeed, which must reflect adversely on the Emperor's memory itself.

2 This renowned Fort in South Behar in 945 A.H. passed into the hands of Sher Shāh. (See *Badaoni* for a description of it, as it existed in Akbar's time). During his reign and that of his son Salim Shāh, Fath Khān Batnī commanded the Fort. Subsequently, it came into the hands of Sulai-

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EXTIRPATION OF CERTAIN GRANDEES OF DĀUD KHĀN.

When Muzaffar Khān planned to return to Patna, on the way he detached Muḥammad Ma'ṣum Khān[1] to conquer Ḥusain Khān[2] Afghān who was in those parts, and he causing Ḥusain Khān to flee, came to the Parganna which was his *jagir*, and entered the fort. And Kālā Pahār coming with 800 corps of cavalry, besieged Ma'ṣum Khān. The latter seeing a breach made, battered down the rear-wall of the fort, sallied out, and gave battle to Kālā Pāhār. As ill-luck would have it, in the heat of warfare, the war-elephant of Kālā Pāhār, with its trunk, flung down Ma'ṣum Khān's horse, and threw down Ma'ṣum Khān on the ground. In the meantime, the Mughal archers hit the elephant-driver with the arrow, and the elephant, being without its driver, turned round and attacked its own army, and killed and trampled down numerous Afghāns. From this cause, the Afghāns were vanquished, Kālā Pāhār was killed, and his elephant turned back. The province of Orissa and Katak. Benares, the whole kingdom of Bengal and Behār, by the efforts of Khān Jahān, were annexed to the Empire of Akbar; and the fortune of the kings of Bengal terminated, and no other king in that kingdom thenceforth minted coins, or had the Khuṭbah read after his name. And the leading Afghān grandees, like Ḥusain Khān and Kālā Pāhār, as related above, were totally extirpated, and some fled to the jungles in the tracts of Bengal.[3] In the

mān Kararanī and Junaid Kararanī. The latter appointed Syed Muhammad Commandant of the Fort. The latter being hardpressed by Muzaffar Khān, Mughal Governor of Behar, fled to Shahbāz Khān (who had been deputed by Akbar to chastise Rajah Gajpati. See Āin-i-Akbarī, Bloch. Tr., Vol. I, p. 399), and handed over the Fort to him (984 A.H.) In the same year, Akbar appointed Mahbub Alī Khān Rahtari Governor of Rohtas, and Shahbaz Khān made over the Fort to him. (See Bloch. Tr. of Āin, Vol. I, p. 422).

1 He fought against Kālā Pāhār. See particulars of his career in Bloch. Tr. of Āin, Vol. I, p 431 n. and also in *Badaoni* and Maasir-ul-Umara.

2 See p. 439, Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I.

3 After the battle of Akmahal or Rajmahal (1576 A.C.), in which the last independent Afghan king of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, named Dāud Shāh, was defeated and killed, Khān Jahān proceeded to Satgaon, where Dāud's family lived at the time, defeated remnants of Dāud's followers under Jamshid and Mitti, and re-annexed Satgaon to the Mughal Empire. Dāud's mother came to Khān Jahān as a supplicant. . . With the defeat and death

year 987 A.H., Khān Jahān died,[1] and the Afghāns, whose names and traces had been lost, now issued out from all corners, and tried to re-occupy and re-conquer the country. Amongst these, one principal Afghān commander, named 'Osmān Khān, combining with other Afghāns, raised an insurrection. Emperor Akbar appointed Khān 'Azim Mirzā Kokah,[2] together with other principal Omra, to the Government of Bengal and Behār. And he made meedworthy efforts to destroy and extirpate the Afghāns. And when he did not succeed in completely extirpating them, Shāhbāz Khān[3] came with re-inforcements, as an auxiliary to the Imperialists; and then engagements ensued with 'Osmān Khān. The ferocious Imperialists did not stay their hands from the slaughter, capture and extirpation of the insurgent Afghāns. In short, in the life-time of Akbar, the fortune of the Afghāns declined, but as their extirpation was not completed by the time of the death of Emperor Akbar, which took place in 1014 A.H., 'Osmān Khān rising again, re-sharpened his sword. And mobilising nearly

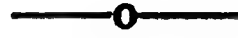
of Dāud, Bengal was by no means thoroughly conquered, as troubles broke out in Bhatī (Sundarbans including tracts along the Megna), where the Afghans had collected under Karim Dad, Ibrāhīm and 'Isa Khān, whom Abul Fazl calls "Marzban-i-Bhati." (See Āīn-i-Akbarī, Bloch. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 330 and 343).

[1] He died at a town called Sihatpūr (the 'Sanitarium') which he had founded near Tandah.

[2] In 988 A.H. Aziz was promoted by Akbar to command of Five Thousand, received the title of Azam Khān, and was in 988 A.H. detached with a large army to Bengal and Behar, to quell disturbances. In 990 A.H. he was again sent there, when he occupied Teliagadhi, the "key" to Bengal. He fought against the rebels Ma'ṣum-i-Kabuli and Majnun Khān, and also operated against the Afghan Qutlu, who had occupied Orissa and a portion of Bengal. He took ill, retired to Behar, leaving the command in Bengal to Shāhbāz Khān Kambū. Of him, Akbar used to say "Between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross." (See Blochmann's Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 325 for details of his career and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*).

[3] For interesting details of his career see Blochmann's Tr., Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 399 and *Maasir-ul-Umara*. Ma'ṣūm Khān Kabulī rebelled, fled to Bhatī, and took refuge with the Marzban-i-Bhatī, 'Isa Khān. Shāhbāz Khān followed him to Bhatī, crossed the Ganges at Khizrpūr (near Naraīnganj) plundered Bakhtiarpur, 'Isa Khān's residence, occupied Sunargaon and encamped on the banks of the Brahmaputra. 'Isā Khān made proposals of peace which were accepted: under it, an Imperial Resident was to stay at Sunargaon, Ma'ṣum was to go to Mecca, and Shāhbāz was to withdraw. But these terms were not carried out, as his officers shewed insubordination, and Shāhbāz had to retreat to Tandah.

20,000 Afghāns, he had the Khuṭba in that tract read after his name, and from the pride of being at the head of numerous followers, he became aggressive. And taking no account of the Imperial officers who were stationed in this country, he raised his hand of conquest on the Imperial dominions.



Now I adorn my rarity-depicting pen with the chronicle of the accounts of the Nāẓims of Bengal, who were honoured with the khill'at of the Niẓāmat of Bengal from the lofty presence of the Chagtai [1] Emperors, and who raising the standard of authority, freed this country from the weeds and thorns of rebellions.

1 *i.e.*, Mughal Emperors. See note *ante*.



CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF THE NĀZIMS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO THE NIZĀMAT OF BENGAL BY THE TIMURIDE EMPERORS OF DELHI.

NIZĀMAT OR VICEROYALTY OF RAJAH MĀN SINGH.

When on the 19th Jamādi-ul-Sāni 1014 A.H., Nuru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngir Bādshāh, in the fort of Agra, ascended the Imperial throne, inasmuch as from official despatches, news-letters, and the correspondence of officers, news of the insurrection of 'Osmān Khān was continually received, on the very day of his accession, the Emperor, bestowing rich khill'at with *charqal*, and a sword set in jewel, and a splendid horse, appointed Rajah Mān Singh to the Nizāmat of the Ṣubah of Bengal, whilst Wazīr Khān was exalted to the office of Dīwān and Auditor of this Province.[1] After their arrival in this country, the refractory 'Osmān advanced to fight, and a battle ensued. 'Osmān with great shrewdness opened secret negotiations. As the war was protracted, and the extirpation of the Afghāns was not accomplished, in that very year of accession, Rājah Mān Sing[2] was recalled from office, and

[1] For the first time, we hear of the offices of Nazim and Dīwan. Hitherto we heard of Military Governors, called "Sipasalars" or "Sirlashkars" or "Hakims" appointed by the Mughal Emperor. It is obvious that, hitherto, Bengal under the Mughals was under a sort of Military Government, presided over by Military Governors. When the back-bone of Afghān opposition was broken, in the time of Emperor Jahangir, for the first time, under Mughal rule, Bengal was placed under Civil Government by the Mughal Emperors, who appointed two distinct functionaries, one being the Nazim (in charge of executive government) and the other, the Dīwan (in charge of Revenue and Finance). This system of Government, though actually enforced in Bengal in Jahangir's time, must have been matured towards the end of Akbar's reign.

[2] He was a son of Bhagwan Das, and Akbar bestowed on him the title of "*Farzand*" or "Son," and raised him to the *Mansab* of *Haft Hazari*. See full

Qutbu-d-dīn Khān Kokaltāsh was exalted to his place, being the recipient at the same time of khil'ats with a belt set in jewels, and of a horse with gold-mounted saddle. The Viceroyalty of Rajah Mān Singh lasted eight months and a few days.

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NIZAMAT OF QUTBU-D-DĪN KHĀN.

When Qutbu-d-dīn Kokaltāsh,[1] on the 9th Safar, 1015 A.H., was honoured with the khil'at of the Nizāmat of Bengal, he was raised to the rank of a *Panjhazārī*, with 5,000 soldiers and troopers; and 2 *lacs* of rupees was given him for his allowance, and 3 *lacs* of rupees was given for the expenses of his contingent. After taking leave of the Emperor, he arrived in Bengal. As yet some months had not passed, when he was killed at the hands of 'Ali Qulī Beg Astajlū, styled Sher Afghan Khān.[2] And the detail of

particulars of his career in Bloch. Tr. of Āīn, Vol. I, p. 340, and also in *Maasir-ul-Umara*, and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*.

[1] His name was Shaikh Khuba [Qutbu-d-dīn Khān-i-Chishtī] and his father was Shaikh Zada of Badaon, and his mother a daugher of Shaikh Salīm of Fathpur Sikri. He was a foster-brother of Jahāngir, who whilst a Prince conferred upon Khuba the title of Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, and made him Sūbadar of Behar. On Jahāngir's accession to the throne, Khuba was appointed Sūbadar of Bengal, (1015 A.H.) At that time Sher Afghan 'Alī Qulī Istajlū was *tuyuldar* (or jagirdar) of Bardwan, and his wife Mehrunnissa (afterwards Empress Nūr Jahān) was coveted by Emperor Jahāngir. Qutbu-d-dīn had instructions to send Sher Afghan to court, but the latter refusing to go, Qutb went to Bardwan, where Sher Afghan came to meet him. On his approach, Qutbt lifted up his horse-whip. Sher Afghan thereon rushed with his sword against Qutb, and inflicted a cut on his abdomen. Qutb died, and one of his followers Ambah Khān, gave Sher Afghan a sword-cut on the head, when the latter was also killed. (Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 496 and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 19).

[2] He was *safarchi* or butler of Ismail II, king of Persia. After the latter's death, he went to India, and met at Multan, Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, and received a *mansab*, and on arrival at court, Akbar gave him in marriage to Mehrunnissa (the future Nūr Jahān), daughter of Mirza Ghiyās Tehranī. Prince Salīm fell in love with her, and brought about, on his accession to the throne, Sher Afghan's death. Sher Afghan had received Bardwan district as *tuyul* or *jagir*, on Jahāngir's accession. His body was buried in the shrine of the saint Bahram Saqqa at Bardwan. (See *Iqbalnamah*, p. 22).

Four tigers had been caught, and Nūr Jahān requested Jahangir (Tuzuk, p. 186), to let her shoot them. She killed two with one bullet, and the other

this incident is this. 'Ali Quli Beg Astajlū was a butler of Shāh Ismā'il,[1] son of Shāh Tahmasp Ṣafavi.[1] On the death of Shāh Ismā'il, coming to India *viâ* Qandahār, at Multan he entered the service of 'Abdur Rahim Khān, Khān Khānān,[2] who was then employed on the conquest of Thatah and Sindh. The Khān Khānān informally enlisted him in the ranks of Imperial officers, and in that expedition, 'Ali Quti shewed bravery and rendered valuable services. When the Khān Khānān from that expedition returned triumphant to the Imperial presence, at his request, 'Ali Quli was honoured with an appropriate Manṣab, and at the same time, a daughter of Mirzā Ghiyāṣ Beg Tehrāni,[3] named Mehrunnisa,[4] was wedded to him. And at the time when Emperor Akbar proceeded from Akbarabad (Agra) to the conquest of the Dakhin, and the Crown-Prince (Prince Salim, afterwards Emperor Jahāngir), was ordered to undertake the subjugation of the Rāna of Udaipur, 'Ali Quli Beg was appointed as an auxiliary to the Prince. The Prince,

two with two bullets, and so one of the courtiers spoke out on the spur of the moment the verse given in the text. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 524.

1 These were kings of Persia. See p. 97, *Namaīh-Khusruan.*

2 He was a *sepahsalar* or Commander-in-Chief under Akbar. His great military services were conquests of Sindh and Gujrat. He was also an accomplished scholar, and translated into Persian Memoirs of Babar. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 334 and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 287.

3 His real name was Mirza Ghiyāṣu-d-dīn Muḥammad, and his father was Khwajāh Muḥammad Sharīf, who was *Vazir* to Tatār Sulṭān and his son Qazaq Khān, and who was subsequently appointed, by Shāh Tahmasp, Vazir of Yazd. After his father's death, Ghiyāṣ Beg fled from Persia with two sons and one daughter. On the way at Qandahar, his wife gave birth to a daughter, named Mehrunnissa—the future world-renowned Nūr Jahān, consort of Emperor Jahāngir. On his arrival at Fathpur Sikri, Akbar appointed him Diwān of Kabul, and subsequently Diwān-i-Bayūtāt. In Jahāngir's reign, he received the title of Itimadu-d-daulah. After the death of her first husband, Sher Afghan, at Bardwan in the fight with Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, Jahāngir's Governor of Bengal, Mehrunnissa was brought to court, and married in 1020 A.H. by Jahāngir, who bestowed on her first the title of Nūr Mahāl and then that of Nūr Jahān, her father Ghiyāṣ Beg being at the same time advanced to the office of Prime Minister or Vakil-i-Kul. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 508 and *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 3, 54 and 55.

4 Udaipur is mentioned by Abul Fazl in Sarkar Chitor under the Sūbah of Ajmīr. (See Jarrett's Tr. of Āin, Vol. II, p. 273). It is related that a daughter of Naushirvan, the Persian king, whose wife was a daughter of Maurice of Constantinople, was married into the Udaipur Royal family.

shewing every attention to him, gave him the title of S̲her Afg̲han, and on accession to the throne, bestowing on him a *Jagir* at Bardwan in the Ṣūbaḥ of Bengal, he sent him there. Afterwards, when the crookedness of his conduct, his wickedness and ill-temper became known to the Emperor, the latter, whilst sending Quṯb K̲hān to Bengal, gave the latter a hint that if he found S̲her Afg̲han well-behaved and loyal, well and good, but if otherwise, he should send him to the Imperial presence, and that in coming if he made excuses, he should punish him. When Quṯbu-d-dīn K̲hān reached Bengal, he was dissatisfied with S̲her Afg̲han's action and conduct. Although he summoned the latter to his presence, putting forward idle excuses, he did not attend. Quṯbu-d-dīn K̲hān communicated the matter to the Emperor, who ordered that agreeably to the injunctions conveyed at the time of his departure, he should punish S̲her Afg̲han. The above K̲hān, on receipt of the Imperial order, instantly marched swiftly to Bardwan. S̲her Afg̲han on getting news of the arrival of the above K̲hān, advanced forward with two grooms to receive him. At the time of meeting, the soldiers of Quṯbu-d-dīn K̲hān crowding in stood at a distance, like a ring. S̲her Afg̲han said: "What is this treatment, and what does it mean?" The K̲hān told his soldiers to disperse, moved alone in S̲her Afg̲han's company, and commenced conversation. S̲her Afg̲han read signs of treachery in the aspect of affairs, and forestalling the other, he thought it prudent to apply the remedy before the disease appeared, and with great agility hit Quṯbu-d-dīn on the abdomen with a sword, so that the latter's entrails came out. The K̲hān[1] seizing his abdomen with both hands, shouted out: "Don't spare him, don't let this wretch escape." A Kas̲hmirian, named Aina K̲hān,[2] who was one of Quṯb's principal officers, spurring his horse, struck S̲her Afg̲han with a sword on the head. In that plight, S̲her Afg̲han with another blow finished Aina K̲hān's work. At this moment, the soldiers of Quṯbu-d-dīn K̲hān collecting from all sides, killed S̲her Afg̲han also, by inflicting successive cuts. S̲her Afg̲han K̲hān is that person,

[1] He was a stout man, and one can well imagine his pitiful posture at this moment.

[2] He is called Pir K̲hān. also "Raibah K̲hān" and "Daibah K̲hān" in Iqbalnamah-i-Jahāngiri, p. 24.

whose widow, Nūr Jahān,[1] as Consort of Emperor Jahāngir, is so renowned. A poet says :—

نور جہان گرچہ بصورت زن است
درصف مردان زن شیر افگن است [2]

Translation :

Nūr Jahān, albeit in appearance a woman,
In the ranks of heroes, is a tiger-hunting woman.

After Quṯbu-d-dīn K͟hān was slain, the office of Governor of the Ṣūbah of Bengal was bestowed on Jahāngir Qulī K͟hān, who was Governor of the Ṣubah of Behar; and Islām K͟hān was appointed Governor of Behar in the latter's place.

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THE NIẔĀMAT OF JAHĀNGIR QULĪ K͟HĀN.[3]

Towards the end of the year 1015 A.H., which was the second year of Emperor Jahāngir's accession, Jahāngir Qulī K͟hān, who was Governor of the Ṣubaḥ of Behar, was appointed to be Governor of Bengal. And his name was Lālah Beg, and he was a slave-boy

[1] What chivalry towards women was possible under Islām in olden days even in India, is eloquently testified to by the career of Nūr Jahān, the renowned Empress. Emperor Jahāngir, her Royal Consort, used to say of her, "Before I married her, I never knew what marriage meant. I have conferred the duties of Government on her; I shall be satisfied if I have a *seer* of wine and half a *seer* of meat per diem." With the exception of the *K͟huṭba*, she received all the privileges of royalty. She sat by the side of her Consort in administering State affairs, and her name appears side by side with that of Emperor Jahangir on the Imperial farmans and coins. She took particular care of orphan girls, led the fashions of the times, and displayed aesthetic art in adorning apartments and arranging feasts. She was also a poetess. She exhibited great resourcefulness and bravery in rescuing Jahangir from Mahabet K͟hān's hands. She lies buried at Lahore near her husband. On Jahangir's coins, the following inscription was engraved.

بحکم شاہ جہانگیر یافت صد زیور
بنام نور جہان باد شاہ بیگم زیور

[2] Note the pun here. See *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 56 and 57.

[3] See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 501, and Iqbalnamah-i-Jahāngiri, p. 24.

of Mirzā Ḥakim. After the Mirzā's death, he entered the service of Emperor Akbar, who bestowed him on Prince Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngir. He was a strong-built man, and he had rendered useful services. In religious matters and in regard for justice, he was very firm. After reaching Bengal, as yet he had not fully set his hand to the work of administration, when death claimed him. His rule lasted one month and some days. When news of his death reached the Emperor, Islām Khān,[1] son of Shaikh Badru-d-dīn Fateḥpurī, who held the office of Governor of Behar, was appointed Governor of Bengal. And the Governorship of Ṣubāh Behar and Patna was conferred on Afẓal Khān,[2] son of Shaikh Abul Faẓl 'Allāmi.[3]

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RULE OF NAWĀB ISLĀM KHĀN, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE FALL OF 'OṢMĀN KHĀN.

When in the third year of Emperor Jahāngir's accession, the Niẓāmat of the Ṣūbah of Bengal was entrusted to Islām Khān, the latter had strict orders to extinguish the fire of insurrection and rebellion that had been kindled by ' Osmān Khān. Islām Khān on

1 Islām Khān was married to a sister (named Ladlī Begam) of Abūl Faẓl, Akbar's renowned Prime Minister. Islām Khān died as Governor of Bengal in 1022 A.H. (Tuzuk, p. 126). His name was Shaikh Alau-d-dīn Chishtī, and he was a grandson of Shaikh Salim, the Saint of Fathpūr Sikri. He received the title of Islām Khān, and was Governor of Bengal from 1015 to 1022 A.H. He shifted in 1015 A.H., the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal from Tandah to Dacca. See *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, p. 33 and *Maasir-ul-Umara.*

2 Shaikh Abul Faẓl Allami, Akbar's friend and Prime Minister, was born on 14th January, 1551 A.C., (6th Muharram, 958 A.H.) at Agrah, during the reign of Islām Shāh. He was a son of Shaikh Mubarik; held the office of Prime Minister under Akbar and actively co-operated with the latter in the enunciation of a liberal policy of toleration in the government of the mixed races subject to the Musalman Rule in India. He was a great scholar, and author of several works including the Akbarnamah and the Āin-i-Akbarī. He was murdered by Bīr Singh, at the instigation of Prince Salim (afterwards Emperor Jahangir) on 12th August, 1602 A.C. See his life in Blochmann's Tr. of Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, and also in *Maasir-ul-Umara.*

3 Abdur Rahman, son of Abul Faẓl Allamī, received the title of Afẓal Khān, and was appointed by Emperor Jahangir, in the third year of his reign, Governor of Behar, *vice* Islām Khān who was appointed Governor of Bengal. *Iqbalnamah*, p. 33, and Maasir-ul-Umara.

arrival at Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca),[1] set himself to the affairs of the administration of the country. When his good administration and his thorough grasp of the affairs of the Nizāmat came to be known by the Emperor, the latter, in recognition of his good services, in the 4th year of accession, raised him to the rank of a *Panjhazāri*, including soldiers and troopers. Islam Khān detached a large force under the command of Shaikh Kabīr Shujā'it Khān[2] for the extirpation of 'Osmān Khān, leader of the Afghan insurrection, whilst other notable grandees, like Kishwar[3] Khān, son of Qutbu-d-dīn Khān Kokah,[4] Iftikhār Khān,[5] Syed Adam Barha,[6] Shaikh Achha,[7] M'utaqad Khān, the sons of

1 At this time (1015 A.H.) the Capital of Bengal was transferred from Tandah to Dacca or Jahangirnagar (so called after Emperor Jahangir) by Jahangir's Viceroy of Bengal, named Islām Khān. Dacca continued to remain henceforth the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal for nearly a century (barring a few years when it was temporarily shifted to Rajmahal).

2 His name was Shaikh Kabīr Chishtī, and his titles were "Shujait Khān Rustam-i-Zaman." In the printed Pers. text, و is inserted by mistake between "Shaikh Kabīr" and "Shujait Khān," thus misleading the reader to fancy that these were *two* individuals. See note *post*. He was a relation of Islām Khān-i-Chishtī, Governor of Bengal, and received first the title of Shujait Khān' from Prince Salīm, who on ascending the throne, gave him the additional title of "Rustām-i-Zaman," on account of his services in putting down the Afghans under 'Osmān in Bengal. See p. 64, *Iqbalnamah Jahangiri* and Maasir-ul-Umara.

3 His title was 'Kishwar Khān,' in the text it is misprinted as "Kir Khān. His name was Shaikh Ibrahīm; he was a son of Shaikh Khuba (Qutbu-d-dīn Khān-i-Chishtī), Governor of Bengal. In 1015 A.H., he was a commander of 1,000 foot, 300 horse, and received the title of Kishwar Khān from the Emperor Jahangir. He was for some time Governor of Rohtas, and served in Bengal in 1021 A.H., under Shujait Khān (Shaikh Kabir Chishtī) against 'Osmān Khān Lohanī, the Afghan. See *Iqbalnamah*, pp. 61 and 66 and *Maasir-ul-Umara.*

4 See n. 1, p. 169, *ante.*

5 Two sons of Ahmad Beg Kabuli (see Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, pp. 465-466) named Maqbullah Khān and Abdul Baqa held the title of 'Iftikhar Khān'; either of them is meant.

6 He was a grandson of Syed Mahmūd of Barha, who served Akbar. Most of the Barhā Syeds received from the Mughal Emperors the honorific distinction of 'Khān,' which in those days was considered the highest title of Indo-Moslem peerage, next only in rank to Princes Royal and the "Khān-i-Khanān" and "Amiru-l-Umara." (See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 392, and *Alamgir- namah*).

7 He was nephew of Shaikh Hassan or Hassu *alias* Muqqarab Khān who

Mu'azzam Khān,[1] together with other Imperial officers, were appointed his auxiliaries. When these reached the frontiers of the tract[2] under 'Osmān, they first deputed a sagacious envoy to conciliate the refractory mind of the leader of the insurrection. They strung the precious pearl of good advice to the ear-corner of his heart. Inasmuch as that wretched man ('Osmān Khān) was by inherent nature a bad stuff, and had not the capacity of appreciating goodness, not appraising the value of this pearl of advice, he collected brickbats of vain aspirations in the vessel of his bad luck, and in the face of that shining pearl, he put forward the stature of his wild ambition, gave permission to the envoy to withdraw without accomplishing his mission, and preparing to die, spurred swiftly the horse of aggressiveness and fighting, and

in 1027 A.H. was Governor of Behar. (See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, pp. 521 and 543).

[1] Shaikh Bayasīd (Muazzam Khān) was a grandson of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fathpur Sikri. He was made Subadar of Delhi by Jahangir. His son Mukkaram Khān was a son-in-law and nephew of Islām Khān, Viceroy of Bengal, and served under the latter, conquered Koch Hajo and Khurdah, became Governor of Orissa and subsequently of Bengal. See *Maasir-ul-Umara.*

[2] The tract under 'Osmān appears to have been 'Bhati,' that is the tract including the Sundarbans, the lands alongside the Brahmaputra and the Megna, in fact, the whole tract from Ghoraghat (or Rangpur) southward to the sea. His residence is mentioned in the histories (see Bloch., Āin, Vol. I, p. 520) to have been at "Kohistan-i-Dacca," the "Vilāyet-i-Dacca," but his father 'Isa Khān's residence (*vide* p. 343 of do.) is mentioned to have been at Baktarapur, close to Khizrpur. Khizrpur has been identified with a place about a mile north of modern Naraingaṇj, close to which are ruins of the forts built by Mir Jumla, Mughal Viceroy at Dacca, in the 17th century. There is still there a *Maqbarah*, which is supposed to be the resting-place of one of Jahangir's daughters. Here was the chief naval fort of Muhammadan Government, it lay at the confluence of the Ganges, the Lakhiya and the Brahmaputra rivers. It is three miles west of Sunargaon, and nine miles from Dacca. About thirty miles north of Khizrpur, are two villages within a mile of each other, called "Baktarpur" and "Issurpur," but these contain no ruins. (See J.A.S. for 1874, pp. 211-213). "Bhatī" from its inaccessibility was elected as the last stronghold of the Afghans, who, sheltered amidst its jungles, cut up by numerous rivers and channels, long defied there the power of the Mughals. During the Mughal military revolt under Akbar, the chief rebel, Masūm Khān Kabuli, who was a Turbati Syed and whose uncle had been Vazir under Humāyun, took refuge in "Bhatī," where he fought against Muzāffar and Shahbaz, and at length died in 1007 A.H. (See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 431).

rallied his forces on the banks of a river,[1] full of mud. When news of this daring impudence reached Jahāngir's officers, in the seventh year of accession, towards the end of the month of Zilḥaj, 1020 A.H., the latter arrayed their forces, and advanced to the field of warfare. From the other side, 'Osmān Khān also arrayed his miscreant troops for battle on the field of adversity, in front of the auspicious Imperialists. The heroes of the battle, on both sides advancing to fight, displayed heroism and bravery.

When the fighting hosts on both sides faced each other,
They fell to fighting against each other from every side.
From the gun, the musket, the spear and the arrow,
The banquet of warfare became warm.
From excess of smoke and dust up to the sky,
The universe could not be descried.
From the din and tumult of both the armies,
The battle-field turned into the field of the Day of Resurrection.
Showered from every side cannon-balls, arrows and war-rockets,
And emptied the world of heroes.
The corpses of heroes frisked in every direction,
Like slaughtered cocks, on both sides.

In the thick of the fighting, and amidst the shower of arrows and rockets, 'Osmān, displaying great valour, placed before himself rogue war-elephants, and assaulted the vanguard of the Imperialists.

The brave Imperialists advancing, grappled with their swords and spears, and exhibited heroism worthy of a Rustam and a Sam. Syed Adam Barha[2] and Shaikh Acha[2] who were Commanders of the Imperial vanguard, fell gallantly fighting. At this moment, the flanks of both the armies came into line. Iftikhār Khān,[2] Commander of the left wing, and Keshwar Khān,[2] Commander of the right wing, with a large number

1 Probably this was the small Lakhya river, on which modern Naraingauj is situate, and close to which were Khizrpur and Baktarpur. *Iqbalnamah*, pp. 61 and 64.

2 The Tuzuk (p. 102) mentions that Kishwar Khān (son of Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, late Governor of Bengal), Iftikhar Khān, Syed Adam Barha, Shaikh Acha, brother's son of Muqqarib Khān, Mu'tamid Khān, and Ihtim'am Khān were under Shujait's command in his fight with 'Osmān. Syed Adam, Iftikhar, and Shaikh Acha were killed (the Tuzuk, p. 132). Later Abdus Salam Khān, a

of adherents, were killed; and on the enemy's side also many passed to hell.[1] On seeing that some of the leaders of the Imperialists had been killed, and their ranks emptied of veterans, a second time 'Osmān placing before himself the rogue elephant, named Bacha, himself mounted on a saddled elephant, personally assaulted the Imperial van, and delivered successive onsets. From the side of the Imperialists, Shujāit Khān,[3] with his relations and brothers, advancing to oppose him, exhibited great bravery and heroism. Many of his relations were killed, and many retreated on receiving mortal wounds. When that elephant came in front of Shujāit Khān, the latter spurring his horse struck it with a spear on its trunk, and with great agility drawing the sword from his waist, inflicted two successive cuts on its head; and when he came in collision with the elephant, he drew his dagger, and inflicted on it two more cuts. The elephant, from its great ferocity, not recking of these cuts, with great fury rushed up, and flung down both the rider and the horse. Shewing agility, Shujāit dismounted from his horse, and stood erect on the ground. At this juncture, Shujāit's groom struck the trunk of the elephant with a double-edged sword, and inflicted a serious cut, causing the elephant to fall on its knees. Shujāit Khān, with the help of his groom, threw down the rider of the elephant, and with a dagger inflicted another cut on its trunk. The elephant roaring fiercely fled after this cut, and moving some paces fell down. Shujā'it Khān's horse sprang up unhurt, and the Khān mounted it again. In the meantime, another elephant attacking the Imperial standard-bearer threw him down with the standard.

son of Muazzam Khān (a former Governor of Bengal) joined the Imperialists, and pursued 'Osmān. See also Iqbalnamah, pp. 61 to 64.

[1] The author's remark is unjust and ungraceful. The Afghans under 'Osmān were fighting for their homes and hearths, and did not deserve this opprobrious expression.

[2] The Tuzuk calls the elephant "Gajpatī," *Iqbalnamah* (p. 62) "Bakhtah."

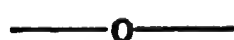
[3] His name was Shaikh Kabir-i-Chishtī, and his title was Shaikh Shujāit Khān Rustam-i-Zaman. He was a relative of Islām Khān, Governor of Bengal and served under the latter in Bengal, and commanded the Imperialists in the fightings with 'Osmān, the Lohanī Afghan. (See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p 520, and the *Tuzuk*, and the *Maasir* and *Iqbalnamah*, p. 64). He was subsequently appointed Governor of Behar.

Shujāit Khān shouted out, "Take care, behave like a man, I am alive, and will soon advance to your rescue." A number of troops who were round the standard-bearer took courage, inflicted serious cuts on the elephant which fled, and placed the standard-bearer on the horse again. At this time, when the battle was lingering towards its close, and many had fallen, and many being wounded were unable to move their limbs, the Imperial fortune blazed forth, and a cannon-ball hit 'Osmān Khān on the forehead, and levelled him straight on his horse. Though he realised that he could not survive this wound, still he heroically encouraged his soldiers to fight on. And when he read signs of defeat in the forehead of his fate, pulling back the rein of his adversity, with the last breathings of a dying man, he reached Bengal. And the triumphant Imperialists following him up to his camp, halted. 'Osmān[1] expired at midnight. Wali Khān, his brother, and Mamrīz Khān, his son, leaving behind the tents and the armaments, and removing his corpse, fled to their tent. Shujāit Khān on hearing of this, thought of following up the enemy, but his advisers opposed the pursuit that day, on the ground that the troops were tired, the killed had to be buried, and the wounded dressed. In the meantime, Mu'taqad Khān, who was afterwards honoured with the title of Lashkar Khān, 'Abdus-Salām Khān, son of 'Abdul Mu'azzam Khān,[2] and other officers of the Emperor arrived with a fresh re-inforcement of 300 cavalry and 400 mus-

1 Khwajah 'Osmān, according to the Makhzan-i-Afghanī, was the second son of Mīyan 'Isa Khān Lohani, who after the death of Qutb Khān was the leader of the Afghans in Orissa and South Bengal. 'Osmān succeeded his brother Sulaīman, who had 'reigned' for some time, had killed in a fight Himat Singh, son of Rajah Mān Singh, and had held lands near the Brahmaputra, and subdued the Rajahs of the adjacent countries. 'Osmān succeeded him, and received from Mān Singh lands in Orissa and Satgaon and later in Eastern Bengal, with a revenue of 5 or 6 lacs per year. His residence is described to have been at "Kohistān Dacca," the "Vilāyet-ī-Dacca" and Dacca itself. The battle between 'Osmān and the Imperialist General, Shujāit, took place at a distance of 100 *kos* from Dacca on 9th Muharram, 1021 (or 2nd March, 1612 A.C.) Stewart places the battle on the banks of the Subarnarika in Orissa, which is improbable. 'Osmān's brother, Walī, on submission, received a title with a jagir, and was made a commander of one thousand. According to the *Maasir* he was murdered. See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 520, Makhzan-i-Afghani and *Iqbalnamah*, p. 61.

2 He was a Subadar of Delhī. See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 493.

keteers. Shujāit Khān taking this corps with him, chased the enemy. Wali Khān despairing sent the following message: "The root of this insurrection was 'Oṣmān; he has met with his deserts, we are all loyal. If we receive assurance of safety, we would make our submission and would send the elephants of 'Oṣmān, in the shape of tribute." Shujāit Khān and Mu'taqad Khān, shewing chivalry, arranged terms of peace. The following day, Wali Khān and Mamriz Khān, with all their brothers and connexions, came to meet Shujāit Khān, and presented forty-nine elephants as tribute. Shujāit and Mu'taqad Khān, taking charge of them, moved victorious and triumphant to Islām Khān to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca). Islām Khān sent a despatch containing news of the victory to the Emperor at Akbarābād (Agra). On the 16th of the month of Muḥarram 1021 A.H., this despatch reached the Emperor, and was perused. In recognition of this good service, Islām Khān was raised to the *manṣab* of a *Shashhazāri*, and Shujāit Khān had his *manṣab* raised, and received the title of Rustam-i-Zamān; whilst all other Imperialists who had loyally and gallantly co-operated in the extirpation of 'Oṣmān Khān, received similarly befitting *manṣabs*. The insurrection of 'Oṣmān Khān lasted eight years, and in the 7th year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1022 A.H., his subjugation was accomplished. In the 8th year of the Emperor's accession, Islām Khān led an expedition against the Mags, who were brutes in human form. Islām Khān sent to the Emperor, in charge of his son, Hoshang Khān, a number of the Mags that were captured, and in the same year (1022 A.H.) Islām Khān died in Bengal. Thereupon, the Governorship of that country was entrusted to his brother, Qāsim Khān.

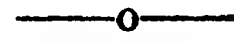


NIẒĀMAT OF QĀSIM KHĀN.

After the Governorship of Bengal was conferred on Qāsim Khān, brother of Islām Khān, he ruled five years and a few months, when the Assāmese making an incursion into the conquered Imperial domains, captured and decoyed Syed Abū Bakr.[1] Qāsim Khān failed to make a sifting enquiry into this

[1] He was Commandant of a Mughal out-post on the Assam frontier at Jamdhara, under Jahangir. (See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 680).

affair, and was therefore superceded, and Ibrāhim Khān Fateḥ Jang was appointed Nazim in his place.



NIZAMAT OF IBRAHIM KHAN, AND THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHAH JAHAN IN BENGAL.

Ibrāhim Khān Fateḥ Jang,[1] in the year 1027 A.H., corresponding to the 13th year of the Emperor's accession, received the Viceroyalty of Bengal and Orissa. He appointed his nephew, Aḥmad Beg Khān[2] to be Governor of Orissa, whilst he himself resided at Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), and devoted himself to the work of administration. As during his incumbency, several grave affairs came to pass, these will be briefly narrated. In the 17th year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1031 A.H., news reached Emperor Jahāngir to the effect that the King of Persia was aiming to wrest the fort of Qandahār.[3] In consequence thereof, Zainul-'Abidin, the Pay-Master General of the Aḥadi[4] troops, communicated an order to Prince Shāh Jahān at Burhānpur, directing the latter to march quickly to the Imperial presence with troops, artillery and elephants. The Prince marching from Burhānpur[5] reached Mando,[6] sent a message to the

1 He was the youngest son of Mirza Ghiāṣ Beg, and a brother of Empress Nūr Jahān. (See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 512).

2 See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 512. He was a son of Muḥammad Sharīf, eldest son of Ghiāṣ Beg, father of Empress Nūr Jahān.

3 In the 15th year, when the Persians threatened Qandahar, Khān Jahān was appointed by Jāhangir Governor of Multan. In the 17th year, Shāh Akbar, king of Persia, took Qandahar, after a siege of forty days. Khān Jahān was called to court for consultation, and it was decided that Prince Khurrām (Shāh Jahān) should be placed at the head of the expeditionary force to reconquer Qandahar. In the meantime, Shāh Jahān rebelled, and the expedition to Qandahar was not undertaken. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, pp. 503-504.

4 They were a body of troops intermediate between the Regulars and non-Regulars and Auxiliaries. They were created under Akbar. See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol. I, p. 249, for a full description of Ahadī troops. Zainul-Abidin was a son of Asaf Khān (III). See Bloch. Tr., Āin, Vol, I, p. 412.

5 A town in the Dakhin; it was for some time the Mughal head-quarters, during the military operations in the Dakhin.

6 Mando is name of a Sirkar or district as well as the name of a city in Sirkar Mando, included in the Sūbaḥ of Malwah. (See Jarrett's Tr. of Āin, Vol. II, p. 206).

Emperor to the effect that as the rainy season had approached, he would make Mando his rainy-season quarter, and would afterwards wait on the Emperor. He also asked for pargannah Dholpur [1] being added to his *jagīr*, and set Dariā Khān [2] Afghān to take charge of it. But before the arrival of the Prince's letter, the Emperor had negotiated the marriage of Prince Shahryār with a daughter of Nur Maḥal [3] by Sher Afghan,[4] and at Nur Mahal's request the aforesaid Pargannah had been bestowed on Shaharyār, and Sharifu-l-Mulk, servant of Prince Shaharyār, had taken possession of the fort of Dholpur. Soon after, Dariā Khān arrived and wanted to forcibly take possession of the fort. From both sides, the fire of conflict kindled. As luck would have it, an arrow hit Sharifu-l-Mulk on the eye, and blinded him. This mishap caused the Begam [5] to be indignant; the fire of discord blazed up, and at the instance of the Begam, the expedition to Qandahar was entrusted to Prince Shaharyār, whilst Mirzā Rustam [6] Safavi was appointed 'Ataliq of the Prince and Generalissimo of

[1] Dholpur lies 20 *kos* from Agra, near the left bank of the Chambal river. (Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 357).

[2] Dariya Khān Rohilla was an officer of Shāh Jahān in the Dakhin. (See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, pp. 504-505).

[3] Another name of the renowned Empress Nūr Jahān, consort of Emperor Jahangīr.

[4] Sher Afghan was the first husband of Nūr Jahān; by him she had one daughter named Ladli Begum, to whom Prince Shahryar (fifth son of Jahangīr) was married. Shāh Jahān or Prince Khurram was Jahangīr's third son. Nūr Jahān had no children by Jahangīr.

[5] That is, Empress Nūr Jahān.

[6] Mīrza Rustam Safavī was third son of Sulṭān Husain Mīrza, nephew of Shāh Tahmasp king of Persia (930–984 A.H.), and Governor of Qandahar under the latter in 965 A.H. Mīrza Rustam's daughter was married to Prince Parviz, second son of Jahangir. He invaded Qandahar, but met with no success. In 1021, Jahangir appointed him Governor of Thatha, and afterwards *Shāshhazarī* and Governor of Allahabad, and in the 21st year, Governor of Behar. He died in 1051 at Agra. His third son Mīrza Hasan-i-Safavī was Governor of Koch under Jahangir and died in 1059 A.H., and his grandson (son of Mīrza Hasan) named Mīrza Safshekan was Faujdar of Jessore in Bengal. (See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, pp. 314-315 and *Maasir-ul-Umara*). Mīrzanagar, a place close to Jessore town, probably was Mirza Safshekan's Faujdarī head-quarters, and received its name from him. He died in 1073 A.H. Mīrza Safshekan's son, Mīrza Saifu-d-dīn Safavi, accepted the titular distinction of Khān under Aurangzeb.

his army. On hearing of the blazing of the fire of discord, Shāh Jahān sent to the Emperor along with a letter Afẓal Khān, son of Abul Faẓl 'Allami, who after his dismissal from the Governorship of Behar, held the office of Diwan to the Prince, so that with the aid of cajolery and civility the storm of the dust of discord might be made to subside, and relations of amity and harmony between the Emperor and the Prince might not cease. Inasmuch as the Begam held absolute sway over the mind of the Emperor, Afẓal Khān was refused an audience, and was ordered back without accomplishing his mission. And orders were passed on the Imperial Revenue-officers directing that the Mahals in the possession of Shāh Jahān, in the Sarkars of Hisar[1] and Doab,[2] should be transferred to Prince Shaharyār. And injunctions were issued to Prince Shāh Jahān, intimating that the Ṣūbaḥs of the Dakhin, and Gujrāt[3] and Malwā[4] were bestowed on him, and that he might rule over them, making his headquarters within those limits wherever he pleased, and directing that he should quickly despatch to the Emperor some troops for the expedition to Qandahar. And in the beginning of the month of Khurdād, in the 18th year of the Emperor's accession, in the year 1032 A.H. Aṣaf Khān,[5] was appointed Ṣubahdār of the Provinces of Bengal and Orissa. Since a daughter of Aṣaf Khān had been married to Shāh Jahān, some malicious persons imputing

1 In the Āīn-i-Akbarī, Sarkar of Hissar (or Hissar Firuzah called after Emperor Firuz Shāh Tughlak who founded the city of Hissar about 1354 A.C.), is described as one of the Sarkars or districts included in the Ṣūbaḥ of Delhi. This Sarkar is described as containing 27 mahals, with revenue of 52,554,905 *Dams.* (Jarrett's Tr. of Āīn, Vol II, p. 293).

2 Under the Ṣūbaḥ of Lahore (Jarrett's Tr. of Āīn, Vol. II, p. 315), five Doab Sarkars are mentioned. These five Sarkars were: (1) Sarkar of Bet Jalandhar Doab, (2) Sarkar of Bari Doab, (3) Sarkar of Bechnan Doab, (4) Chenbat (Jech) Doab, (5) Sindh Sagur Doab.

3 See Āīn-i-Akbarī, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 238.

4 See Āīn, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 195.

5 He was Mīrza Abūl Husain Asaf Khān (IV) second son of Mīrza Ghiāṣ Beg, and brother of Empress Nūr Jahān, and father of Shāh Jahān's Queen, Mumtaz Mahal or Taj Bībi, whose mausoleum, the Taj, is at Agra. He received from Shāh Jahān the title of Yaminu-d-daulah and Khan-i-Khānān Sepahsalar, and was made a commander of 9,000. He died in 1051 A.H. and was buried at Lahore, north of Jahangīr's tomb. He married a daughter of Mīrza Ghiāṣ-u-dīn Ali Asaf Khān II. See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, pp. 511 and 368 and *Maasir ul-Umara.*

to Aṣaf Khān partiality for Shāh Jahān, induced the Begam to call from Kabul Maḥabet Khān, who was an old enemy of Aṣaf Khān, and who was also ill-disposed to Shāh Jahān. And the Imperial order with the Begam's message was sent for summoning Maḥabet Khān. Maḥabet Khān on arrival from Kabul, was honoured with an audience by the Emperor. Order was also passed to Sharif Khān,[1] Vakil of Prince Parviz, to hasten to Court with the Prince and the Behar army. And since the Begam was anxious, owing to separation from her brother, that year on the 2nd of the month of Adar, order was given to Aṣaf Khān to return to Court. In short, on being apprised of the foregoing incidents of inattention on the part of the Emperor, and of ill-will on the part of Nūr Jahān Begam, Shāh Jahān arranged that Qāẓi 'Abdul 'Aziz proceeding to court, should represent his wishes to the Emperor, whilst he himself would follow before the arrival of Prince Parviz and the armies from different parts of the Empire, so that the dust of discord might possibly be laid. In short, the aforesaid Qāzi met the Imperial army on the banks of the river[2] of Ludianah. Inasmuch as the Emperor's mind was enamoured of the Begam's seductions, the Qāẓī was refused access to the Emperor, and Maḥabet Khān was ordered to imprison him. Soon after, Shāh Jahān also with a large army encamped at Fateḥpūr, in the vicinity of Akbarābād (Agra). The Emperor marched back from Sirhind,[3] and all the grandees and officers from different *jagirs* joined the Emperor, and before the Capital, Delhi, was reached, a numerous force collected. The vanguard of the Imperialists was entrusted to the command of 'Abdullāh Khān,[4] who was ordered to proceed one *kroh* in advance of the Imperial camp. But Shāh Jahān, foreseeing the result, thought that if he engaged in fighting against such a numerous army, the result might prove disastrous. Consequently, together

[1] See p. 517, Vol. I, Bloch. Tr. of Āīn and *Maasir-ul-Umara.* He enjoyed the titles of Amir-ul-Umara and Vakil, and enjoyed the friendship of Jahangīr.

[2] River Satlej is meant; Ludhiana town is situate on its banks. See Āīn-i-Akbarī, Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 310.

[3] Sarkar of Sirhind is mentioned by Abul Faẓl under Ṣūbaḥ Delhi in the Āīn (See Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 105). Sirhind was long the western frontier of India, and hence the name.

[4] He was a Barha Syed. The Barha Syeds alone had the privilege to fight in the vanguard (or *harawil*).

with the Khān Khānān [1] and other officers, retiring by the right-side road, he marched 20 *kroh* northwards. He left, however, Rajah Bikramajit [2] and Dārab Khān, son of the Khān Khānān, together with other officers, in front of the Imperialists, so that if the latter, under the direction of the Begam, led the pursuit, the aforesaid commanders might prevent their advance, till the discord subsided. On the 20th Jamādi-al-Awwal 1032 A.H., news of Shāh Jahān's withdrawal reached the Emperor. The Begam, under the advice of Mahabet Khān, detached Aṣaf Khān Khwājah Abul Hasan,[3] 'Abdullāh Khān, Lashkar Khān,[4] Fedaī Khān [5] and Nawāzish Khān,[6] &c., with 25,000 cavalry to fight. From Shāh Jahān's side, Rajah Bikramajit and Dārāb Khān, arraying their forces, advanced, and on both sides the fighting commenced with arrows and muskets. As 'Abdullāh Khān [7] was in intrigue with Shāh Jahān, he promised that when the two forces would encounter each other, availing himself of an opportunity, he would go over to the Prince's side. Finding an

1 This was Khān-i-Khānān Mīrza Abdur Rahīm, son of Bairam Khān. See Bloch. Tr. of Āīn, Vol. I, p. 334 and *Maasir-ul-Umara*. When Shāh Jahān rebelled, he sided with the latter. His second son's name was Darāb Khān, who fell into the hands of Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khān, who killed him, wrapped his head in a table-cloth, and sent it as a present of a 'melon' to his father, Mīrza Abdur Rahīm.

2 His name was Rai Pati Das; he was a Khatri. Akbar conferred on him the title of Raja Bikramajit. He served Akbar as joint Diwan of Bengal, Diwan of Behar, and was made a commander of 5,000. Jahangīr on his accession created him Mīr Atash or Superintendent of Artillery. When disturbances broke out in Gujrat, he was sent to Ahmadabad to pacify the rebels. See Āīn-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 469, Bloch. Tr. and *Maasir-ul-Umara*.

3 The printer or editor of the text by mistake has put و between Aṣaf Khān and Khwajah Abul Husain.

4 The title of "Lashkar Khān" was held by (1) Muhammad Husain of Khurasan, under Akbar, (2) by Abul Hasan Mashadi under Jahāngīr, and (3) by Jan Nisar Khān Yudgar Beg under Shāh Jahān. The second is meant here.

5 Mīrza Rustām had the *takhalluṣ* of Fidaī. (See p. 314, Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I). I am not sure if he is meant here.

6 Sadullah, son of Said Khān, Governor of Bengal, held the title of Nawazish Khān (see Āīn, Bloch. Tr., Vol. I, pp. 363–331).

7 Abdullah Khān Uzbak was made by Akbar a Panjhazarī, and was sent to Malwah with unlimited power. He 'reigned in Mando like a king.' See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 321 and *Maasir-ul-Umara*. I am not sure if he is meant here.

opportunity now, he with the greatest expedition joined Shāh Jahān's army. Rajah Bikramajit who was aware of 'Abdullāh Khān's plan, with great delight went to Dārāb Khān, to inform the latter of 'Abdullāh Khān's desertion. As luck would have it, a cannon-ball hit the Rājah on the forehead, and threw him down. From this mishap, the thread of the arrangement of Shāh Jahān's army was broken. Although a commander like 'Abdullāh Khān, destroying the basis of the Imperial vanguard, had joined the Prince's army, Dārāb Khān and other commanders of Shāh Jahān's army were not daring enough to hold their ground. On the Imperialists' side, the desertion of 'Abdullāh Khān, and on the Prince's side, the fall of Rajah Bikramajit caused mutual confusion, and both the armies were dispirited. Towards the end of the day, both the forces withdrew to their quarters. At length, the Emperor withdrew from Akbarābād towards Ajmīr, whilst Prince Shāh Jahān retired towards Mando. On the 25th of the Jamādi-al-Awwal, the Emperor detached Prince Parviz with a large army to follow up Shāh Jahān; and Mahabet Khān was entrusted with the command of Prince Parviz's army. When Prince Parviz with his army, crossing the defile of Chanda [1] arrived in the Vilāyet [2] of Mando, Shāh Jahān with his army sallied out of the fort of Mando, and detached Rustam Khān [3] with a body of troops to encounter Prince Parviz. Bahāu-d-dīn Barqandāz, one of the confidants of Rustam Khān, a servant of Shāh Jahān, held treasonable correspondence with Mahabet Khān, and was waiting for an opportunity. At the time when the two armies fell into battle-array, Rustam Khān riding forward joined the Imperialists. This wretched Rustam Khān was by Shāh Jahān elevated from the manṣab of a *Sehbasti* [4] to that of a *Panjhazāri*, and honoured with the title of Rustam Khān and appointed Governor of Gujrāt, and he enjoyed the Prince's full confidence. Now that the Prince

[1] It is a place mentioned under Sūbah Berar in the Āīn-i-Akbarī (Bloch Tr., Āīn, Vol. II, p. 230), near it is Manikdrug fort.

[2] There is no such Vilāyet, in the strict sense of the term; but only a Sarkar of Mando in Ṣūbah Malwah.

[3] Rustam Khān-i-Dakhini is mentioned in the Āīn, as Jagīrdar of Samogarh. See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol I, p. 478.

[4] "Sehbastī" in the printed text seems to be a mistake or misprint for "Sihaspi." (See Bloch Āīn, Tr., Vol I, p 245, for a dissertation on the constitution of the Mughal Army).

appointing him generalissimo detached him to encounter Prince Parviz, the wretch shelving the obligations of so many years' kindness, joined Maḥabet Khān. Owing to the occurrence of this mishap, Shāh Jahān's army got demoralised, and all confidence between each other was lost. Many, going the high-way of infidelity, fled. On hearing of this, Shāh Jahān summoned the remnant of the army to his side, crossed the river Narbada, and removed the boats to his side of the river-bank. Leaving Bairām Beg, the Pay-Master General of the Force, with a body of troops on the banks of the river, Shāh Jahān himself with the Khān-i-Khānān and 'Abdullāh Khān and others proceeded towards the fort of Asīr and Burhānpur. Muḥammad Taqī Bakshi intercepting the letter of the Khān Khānān, which the latter had secretly despatched to Maḥabet Khān, produced it before Shāh Jahān. On the top of the letter, this line was written:—

صد کس بنظـــر نگاه میدارندم
ور نه بپرید مے ز بے آرامگي

Translation:

A hundred persons with their eyes watch me,
Or else I should have fled from this discomfort.

Shāh Jahān summoning the Khān Khānān with his son Dārāb Khān from his house, secretly showed him the letter. The latter failed to give any satisfactory explanation. Consequently, the Khān-i-Khānān with his son was kept in surveillance close to the Prince's quarters, and then the inauspicious presage of the line (quoted above) came to pass. Maḥabet Khān sending secret letters, had diverted the Khān Khānān from the path of loyalty, through the persuasions of traitors. And the Khān Khānān, by way of advice, told Shāh Jahān that as the times were out of joint, following the saying: زمانه با تو نسازد تو باز مانه بساز (*Translation*: "If the times do not fall in with you, you must adjust yourself to the times") he should arrange for an armistice, as that would be expedient and desirable in the interests of humanity. Shāh Jahān deeming the extinguishing of the fire of discord to be a great achievement, called the Khān Khānān to his closet, and first reassured his mind in respect of him by making the latter swear by the Qorān. And the Khān Khānān placing his hand on the Qorān swore with vehemence that he would never play false with the

Prince, nor turn disloyal, and that he would put forth his efforts to bring about the welfare of both the parties. Thus being reassured, Shāh Jahān sent off the Khān Khānān, and kept Dārāb Khān and his sons with himself. It was also settled that the Khān Khānān should remain on this side of the river Narbada, and by means of correspondence arrange terms of peace. When news of the conclusion of an armistice and of the departure of the Khān Khānān became known, the troops who had been stationed to guard the banks of the river, ceasing to be vigilant and alert, neglected to guard the ferries of the river. Of a night, at a time when these were asleep, a body of Imperialists plunging into the river with their horses, gallantly crossed over. A great hubbub arose, and from panic men's hands and feet were paralysed. Bairam Beg, ashamed of himself, went to Shāh Jahān. On hearing of the treachery of the Khān Khānān and of the crossing of the river Narbada by the Imperialists, Shāh Jahān deeming it inexpedient to halt any further at Burhānpur, crossed the river Tapti, in the thick of the rains, amidst a storm-wave, and marched towards Orissa,[1] scouring the Province of Qutbu-l-Mulk.[2]

[1] The following is extracted from Bloch. Tr., Āīn, as it briefly and at the same time lucidly describes Shāh Jahān's movements:—

"Shāh Jahān rebelled, returned with Mīrza Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khānān to Mando, and then moved to Burhanpūr. On the march thither, Shāh Jahān intercepted a letter which Mīrza Abdur Rahim had secretly written to Maḥabet Khān, whereupon he imprisoned him and his son Dārāb Khān, and sent them to Fort Asīr, but released them soon after on *parole*. Parviz and Maḥabet Khān had in the meantime arrived at the Narbadda to capture Shāh Jahān. Bairam Beg, an officer of Shāh Jahān, had for this reason removed all boats to the left side of the river, and successfully prevented the Imperialists from crossing. At Mīrza Abdur Rahim's advice, Shāh Jahān proposed at this time an armistice. He made him swear on the Qoran, and sent him as ambassador to Prince Parviz. Maḥabet Khān, knowing that the fords would not now be so carefully watched as before, effected a crossing, and Mīrza Abdur Rahim, forgetful of his oath, joined Parviz and did not return to Shāh Jahān, who now fled from Burhanpur, marching through Talinganah to Orissa and Bengal. Maḥabet and Mīrza Abdur Rahim followed him up a short distance beyond the Tapti. . . Shāh Jahān then moved into Bengal and Behar, of which he made Dārāb Khān Governor." Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 337.

[2] In the Āīn, it is stated as below:—"Talinganah was subject to Qutbu-l-Mulk, but for some time past has been under the Ruler of Berar." (See

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARRIVAL OF PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN'S ARMY IN BENGAL, AND THE FALL OF IBRĀHĪM KHAN FATEH JANG.

When Prince Shāh Jahān's army reached Orissa, Aḥmad Beg Khān, nephew of Ibrāhim Khān, Nāẓim of Bengal, who from before his uncle held the Deputy Governorship of Orissa, was out in the interior to chastise some Zamindārs. Suddenly hearing of the arrival of the Prince, he lost all courage, and abandoning his mission, he proceeded to Pipli [1] which was the Headquarters of the Governor of that Province, and withdrew thence with his treasures and effects to Katak, which from Pipli is 12 *kroh* towards Bengal. Not finding himself strong enough to encamp even at Katak, he fled to Bardwan, and informed Ṣāleḥ Beg,[2] nephew of Ja'fer Beg, of the whole affair. Ṣaleḥ Beg did not credit the news of the arrival of Shāh Jahān in Orissa. At this time, a letter of a soothing tenour came from 'Abdullāh Khān to Ṣaleḥ Beg. The latter, not being won over, fortified the fort of Bardwan, and entrenched himself there. And when Shāh Jahān's army arrived at Bardwan, 'Abdullāh besieged the fort, and Ṣāleḥ Beg was hard-pressed. When things came to their worst, and all hopes of relief were lost, Ṣāleḥ Beg was obliged to surrender to 'Abdullāh Khān. The Khān putting a piece of cloth round the Beg's neck, dragged him to the presence of the Prince. When this thorn was put out of the way, the banners of victory were raised aloft towards Rājmahal. When this

Jarrett's Tr., Āīn, Vol. II, p. 230), Quli Quṭb Shāh was the founder of the Quṭb Shāhī dynasty in 1512, with Golkandah as his capital. It was conquered by Aurangzeb in 1688. (See p. 238 do.)

[1] This is obviously a Printer's mistake in the text for Pipli, south of Cuttack. Behli (or Pipli) is mentioned in Sarkar Jalesar in the Āīn. (See Jarrett's Tr., Vol. II, p. 142).

[2] The list of grandees in the *Padshahnamah* describes Muḥamad Shāh (or Sāleh Beg) as a son of Mīrza Shāhī, and nephew of Mīrza Jafar Beg Asaf Khān III. (See Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, pp. 411-412). Asaf Khān Jafar Beg is described as a man of the greatest genius, an able financier, and a capital accountant. His intelligence was such that he could master the contents of a page by a glance; he was a great horticulturist, planting and lopping off branches with own hands in his gardens. He was also a great poet. He was Vakilu-l-Mulk and a Commander of Five Thousand, under Emperor Jahangīr. His son Mīrza Zainul-abīdin is mentioned in the Āīn as a commander of 1,500 with 500 horse.

news reached Ibrāhim Khān Fateḥ Jang,[1] who was Viceroy of the Ṣūbah of Bengal, he sank in the river of bewilderment. Although his auxiliary forces were scattered about in the tract[2] of Magha and in other places, mustering up courage, at Akbarnagar otherwise called Rajmaḥal, he set himself to strengthen the fortifications, to mobilize his troops, and to arrange his forces and armaments. At this time, the message of the Prince came to him, to the following effect: "Owing to the decree of fate, whatever was predestined has passed from potentiality into action; and the victorious army has come this side. Though before the outlook of my aspiration, the extent of this Province is not wider than the area covered by the movement of a glance, yet as this tract has fallen in my course, I cannot summarily leave it. If you intend to proceed to the Imperial presence, and to stay my hand from meddling with your life, property and family, I tell you to set out in full security for Delhi; or else if you consider it expedient to tarry in this Province, select any place in this Province that may suit you, and you will be let alone there at ease and comfort." Ibrāhim Khān in reply wrote: "The Emperor has entrusted this country to this, their old servant. So long as my head survives, I will cling to this province; so long as my life lasts, I will hold out. The beauties of my past life are known to me; how little now remains of my future life in this world? Now I have no other aspiration than that, in the discharge of my obligations for past Royal favours and in the pursuit of loyalty, I may sacrifice my life, and obtain the felicity of martyrdom."[3] In short, Ibrāhim Khān at first intended to shelter himself in the fort of Akbarnagar, but as the fort was large, and as he had not at his command a sufficiently large force to properly defend it from all sides, he entrenched himself in his son's mausoleum, which had a small rampart. At this time, a body of Shāh Jahān's troops who were detailed to garrison the Fort besieged the rampart of the mausoleum, and from both inside and outside, the fire of arrows and muskets

1 He appears to have gone at this time temporarily from Dacca (then the Mughal Viceregal Capital of Bengal) to Rajmahal.

2 That is, South-Western Behar. 'Tract of Magha' or South-Western Behar should not be confounded with the 'tract of Mags', or Arrakan.

3 I must remark Ibrahim Khān was uncommonly loyal for his times which were full of traitors, as the text shews.

blazed up. At the same time, Aḥmad Beg Khān also arrived, and entered the rampart. By his arrival, the hearts of the besieged were somewhat encouraged. As the family and children of many of Ibrāhim Khān's party were on the other side of the river, 'Abdullāh Khān and Dariā Khān Afghān planned to cross the river, and array their forces on the other side. Ibrāhim Khān[1] on hearing of this, became anxious. Taking in his company Aḥmad Khān, Ibrahīm marched confounded to the other side, left other persons to protect the fortifications of the mausoleum, and sent in advance of himself war-vessels, so that these seizing the routes of march of the Prince's army, might prevent his crossing over.

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End of Fasc. 2.

[1] Mīrza Ghiāṣ Beg's third son was Ibrāhim Khān Fateh Jūng. He was a brother of the Empress Nūr Jahān, and through her influence, became Governor of Bengal and Behar, under Jahāngir. He was killed near his son's tomb at Rajmahal, during Shāh Jahān's rebellion. His son had died young, and was buried near Rajmahal, on the banks of the Ganges (Tuzuk, p. 383). His nephew, Ahmad Beg Khān, on Ibrāhim's death, retreated to Dacca, where he handed over to Shāh Jahān 500 elephants, and 45 *lacs* of rupees (Tuzuk, p. 384). See also Padshahnamah 11,727 and Bloch. Tr., Āīn. Vol. I, p. 511. *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* and *Maasir-ul-Umara.*

(FASC. III.)

But before the war-vessels arrived, Daria Khān had crossed the river. Ibrahim Khān on being apprised of this, directing Ahmad Beg to cross the river, sent him to oppose Daria Khān.[1] When the two armies encountered each other, a great battle ensued on the banks of the river, and a large number of Ahmad Beg's comrades were killed. Ahmad Beg, not finding himself strong enough to stand his ground, retired. Ibrahim Khān with a corps of well-mounted cavalry, joined him. Daria Khān, on hearing of this, retired a few *kroh*, and Abdūllah Khān Bahadur Fīruz Jang[2] also advancing a few *kroh*, under guidance of zamindars, crossed the river, and joined Daria Khān. By chance, on a site which is flanked on one side by the river and on the other by a dense jungle, they encamped, and arrayed their troops for battle. Ibrahim Khān, crossing the river Ganges, set to fight. He detached Syed Nūrullah,[3] an officer, with eight hundred cavalry to form

1 Daria Khān was a Rohilla general under Shāh Jahān. In the beginning, he was employed under Shaikh Farid, and under Sharīfu-l-Mulk, distinguished himself in the battle of Dholpūr. After the battle of Benares, he deserted Shāh Jahān. (See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, p. 18, Vol. II).

2 When Rajab Partab, Rajah of Bhojpur or Ujjain (west of Arrah) revolted against the Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 10th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, Abdūllāh Khān Fīruz Jang besieged and captured Bhojpūr (1046 A.H.) Partab surrendered, and was executed; his wife became a Muhammadan and was married to Abdūllāh's grandson. (See *Padshahnamah* 1, b. pp. 271 to 274 and *Maasiru-l-Umara*, p. 777, Vol. II). Abdūllāh Khān, though he was thoroughly loyal to Prince Shāh Jahān at the battle of Benares, subsequently seceded from the Prince, and submitted to Jahangir through the intercession of Khān Jahan. (See p. 248, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangirī*).

3 One Mir Nūrullah is mentioned in the Āīn amongst the learned men of Akbar's time. It is evident the Nūrullah in the text was a Syed of Barha; for the Syeds of Barha from Akbar's time were enrolled in the Army, and claimed their place in battle in the van or *haraol*. Many of these Barha Syeds for their military or political services to the State, were honoured by the Mughal Emperors with the honorific distinction of "Khān," which in course of time very often obliterated all traces of their being Syeds. For instance, Syed Alī Asghar, son of Syed Mahmūd of Barha, received the title of 'Saif Khān' under Jahangir, his nephew Syed Jafar received the title of 'Shujait Khān', Syed Jafar's nephew, Syed Sultān, received the title of

the van, and set Ahmad Beg Khān with seven hundred cavalry to form the centre; whilst he himself with thousands of cavalry and infantry, held the line of reserve. A great battle ensued, when the two forces encountered each other. Nūrullah being unable to stand his ground, retreated, and the fighting extended to Ahmad Beg Khān. The latter gallantly continuing the fight, was seriously wounded. Ibrahim Khān being unable to be a passive spectator of the scene, advanced rapidly. By this forward movement, the array of his force was disturbed. Many of his followers stooped to the disgrace of flight, whilst Ibrahim Khān with a few troops only advanced to the battle-field. Although the officers of his staff seizing him, wanted to drag him out from that labyrinth of destruction, he did not assent to retreat, and said: "At my time of life, this cannot be. What can be better than that, sacrificing my life, I should be reckoned amongst the loyal servants of the Emperor"? At this juncture, the enemy from all sides rushing up, inflicted on him mortal wounds, finished his work, and victory declared itself for the adherents of the fortunate Prince. And a body of men who were entrenched inside the rampart of the mausoleum, on being apprised of this, were depressed. At this time, the Prince's army set fire to a mine which they had laid under the rampart, whilst gallant and intrepid soldiers rushing up from all sides stormed the fortifications. In this assault, 'Abīd Khān Díwan and Mīr Taqī Bakhshi and some others were killed by arrows and muskets, and the fort was stormed. Many of the garrison of the fort fled bare-headed and bare-footed, whilst a number of people with whom the charge of their family and children was the halter of their

'Salabat Khān *alias* Ikhtiṣaṣ Khān,' the latter's cousin, Syed Muzaffar, received the title of 'Himmat Khān.' Again Syed Abdūl Wahhāb received the title of 'Diler Khān,' whilst Syed Khān Jahān-i-Shāhjahānī's son, Syed Sher Zamān, received the title of 'Muzaffar Khān,' another son, Syed Munawar, received the title of 'Lashkar Khān,' whilst his grandson, Syed Fīruz, received the title of 'Ikhtiṣaṣ Khān.' Again, Syed Qasim flourished under the title of 'Shahāmat Khān' in Aurangzeb's reign, whilst his nephew, Syed Nasrat, held the title of 'Yār Khān' under Muhammad Shāh. (See the *Tuzuk*, *Padshah-namah*, *Maasiru-l-Umara*, *Alamgirnamah*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, and also Professor Blochmann's interesting note on Barha Syeds on his Tr., of Āīn Akbarī, Vol. I, pp. 390–392). The *Maasiru-l-Umara* mentions also one Mīr Nūrullah, as a son of Mir Khallilullah (p. 337, Vol. III, *Maasir*).

neck, came and submitted to the Prince.[1] As Ibrahim Khān's[2] family and children, effects and treasures were at Jāhangīrnagar (Dacca), Shāh Jahān's army proceeded there by river.[3] Ahmad Beg

[1] For a graphic contemporary account of this warfare, see Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri (Pers. text, Fasc. 3, pp. 218–221), and the Tuzuk (p. 383). Ibrahim Khān was killed near the tomb of his son at Rajmahal, on the banks of the Ganges. Our author appears to have borrowed his account (in an abridged form) from the Iqbalnamah, though there are slight variations. In the text we are told that Ibrahim Khān at the battle had with him "thousands of cavalry and infantry," whilst in the "Iqbalnamah," it is mentioned that Ibrahim Khān had with him only "one thousand cavalry."

[2] Ibrahim Khān Fatih Jang was a son of 'Itamd-u-daulah Mirza Ghiāṣ. His real name was Mirza Ibrahim.

In the commencement of his career, he held the office of *Bakhshī* and *Wagia-navīs* at Ahmadabad in Gujrat. In the 9th year of Jahangir's reign, he received the title of "Khān'" and the manṣab of *hazar* and *panṣadi*, and was promoted to the office of Imperial *Bakhshī*, and was gradually further advanced to the rank of *Panjhazarī* and to the office of Subadar (or Viceroy) of Bengal and Orissa, receiving at the same time the titles of "Ibrahim Khān Fatih Jang." In the 19th year of Jahangir's reign, Prince Shāh Jahān invaded Orissa and Bengal *viâ* Telīngana. On hearing of this news, Ibrahim Khān moved from Dacca (which was then the Viceregal Capital, and where his family and treasures were) to Akbarnagar or Rajmahal. Prince Shāh Jahān sent messengers to him, to win him over to his side, but he proved unflinching in his loyalty to the Emperor, and fell fighting heroically in the battle of Rajmahal, near the mausoleum of his son. Ibrahim Khān's reply to Prince Shāh Jahān, is a model of dignified and firm protest couched in the best dīplomatīc form of the Persian language, and is worth quoting:—

فرمودهٔ حضرت ترجمان احکام الهي ست - وجان و مال بندها بحضرت
تعلق دارد - اما آئین نمك شناسي و حقوق تربیت پادشاهي سد راه من شده -
نه بملازمت میتوانم رسید - و نه قرار فرار بخود داده روي خجلت بامثا و اقران
توانم نمود - وچون پادشاه این دیار به پیر غلام سپرده اند برای زندگي
مستعار مجهول الکمیت که معلوم است چه مانده - نمي توان درکار ولي نعمت
تهاون ورزید - ناچار سر خود را پا انداز سم ستوران موکب اقبال ساخته میخواهم
بعد از قتل من این ملک به بندهای درگاه ارزني باد -

(See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 135).

[3] At this time, the Musalman Viceregal Capital of Bengal continued (See *Maasir*, p. 135, Vol. I), to be at Dacca or Jahangīrnagar, which appears to have been so named during the Viceroyalty of Islām Khān I, owing to the decisive battle which was fought under its walls on 9th Muharram 1021 A.H. or 2nd March, 1612 A.C., in the seventh year of Emperor

Khān[1], nephew of Ibrahim Khān, who had gone ahead to that city, saw no resource except in surrender, and through the

Jahangir's accession, between the Afghans under Khwajah Osman Lohani, and the Mughal Imperialists under Shujait Khān Rustam-i-Zamān (Shaikh Kabīr-i-Chishtī),—a battle which finally crushed Afghan resistance in Bengal and Orissa, and firmly consolidated Mughal supremacy throughout these Provinces. (See pp. 60–64, Fasc. 1, Pers. printed text of *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, and also *Tuzuk* for fascinating descriptions of this sanguinary and decisive battle near Dacca). Stewart wrongly places the battle "on the banks of the Subarnarika in Orissa." Osman being stout, rode at the battle on a rogue elephant called *Bakhta*. Many Imperialist leaders, such as Syed Adam Barha, Shaikh Acha, Iftikhār Khān, Kishwar Khān fell at the battle, which was half decided in favour of Osman, when a chance arrow-shot wounded Osman on the forehead, and, coupled with the arrival of Mughal reinforcement under Mu'taqqīd Khān and Abdūs Salām Khān, saved the Mughal disaster, and turned it into a victory.

It would appear that when in the 19th year of Jahangir's reign corresponding to 1033 A.H. Prince Shāh Jahān rebelling against his father, invaded Bengal, the Mughal Bengal Viceroy, Ibrahim Khān Fateh Jang (a relation of Empress Nūr Jahān) had moved from his capital at Dacca or Jahangirnagar to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar. The *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangir* (p. 218, Fasc. 3, printed text), a contemporary record, states that Ibrahim's troops were scattered at the time on the borders of Magha, which signifies South Western Behar. Owing to paucity of troops (the *Maasir* explains otherwise), Ibrahīm did not think of fortifying the fort of Rajmahal which was large, but entrenched himself in the mausoleum of his son, situate within the Fort and close to the river Ganges. Shāh Jahān moved from Burhanpūr in the Dakhin across Talingana into Orissa, overran it across Pipli and Katak, and moved to Bardwan across Sarkar Madaran, and after capturing Bardwan (where Salih was commandant) marched up to Rajmahal, where the great battle was fought, and after defeating Ibrahim Khān, proceeded to Dacca, whither Ahmad Beg Khān (nephew of Ibrahim and of Empress Nūr Jahān) had previously retreated after Ibrahim's death. Ahmad Beg surrendered to Shāh Jahān at Dacca (according to the *Tuzuk* and *Maasir*) with forty-five lacs of treasure and 500 elephants. Shāh Jahān leaving Darāb Khān (a son of Mirza Abdur Rahīm Khān Khanān) as Governor of Bengal, marched back westward across Bengal, Behar and Jaunpur to Benares, where he was opposed and checked by Mahabet Khān. (See *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, pp. 215, 216, 217, 222, 223, 228, 238, 239). Shāh Nawaz Khān was the eldest son of Abdūr Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān; his life also is given in the *Maasir-ul-Umara*.

[1] Ahmad Beg Khān was a son of Muhammad Sharīf, and a nephew of Ibrahīm Khān Fateh Jang, the Bengal Viceroy, and of Empress Nūr Jahān. At the time of Prince Shāh Jahān's incursion into Orissa and Bengal, he was Deputy Governor of Orissa. He was at the time engaged in an expedition against Khurda. On hearing of Shāh Jahān's invasion, he withdrew to Pipli

intercession of Shāh Jahān's confidants, was granted an audience with the Prince. The Prince's officers were ordered to confiscate Ibrahim Khān's treasures. Besides goods and silk-stuffs, elephants and aloes wood, ambergris and other rarities, forty lacs of rupees were confiscated. The Prince released from confinement Darab Khān, son of the Khān-i-Khanān, who had hitherto been in prison, and exacting from him an oath, entrusted to him the Government of Bengal, and took along with him as hostages the latter's wife and a son, Shāh Nawāz Khān.[1] The Prince sent Rajah Bhīm,[2] son of Rajah Karan, with a large force, as his Deputy to Patna, and he followed himself with 'Abdullah

(his head-quarters), thence to Katak, and not feeling himself secure even there, marched first to Bardwan, whence he went to Rajmahal or Akbarnagar, and joined his uncle Ibrahim Khān. Being defeated in the battle there, Ahmad Beg moved to Dacca (which was then the Viceregal capital of Bengal, and where the family and treasures of Ibrahim Khān were), but was soon overtaken there by Prince Shāh Jahān, to whom he surrendered. On Shāh Jahān's accession, he was appointed Faujdar of Sīwastan. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 194, Vol. I).

[1] In the text there is some mistake. When Darāb Khān (second son of Mīrza Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān) was made Governor of Bengal, Shāh Jahān took his wife, a son and a daughter, and also a son of Shāh Nawāz Khān (eldest son of the Khān-i-Khānān) as hostages (see *Maasir-ul-Umara*). Shāh Nawāz was not taken as a hostage, as the text would imply. Darāb was subsequently killed by Mahabet Khān, at the instance of Jahangīr. The following chronogram is given in the *Maasir-ul-Umara* (p. 17, Vol. II), as yielding the date of Dārāb's death (1034 A.H.):—

شهید پاک شد داراب مسکین

[2] Rām Dās, the Kachwah Rajpūt, was at first attached as naib in the Financial Department under Todar Mal, and soon gained Akbar's favour by his regularity and industry. Emperor Jahangir conferred on him the title of 'Rajah Karan,' but owing to his disgraceful flight during the wars in the Dakhin, he lost Jahangir's favour. Jahangir is stated to have cursed him thus:—"When thou wert in Rai Sal's service, thou hadst a *tankah* per diem; but my father took an interest in thee, and made thee an Amir. Do not Rajpūts think flight a disgraceful thing? Alas, thy title, Rajah Karan, ought to have taught thee better. Mayest thou die without the comforts of thy faith." His sons were Naman Dās and Dalap Dās—Bhīm Dās is not mentioned amongst his sons (see Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 483). But one Bhīm Singh is mentioned (see Bloch. Tr., Āīn, Vol. I, p. 418), amongst the grandsons of Madhu Singh, son of Rajah Bhagwan Dās. This Bhīm Singh was killed in the Dakhin, in the 3rd year of Shāh Jahan's reign. Another Rana Karan is mentioned in the *Maasir-ul-Umara* (p. 201, Vol. II).

Khān and other officers. As the Ṣūbāh of Patna was assigned as a *jagir* to Prince Parviz, the latter had appointed his Dīwān, Mukhalaṣ Khān[1], as its Governor, and Alāh Yār Khān, son of Iftikhār Khān, and Sher Khān Afghān, as its Faujdārs. On the arrival of Rājah Bhīm, they lost courage, and had not even the boldness to shelter themselves in the fort of Patna, till the arrival of auxiliaries. They fled from Patna to Allahabad. Rajah Bhīm without movement of the sword or the spear, entered the city, and subdued the Sūbāh of Behar. Shāh Jāhān followed, and the *Jāgīrdārs* of that tract went to meet him. Syed Mubarik, who was Commandant of the fort of Rohtās, leaving the fort in charge of a zamindar, hastened to pay his respects to the prince. The Prince sent Abdullāh Khān with a body of troops towards the Ṣūbāh of Allahabad, and sent Daria Khān with another body of troops towards the Ṣūbāh of Oudh, whilst after a while, leaving Bairām Beg to rule over the Ṣūbāh of Behar, the Prince himself advanced towards those parts. Before Abdullāh Khān crossed the river at Chausa, Jāhāngīr Qulī Khān,[2] son of Khān 'Azim Kokāh, who was Governor of Jaunpūr, being

[1] Mukhaliṣ Khān was in the beginning in the service of Prince Parviz, and gradually by his merit and ability advanced himself to the office of Dīwan under the Prince. He was subsequently promoted to the office of Ṣūbadar of Patna (which was then in the *tiyul* or *jagir* of Prince Parviz). In the 19th year of Jahangir's reign, when Prince Shāh Jahān invaded Bengal and Behar *viâ* Telingana and Orissa, and advanced towards Patna, after the fall of Ibrahim Khān Fatih Jang (the Bengal Viceroy), accompanied by Rajah Bhīm, son of Rana Amar Singh (in the text Rana Karan), Mukhaliṣ Khān (though he had with him Allahyār Khān, son of Iftikhār Khān, and Sher Khān Afghan), instead of holding out in the fort of Patna, fled to Allahabad. After Shāh Jahān's accession, Mukhaliṣ Khān was appointed Faujdar of Gorakpur, and in the seventh year of Shāh Jahān's reign, was appointed a commander of Three Thousand and also Sūbadar of Telingana. He died in the 10th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. (See p. 428, Vol. III, *Maasir-ul-Umara*).

[2] His real name was Mīrza Shamsī, and he was the eldest son of Khān 'Azam Mīrza 'Azīz Kokah. At the end of Akbar's reign, Shamsī was a Commander of Two Thousand, and in the third year of Jahangīr's reign, he received the title of "Jahāngīr Qulī Khān," vacant by the death of Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Lālah Beg, Governor of Behar, and was sent to Gujrat as deputy of his father, who was Governor of Gujrat. Subsequently, Shamsī was made Governor of Jaunpūr. When Prince Shāh Jahān invaded Behar from Bengal, and the Prince's vanguard under Abdūllah Khān Fīrūz Jang and Rājah Bhīm crossed

panic-stricken, had left his post, and had fled to Mirzā Rustām[1] to Allahabad. Abdullah quickly advanced to the town of Jhosī, which is on the other side of the Ganges facing Allahabad, and encamped there. As he had taken a flotilla of large vessels with him from Bengal, with the help of cannonade crossing the river, he encamped at the pleasantly-situate city of Allahabad, whilst the main body of Shāh Jahān's army pushed up to Jaunpūr.



PRINCE SHĀH JAHĀN'S FIGHTINGS WITH THE IMPERIAL ARMY, AND HIS WITHDRAWAL TO THE DAKHIN.

When news of Shāh Jahān's advance towards Bengal and Orissa reached the Emperor, he sent orders to Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khān, who were in the Dakhin, to march quickly towards the Ṣubahs of Allahabad and Behār, so that in case the Nāzim of Bengal was unable to oppose successfully the advance of Shāh Jahan's army, they were to engage Shāh Jahan. In the meantime, news of the fall of Nawab Ibrahim Khān Fateh Jang,

at Chausa to proceed to Allahabad, Jahangir Quli Khān fled from Jaunpūr to Allahabad and joined Mīrza Rustam Safavī there. He subsequently became Governor of Allahabad, and on Shāh Jahān's accession, was appointed Governor of Sūrat and Jūnagarh. He died in 1041 A.H. at Sūrat. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 524, Vol. I, Pers. text).

[1] Mīrza Rustam Safavī was a son of Sulṭān Husain Mīrza, grandson of Shāh Ismāil, king of Persia. Mīrza Rustam was appointed by Akbar, Governor of Multan; Akbar also made him a Panjhazarī, and gave him Multan as *Jagīr*. One of his daughters was married to Prince Parviz, and another to Shāh Shuja'. He enjoyed great influence with Jahangir who made him a *Shashhazarī*, and also Governor of Allahabad, which he successfully held against Shāh Jahān's General, Abdūllah Khān, forcing the latter to retire to Jhosī. He was subsequently Governor of Behar. Shah Jahān pensioned him off, and he died at Agra in 1051. It is worthy of interest to note that his grandson, Mīrza Ṣafshikan (son of Mīrza Hasan Safavī) was Faujdar of Jessore in Bengal, where he died in 1073 (see Bloch. Tr., Āīn, p. 314, Vol. I). After him, I guess Mīrzanagar (a seat of old Jessore Musalman Faujdars) is named. The family still survives there, though impoverished. Ṣafshikan's son, Mīrza Saifu-d-dīn. Ṣafavī, accepted the title of "Khān" under Emperor Aurangzeb. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Pers. text, p. 478, Vol. III). The *Maasir* (printed text) states that on the death of his father, Mīrza Hasan Ṣafavī, Mīrza Ṣafshikan was appointed Faujdar of 'Hasr' in Bengal. 'Hasr' is evidently a misprint or a misreading for 'Jasar' (Jessore).

Nāzim of Bengal, reached the Emperor, who thereon repeated his previous orders to Prince Parviz [1] and Mahabet Khān. Prince Parviz with Mahabet Khān and other officers marched towards Bengal and Behar. As the Commander of Shāh Jahān's army, drawing the boats towards his side, had fortified the ferries of the river Ganges, some delay was caused in the arrival of the Imperialists. The Imperialists, with considerable difficulty, collected thirty flotillas of boats from the zamindars, and under the latter's guidance selecting one ford, succeeded in crossing over. For some days, both the armies arrayed themselves in front of each other. As the Imperialists numbered 40,000, whilst Shāh Jahān's army did not number more than 10,000, the advisers of Shah Jāhān dissuaded the Prince from offering battle. But Rajah Bhīm, son of Rana Karan, unlike other advisers, displayed rashness, and with the rashness common to Rajputs insisted that he would part company, unless they agreed to fight. Prince Shāh Jahān, of necessity, considered it expedient to humour Bhīm's wishes, despite paucity of troops, and passed orders for fighting. Both sides rallying into ranks, commenced to fight. [2]

On both sides, the troops rallied into ranks,
Holding in hand daggers, arrows and spears.

1 Prince Parviz was the second son of Emperor Jahangir, and a great favourite with the latter. He imitated his father in everything, "in dress, in quaffing wine, in eating, and in night-keeping" (*Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc. 3, p. 279), and "never disobeyed his Imperial father's wishes." He died at the age of 38 years in the Dakhin, where he was employed in subjugating the country and in quelling the insurrection of Malik Amber, in 1035 A.H., that is, in the twenty-first year of Emperor Jahangīr's accession to the throne. He rendered also important services to his father, in opposing Shāh Jahān's invasion of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and with the help of his generalissimo, Mahabet Khān, defeated Shāh Jahān at Benares, and obliged the latter to abandon Behar, Bengal and Orissa, and to beat a hasty retreat to the Dakhin. (See pp. 233, 239, 240, 273, 279, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc 3, Pers. text, which is a contemporary record).

2 See description of this battle at Benares between the Imperialists under Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khān, and Shāh Jahān's troops, in the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, p. 233, Pers. text. Shāh Jahān was totally defeated, owing to the rashness of his favourite officer, Rajah Bhīm, who himself fell fighting, being cut to pieces by the Imperialists. The *Maasir-ul-Umara* states that the battle took place on the side of نهر تونس (*Nahr-i-Tunas*) in the Suburbs of Benares.

They tramped up to the field for fighting;
Yea the fire of war blazed up.
First from both sides, the artillery of the gunners,
Commenced scattering fire on the hosts.
From the smoke of the gun-waggons of the two forces,
You might say a pitchy cloud had formed.
The cannon-balls showered like hail,
Yea a storm of destruction blew:
Yea the heads and hands, the breasts and feet of the Commanders,
Blew like wind on all sides.
From blood, yea on every side a stream flowed,
Yea like fish, the bodies of the heroes throbbed.
On every side showered stone-rending arrows;
They passed right through every body that they lodged in.
From swords and spears, breasts were torn to shreds;
The corpses of heroes fell on the ground.
But the Imperialists, like stars,
Hemmed in on the army of the Prince.
They surrounded the latter in that battle,
Yea as the ring encircles the finger.
From Shāh Jāhān's army, Rajah Bhīm the valorous,
Was not cowed down by this slaughter.
Some of his race who were his comrades,
Hurled themselves on the enemy's force.
They spurred their horses, yea like lions in fight,
They drew swords, yea like water-dragons.
By one gallant charge, they broke the enemy's ranks,
And swiftly attacked the enemy's centre.
Whoever stood in the way of that force,
They hurled down his head on the dust.
But the veteran Imperialists,
When they saw that suddenly a calamity had come,
Spurred on their chargers from every side,
And attacked that elephant-like hero, Bhīm.
They cut up his body with the sword,
And hurled him down from his steed on the dust.
Other commanders and officers (of Shāh Jahān).
Could not advance to his (Bhīm's) rescue.

The gunners, on seeing this crisis, leaving the artillery,

fled, and the arsenal was captured by the Imperialists. Daria Khān and other Afghāns and Generals ceasing to fight, decamped. The Imperialists, collecting from all sides like a circle formed by a pair of compasses, surrounded the Prince, who remained at the centre. Save and except the elephants carrying flags and standards, and select targeteers who were behind the Prince, and 'Abdullāh Khān who stood to his right-hand side at a short distance, not a single soul remained. At this moment, an arrow hit the horse of the Prince. When 'Abdullah Khān saw that the Prince would not retire from the field, he moved up, and by use of great entreaties and exhortations, succeeded in bringing out the Prince from the field, and placing before him his own horse, induced the Prince to mount it. In short, from the battle-field up to Rohtas, the contest did not cease. As at this time, Prince Murad Bakhsh[1] was born, and long marches could not be made, leaving him to the protection of God and appointing Khedmit Parast Khān and some other trusty servants to take care of him, Shāh Jahān with other Princes and adherents slowly marched towards Patna and Behar. At the same time, letters were received from people in the Dakhin, especially from Malik 'Ambar[2] the Abyssinian

[1] He was the fourth and youngest son of Shāh Jahān, whose other sons were (1) Dara Shekoh, (2) Shāh Shuja (3) Aurangzeb.—See p. 306, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri*, Fasc. 3, Pers. text.

[2] He gave no end of trouble to Jahangir. His insurrection is fully described in the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, Fasc. 3, pp. 234 to 238. The author of the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri* pays a high tribute to his military genius and generalship, to his administrative capacity and vigorous rule in the Dakhin. (See p. 271, Fasc 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Pers. text). He died at the ripe old age of eighty, holding his own against the Imperialists to the last. After Malik Ambar the Abyssinian's death, his generalissimo, Yaqūt Khān the Abyssinian, together with Malik Amber's son, Fatih Khān, and other officers of Nizam-ul-Mulk, submitted to Khān Jahān, Jahangir's Viceroy or Ṣubadar in the Dakhin, in the twenty-first year of Jahangir's accession. (See p. 280, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*).

The *Maasir-ul-Umara* (Vol. III, p. 7), gives some additional facts about him. It states that Malik Amber was an Abyssinian slave of the Bijapūr king, Nizam Shāh. When in 1009 A.H., Queen Chand Sulṭān or Chand Bībī was killed, and the fort of Ahmadnagar fell into the hands of Akbar's officers, and Bahadur Nizam Shāh was taken prisoner, and kept in the Gwalior fort, Malik Amber and Raju Mian proclaimed their independence. Malik Amber brought to his control the territory extending from the limits of Telingana to a point, four *kroh* from Ahmadnagar and eight *kroh* from Daulatābād. In

requesting the Prince's return towards the Dakhin. Shāh Jahān,[1] after retreat, summoned Dārāb Khān who, after taking oaths, had been left as Governor of Bengal, in order to join the Prince in his march. Dārāb Khān, owing to his disloyalty and knavery putting a wrong interpretation on his call, replied that the zamindars, surrounding him on all sides, had cut off ways of his march, and that, therefore, his egress being difficult, he begged to be excused. Shāh Jahān losing all hopes of Dārāb's arrival, and having no body of troops capable of action, was obliged with a sorrowful heart, and in an anxious mood, after leaving Dārāb Khān's son in charge of Abdullāh Khān, to march towards Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). From thence carrying all household paraphernalia, which had been left there, Shah Jahān marched back towards

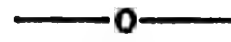
1010 A.H., close to Nandirah, a battle was fought between Malik Amber and Mīrza Iraj, son of Abdur Rahim Khān-i-Khanān. Malik Amber was wounded, but the Khān-i-Khanān, knowing the adversary's capacity, was glad to arrange terms of peace. When Akbar died, and dissensions broke out between Emperor Jahangir and his son, Prince Shāh Jahān, Malik Amber mobilising a large force encroached on Imperial territories. In consequence, during Emperor Jahangīr's reign, the Imperialists were constantly engaged in warfare against Malik Amber, who held out to the last, and died a natural death in 1035 A.H. He lies buried in a mausoleum at Daulatābād, between the Shrines of Shāh Muntajab-ud-dīn Zarbakhsh and Shāh Rajavī Qattāl. The author of the *Maasir-ul-Umara* pays a high tribute to Malik Amber, as a general and as a soldier, and also as a leader of men and as an administrator. He ruled his dominions vigorously, stamping out all turbulence, weeding out all bad characters, maintained perfect peace in his domains, and always strove for the well-being and happiness of the subjects he ruled. In the village of Kharkī (which was subsequently named Aurangābād), he digged tanks, laid out public gardens, and built lofty palaces. He was liberal in charities, and very just, and very pious. A poet has written about him.

در خدمت رسول خدا یک بلال بود

بعد از هزار سال ملک عنبرآمده

1 From the battle-field of Benares, after defeat, Shāh Jahān retreated to Rohtas (up to which desultory fighting was kept up between the Imperialists and Shāh Jahān's troops), thence marched to Patna and Behar town, and thence to Garhī or Teliagarhī fort. Whilst at Garhī, Shāh Jahān summoned his Governor of Bengal, Dārāb Khān, to join him, but the latter made excuses, whereon Shāh Jahān becoming dispirited went to Rajmahal, and retreated thence to the Dakhin (being hotly pursued by Prince Parviz and Mahabet Khān) across Sarkar Madaran, Midnīpur, Orissa and Telingana. (See *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc, 3, pp. 239–240).

the Dakhin by the same route that he had come. Abdullāh Khān, on knowing the disloyalty and villainy of Dārāb Khān, slew the latter's grown-up son, and satisfied his grudge. Although Shāh Jahān sent orders to prevent the son being killed, these had no effect. When the news of Shāh Jahān's retreat from Bengal to the Dakhin reached the Emperor, the latter ordered that Mukhalaṣ Khān should quickly go to Prince Parviz, who had gone to Bengal in pursuit of Shāh Jahān, and taking up the office of *Sazawal* (Superintendent of Revenue), should send the Prince with other leading noblemen to the Dakhin. Consequently, Prince Parviz left for the Dakhin, entrusting the Ṣūbah of Bengal to the *Jagīr* of Mahabet Khān and his son Khānāhzād Khān.



THE ASSIGNMENT OF BENGAL IN *JAGĪR* TO MAHĀBET KHĀN [1] AND HIS SON.

When the Ṣūbah of Bengal was assigned, in the shape of *Jagīr*, to Nawab Mahābet Khān and his son Khānāhzād Khān,

[1] Mahabet Khān distinguished himself under Emperor Jahangir in the long war carried on in the Dakhin. He was early attached by the Emperor to Prince Parviz, as *atalīq* and generalissimo, when the Prince was sent to the Dakhin to quell the insurrection there. Where Prince Shāh Jahān subsequently rebelled against his father (Emperor Jahangir), and marching out from the Dakhin across Talingana invaded Orissa and over-ran Bengal and Behar, the Emperor ordered Mahabet Khān along with Prince Parviz to oppose Shāh Jahān's progress. In this, Mahabet Khān (along with Prince Parviz) completely succeeded, inflicted a crushing defeat on Shāh Jahān on the battle-field of Benares, and compelled the latter to beat a hasty retreat across Behar, Bengal and Orissa into the Dakhin. For this signal military service, Mahabet Khan received from Prince Parviz (no doubt, with the previous sanction of the Emperor) Bengal in *jagīr*. His head was soon turned, and he failed to send to the Emperor the war-elephants taken by him in Bengal, and also failed to remit the Imperial revenue from Bengal. For this, the Emperor summoned him to his presence for chastisement, when Mahabet Khān adopted the extraordinary and impudent step of getting at the person of the Emperor, and placing the latter for some time under surveillance—from which at length the Emperor was rescued by the bold stratagem of his Queen, Nur Jahān Begam. Mahabet was then sent away in disgrace to Thata, whence he went to Gujrat, and joined the rebel Prince, Shāh Jahān. (See pp. 228, 233, 235, 238, 239, 244, 245, 248, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 276, 277, Fasc. 3, Pers. text *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, a contemporary record, and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 385, Vol. III).

they, parting company with Prince Parviz, marched to Bengal. And orders were given to the zamindars of that country to cease impeding Dārāb Khān, and to allow him to come. Dārāb Khān, without any impediment, came to Māhabet Khān. But when the news of Dārāb's coming to Māhabet Khān reached the Emperor, the latter sent an order to Māhabet Khān to the following effect: "What expediency dost thou see in sparing that villain? It behoves you, instantly on reading this, to send the head of that mischievous rebel to the Imperial presence." Māhabet Khān, carrying out the Emperor's order, beheaded Dārāb Khān, and sent the latter's head to the Emperor. And as Māhabet Khān had not sent to the Emperor the elephants that he had captured in Bengal, and had defaulted in payment of a large amount of the Imperial Revenue, the Emperor passed orders to the effect that 'Arab Dast Ghaib[1] should go to Māhabet Khān, confiscate the elephants and send them to the Emperor, and tell Māhabet Khān, that if he got proper accounts, he should submit them personally to the Emperor, and pay up all Revenue arrears to the Imperial exchequer. Māhabet Khān first sent the elephants to the Emperor, and subsequently after appointing his son Khānahzād Khān to be Ṣubadar of Bengal, set out to meet the Emperor with four or five thousand

From the *Maasir-ul-Umara* (p. 385, Vol. III), the following additional facts about Mahabet Khān are gleaned. His real name was Zamanah Beg, his father's name being Ghīwar Beg Kabulī. He was a Razavī Sayyid. Ghīwar Beg came from Shīraz to Kabul, and thence to India, and entered Akbar's service, and distinguished himself in the battle of Chitor. Zamanah Beg, in youth, entered Prince Salīm's service as an *ahadi*, and soon was advanced to the office of Bakhshī under the Prince. In the beginning of Jahangir's reign, Zamanah Beg was appointed to be commander of three thousand, and received the title of Mahabet Khān. He was deputed to serve with Prince Shāh Jahān in the Dakhin, and in the 12th year of Jahangir's reign, was appointed Ṣūbadar of Kabūl. In the 17th year, dissensions broke out between Emperor Jahangir and Prince Shāh Jahān, and Mahabet Khān was recalled from Kabul. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, he advanced Mahabet Khān to the rank of *Haft hazarī*, and conferred on him the title of "Khān-i-Khānān Sipāsālār," and appointed him Ṣūbadār of Ajmīr, and next, Ṣubadar of the Dakhin. He died in 1044 A.H.

1 He appears to have been employed by Emperor Jahangir on similar missions with reference to other refractory princes and officers, such as Hoshang, son of Prince Danyal, and Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān and Māhabet Khān. (See p. 244, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīrī* Pers. text, Fasc. 3, and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 392, Vol. 3).

blood-thirsty Rajput cavalry, and resolved inwardly that in case any harm or injury were attempted against his honour, property or life, he with his family and children would be prepared to face martyrdom. When news of his arrival reached the Emperor, order was passed that he would not be granted an audience, so long as he did not pay up the Revenue arrears to the Imperial Exchequer, and so long as he did not redress by exercise of justice the public grievances against him. Afterwards summoning to his presence Barkhurdar, son of Khwajā[1] Nakshbandi, to whom Māhabet Khān, without[2] the Emperor's approval, had betrothed his daughter, the Emperor had him disgracefully whipped and thrown into prison, with his neck bound and head bare. In the morning, Māhabet Khān rode out with his cavalry, and without making obeisance to the Emperor, in an insolent and daring manner broke open the door of the Emperor's Private Chamber,[3] entered it with four hundred or five hundred Rajputs, saluted the Emperor in hunting and travelling suit, and marched back towards his own residence.[4]

[1] In p. 253, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri*, "Khwajah 'Umar Nakshbandī."

[2] In the printed text, the words occur "بحکم شاهنشاهي" which is obviously a mistake. The words should be "بي حکم شاهنشاهي." (See p. 253, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri*).

[3] In the printed Persian text, there is a mistake: the word "غسلخانه" (see p. 256, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah*) is misprinted in the *Riyas* as "کلاب بازي." The Ghusalkhana or 'Bathing Room' was a luxury in Mughal days: it was fitted up elegantly with cooling apparatus and on sultry days, the Mughal Emperors and the Mughal Omara passed much time in it, transacting business. Thus, 'Ghusalkhana' gradually came to signify a 'Private Chamber, or a 'khaskhana.'

[4] The author of the *Riyas* has borrowed the account from the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri* (see pp. 256-257, Fasc. 3), but in his attempt to condense it, he has rendered his account slip-shod and confused. The author of the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri*, named Mu'tamid Khān, was Jahangīr's Bakhshī at the time, and was an eye-witness of what occurred. From the account that he gives, it appears that the Emperor was returning at the time to Hindustan from Kabul, that he had his camp pitched on the banks of the river Bihat (or Jhelam), that he was alone there with some courtiers, such as 'Arab Dast Ghaib, Mīr Mansūr Badakhshī, Jawaher Khān the Eunuch, Firuz Khān, Khidmat Khān the Eunuch, Baland Khān, Khedmat Parst Khān, Fasih Khan, and three or four others, that all the rest of the Imperial officers and attendants including Asif Khān the Prime Minister, had left and crossed over to the eastern banks of the river. Seizing, therefore, this opportunity, Māhabe

In short as the Imperial army had gone towards Thatah, Māhabet Khān was ordered to join it there. In the meantime, Prince Parviz died. As Sharif Khān[1] had entrenched himself in the fort of Thatah, Shāh Jāhān's army marched back to the Dakhin. Māhabet Khān after reaching Thatah sent letters to Shāh Jāhān, avowing his loyalty, and Shāh Jāhān being conciliated, Māhabet Khān entered the former's service. In consequence, the Ṣūbah of Bengal was transferred from Khānahzād Khān, son of Māhabet Khān, to Mukkaram Khān,[2] son of Muazzam Khān, and the Province of

Khān, leaving some Rajput troops to guard the bridge, marched up to the Imperial tent with a large number of Rajput cavalry. At the time, the Emperor was reposing in the Khaskhānā. Māhabet Khān fearlessly broke open the door, and entered it with about 500 Rājput cavalry, and paid obeisance to the Emperor. The Emperor coming out of the tent, seated himself on the Imperial Palanquin, which had lain in front of the tent. Māhabet Khān came quite close to the palanquin, and addressed the Emperor as follows: "Fearing that through the vindictiveness and malice of Asif Khān, I should be disgraced, tortured and killed, I have dared to take this daring step of personally throwing myself on the Imperial protection. Sire, if I deserve to be killed and punished, kill and punish me in your Imperial presence" (p. 256, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah*). In the meantime, Māhabet Khān's Rajput cavalry surrounded the Imperial tent from all sides. Then Māhabet Khān told the Emperor that that was the usual time for the Emperor to go out hunting, and asked the Emperor to mount a horse. The Emperor mounted a horse, and went out some distance and then leaving the horse mounted an elephant. Māhabet Khān in hunting dress accompanied the Emperor and led the latter to his own camp. Finding that Nur Jahan Begam had been left behind, he led back the Emperor to the Imperial tent, but in the meantime Nur Jahan had gone across the river and had joined her brother, Asif Khān and was busy concerting measures to rescue the Emperor. After some days, by adoption of an ingenious and a bold stratagem—when the efforts of all the Imperial officers had failed—Nur Jahan succeeded in rescuing her Royal Consort, and in banishing Māhabet Khān, who was sent in disgrace to Thatah. (See p. 276, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah i-Jahangiri*) Mahabet Khan subsequently joined Shāh Jahān in the Dakhin.

[1] In the *Iqbalnamah*, "Sharifu-l-Mulk" it appears that Prince Shāh Jahān had gone from the Dakhin to invade the province of Thatah. Then Sharifu-l-Mulk, on behalf of Prince Shahriyār, held the Fort of Thatah with 4,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. On hearing the news, the Emperor Jahangir sent an Imperial army to repel Shāh Jahān's invasion, and Māhabet Khān was sent on the same errand. Shāh Jahān was obliged to raise the siege, and to march back to the Dakhin *viá* Gujrat. (See *Iqbalnamah* and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Pers. text, Fasc. 3, pp. 281-282).

[2] Mukkaram Khān was a son of Shaikh Bayazid Muazzam Khān, grand-

Patna was entrusted to Mirza Rustam Ṣafavī.[1] It is said that on the day the patent transferring the Ṣūbahdarī of Bengal from Khānahzād Khān to Nawab Mukarram Khān was drawn up at ShāhJahānābād (Delhi), Shāh Neamatullah[2] Fīruzpurī composing a Qaṣidah (an Ode) in praise of Khānahzād Khān, transmitted it to the latter, and in this Qaṣidah, there was one line which was indicative of Khānahzād's supercession, and that line was this :—

من درهوایت ای گل خندان چو عندلیب
سرو تو نوبهـار و تمـاشای دیگـران

Translation :

I am in love with thee, O budding rose, like a nightingale,
Thy cypress, however, is a new spring and a sight to others.

When Khānahzād Khān perused the above lines, he anticipated his supercession, and made preparations to pack up. And after one month the Imperial order of recall was received by him.

son of Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fatihpur Sikri. Jahangīr conferred on Shaikh Bayazīd the title of Muaẓẓam Khān and made him Ṣubadar of Delhi. Muaẓẓam Khān's son, Mukkaram Khān, was a son-in-law of Islām Khān I, Jahangir's Viceroy in Bengal, and rendered important services under the latter. He conquered Kuch Hājo (a portion of Kuch Behar) and captured its zemindar or Rajah, Parichat (*Padshahnamah* 11, 64), and for some time remained as Governor of Kuch Hajo. Later, he was appointed Governor of Orissa, and conquered Khurdah (South Orissa) and annexed it to the Delhi Empire. In the sixteenth year, he came to court, and was made Ṣubadar of Delhi. In the 21st year, he was sent to Bengal as Governor in the place of Khānahzād Khān, Māhabet Khān's son. (See pp. 286, 287, 291, Fasc. 3, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri*, and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*). A gale upset his boat, and he was drowned in the river with all his companions.

[1] See n. *ante*.

The author of the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri* mentions that Mīrza Rustam Safavī was appointed by Jahangīr Ṣubadar of Vilayet-i-Behar and Patna, in the 21st year of the Emperor's reign. (See p. 280, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri*, and also *Maasir-ul-Umara*).

[2] Later on in the text, he is described as a Saint, in whom Prince Shāh Shujā had great faith.

NEẒĀMAT OF NAWAB MUKKARAM KHĀN.

In the 21st year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1030 A.H., Mukkaram Khān was appointed to the Neẓāmat of the Ṣūbah of Bengal. Many months had not elapsed, when by chance, an Imperial *firman* came to his address. The Khān in order to receive it, advanced.[1] As the time for afternoon prayer had arrived, he ordered his servants to moor his boat towards the bank, so that he might turn to business, after finishing prayer. The boatmen attempted to take the barge towards the bank. At this time, a strong wind blew, and sent the boat adrift. A severe gale coupled with a storm-wave, caused the boat to sink. Mukkaram Khān with his companions and associates was drowned, and not a single man escaped.[2]



NEẒĀMAT OF NAWAB FIDĀI KHĀN.[3]

When news of Mukkram Khān being drowned reached the Emperor in the 22nd year of the Emperor's accession

1 This incident illustrates the solemn personality of the 'Great Mughal' in those days, and the ceremonial homage paid him by his officers. The practice of advancing several miles to receive imperial orders and *firmans*, existed throughout the Mughal *regime*.

2 See similar account in *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri*, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, p. 287.

3 "Fidaī Khān" and "Jān Nisār Khān" or "Janbāz Khān" were his titles, his name being Mīrza Hedaitullah. He should not be confounded with Mīr Zarīf who also received the title of "Fidaī Khān." When Mīr Zarīf received this title of Fidaī Khān, Mīrza Hedaitullah who held the same title from before, received the new title of "Jān Nisār Khān" from Shāh Jahān the Emperor. In the beginning, in the reign of Emperor Jahangir, Mīrza Hedaitullah was "*Mir Bahr-i-Nawarah*" or Admiral of the Imperal Fleet, and being patronised by Māhabet Khān, he advanced rapidly in influence. In the quarrel between Māhabet Khān and Emperor Jahangir, he took sides with his patron, Māhabet Khān, and subsequently fled to Rohtas. On return in the 22nd year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed Viceroy of Bengal, in succession to Mukkaram Khān, who had been drowned, the arrangement entered into being that he should yearly remit from Bengal, in the shape of presents, five *lacs* for the Emperor and five *lacs* of rupees for the Empress Nūr Jahān (no doubt, over and above the annual Imperial revenues). In Shāh Jahān's reign, he was recalled from Bengal and received Jaunpur in *tiyul* (or *jagir*) and subsequently was appointed Faujdār of Gorakpur. He then helped Abdullah Khān, Governor of

corresponding to 1036 A.H., Nawab Fidaī Khān was appointed Viceroy of the Ṣūbah of Bengal. Since at that period, besides rare silkstuffs of this country, and elephants and aloes-wood and ambergris and other presents and gifts, no specie used to be presented to the Emperor, at this time, contrary to the former practice, it was settled that every year five *lacs* of rupees as present to the Emperor and five *lacs* of rupees as present to Nūr Jahān Begam—in all ten *lacs* of rupees should be remitted to the Imperial Exchequer.[1] When on the 27th[2] of the month of Ṣafar 1037 A.H., Emperor Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir, whilst returning from Kashmīr, died at Rajor, his son Abul Muzzāfar Shahābuddīn Shāh Jahān (who was then in the Dakhin) marched out, and through the noble exertions of Āṣaf Jāh Āṣaf Khān[3] (after destroying and extirpating his brothers) ascended the Imperial throne at Delhi. Then the Ṣūbah of Bengal was transferred from Fidaī Khān to Qāsim Khān.

Behar, in the conquest of Bhojpūr or Ujjain. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 12, Vol. 3).

1 This Fiscal Provincial Contract under Fidaī Khān is also noted in the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangīri*, Fasc. 3, Pers. text, p. 291.

2 In the *Iqbalnamah*, "28th Ṣafar (Sunday) Emperor Jahangīr died in the 22nd year of his reign, whilst returning from Kashmīr towards Lahore." He was buried at Lahore in a garden which had been laid out by his beloved Consort, the Empress Nūr Jahān. (See *Iqbalnamah*, Fasc. 3, p. 294).

3 His titles were "Aṣif Khān Aṣif Jah," his name being Mīrza Abūl Hasan. He was a son of 'Itamad-u-daulah, and the eldest brother of the Empress Nūr Jahān Begam, and he was father of Arjumund Banu Begam *alias* Mumtaz Mahal, the beloved Consort of Emperor Shāh Jahān, (whose memory is enshrined in marble by the Tāj at Agra). In the 9th year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed to the Manṣab of *Shash hazari*, and subsequently raised to a *haft hazari*, and was also appointed Ṣūbadar of the Panjab, and *Vakīl* or Prime Minister. In 1037 A.H. when Jahangir on return from Kashmīr died on the way near Rajor, Nūr Jahān (who espoused the cause of Prince Shahriyār) wanted to imprison Aṣif Khān (who espoused Prince Shāh Jahān's cause), but Aṣif Khān could not be seized or brought back. Aṣif Khān sent a swift runner, named Benaresī, a Hindu, to Shāh Jahān who was then in Gujrat. Shāh Jahān quickly marched out to Agra, where he was installed as Emperor, whilst Shahriyār and other princes were soon imprisoned and made away with. On his accession, Shāh Jahān gave Aṣif Khān the title of "Eminu-d-daulah," and made him a "*Nah hazarī.*" He died at Lahore in 1051 A.H. "رهی افسوس آصف خان;" is a chronogram which yields the above date. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 151, Vol. I).

NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB QĀSIM KHĀN.[1]

When Qāsim Khān succeeded to the Nezāmat of Bengal, like his predecessors in office, he devoted himself to the affairs of

1 It is strange that the *Riyāz* should give such a meagre account of the Administration of Nawab Qāsim Khān, the first Bengal Viceroy appointed by Emperor Shāh Jahān. Yet this Administration is peculiarly interesting and significant from the modern stand-point, as the chronicle of this administration contains, for the first time, a reference to a conflict (no doubt, *then* unimportant) between the Christian European merchants in Bengal and the Musalman Viceroys of Bengal. To supplement the account of this Musalman Viceroy with some additional facts gleaned from the *Maasir-ul-Umaru*, would therefore be interesting.

Qāsim Khān was a son of Mīr Murad of Juain (in the Vilayet of Baihaq). Mīr Murad was a leading Sayyid of that place, whence he migrated into the Dakhin. He was brave and a capital archer, and was engaged by Emperor Akbar to train up Prince Khurram. He was subsequently appointed Bakshī of Lahore, in the 46th year of Akbar's reign. His son, "Qāsim Khān" (this was evidently his title, his actual name is not given in the *Maasir*) was a man of culture and literary habits. Under Islām Khān Chishtī Farūqī (Jahangīr's Bengal Viceroy), Qāsim Khān served as *Khazanchi* or Treasurer-General of Bengal. Islām Khān took particular interest in training him up. Some timea fter, Qāsim Khān was lucky in getting married to Manījah Begam, sister of the Empress Nūr Jahān. This matrimonial alliance was a turning point in Qāsim Khān's fortune; he was soon advanced in rank and dignity. The witty courtiers of the time called him "Qāsim Khān Manījah." He soon became an associate of the Emperor Jahangīr. Towards the end of Jahangīr's reign, he was appointed Ṣūbadar (or Viceroy) of Agra. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign, the Emperor (Shāh Jahān) raised him to the Manṣab of *Panjhazarī*, and appointed him Ṣūbadar (Viceroy) of Bengal, in place of Fidaī Khān. During his stay in Bengal (during Jahangīr's reign), Shāh Jahān had become personally apprised of the excesses practiced by the Christians (Portuguese, obviously) resident in the Port of Hughli. For instance, Shāh Jahān had come to know that these often took unauthorised leases of adjoining *pargannas*, oppressed the tenantry of those *pargannas*, and sometimes by tempting offers, converted them to Christianity, and even sent them to *Farang* (or Europe). Further these Christians (Portuguese, obviously) carried on similar malpractices even in *pargannas*, with which they had no connection. Further, these Christians, under the pretext of carrying on trading transactions, had in the beginning established some ware-houses which they had gradually and clandestinely, by bribing local officers, converted into large fortified buildings. In consequence, the bulk of the trade which had found its way, hitherto, to the old Imperial emporium at Sātgaon, was diverted to the new port of Hughli. In consideration of the above circumstances, the Emperor Shāh Jahān, whilst sending Qāsim Khān to Bengal

administration, and to the putting down of disturbances. In the sixth year of Shāh Jahān's accession, he marched against the Christians and Portuguese who had become insolent in the port of Hughli, and after fighting expelled and defeated them. As a reward for this service, he received favours from the Emperor, but he soon after died.

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NEZĀMAT OF NAWAB 'AZAM KHĀN.

After this, Nawab 'Azam Khān[1] was appointed to the Nezāmat of Bengal. As he could not properly discharge the

as his Viceroy, gave the latter instructions to expel the foreign Christian (Portuguese) traders from the port of Hughli. Accordingly, in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, Qāsim Khān sent his son 'Inaitullāh Khān in company of Allahyār Khān and other officers to Hughli, and he sent also by the sea-route *viâ* Chittagong another company of troops on a fleet of vessels from the Imperial *Nawarah* or Fleet stationed in Dacca, so that the Portuguese might not escape by water, giving out at the same time that the expedition had as its objective Hījlī. These besieged Hughli, and, after the fighting was protracted to three months and a half, succeeded in storming it, and in expelling the Christian (Portuguese) traders from it. 2,000 Christians were killed in the fighting, 4,400 were taken prisoners, and 10,000 Indian captives that were in the hands of the Portuguese were released, and 1,000 Musalman soldiers got killed in the fighting. Three days after this victory (in 1041 A.H.) Qāsim Khān died of disease. He built the Cathedral Mosque at Agra in Angah Khān *bazaar*. (See p. 78, Vol. 3, *Maasir-ul-Umara*).

1 Ā'zim Khān's real name was Mīr Muhammad Baqir, his titles being "Iradat Khān," and subsequently "Ā'zim Khān." He was a Sayyid of Sava which is in 'Irāq. On arrival in India, he was appointed Faujdar of Sialkot and Gujrat, through the interest taken in him by Āṣif Khān Mirza Ja'far, who married to him his daughter. Then he was presented to Emperor Jahangīr, who gave him (on the recommendation of Eminu-d-daulah Aṣif Khān) a good Manṣab and the office of Imperial *Khansaman*. In the 15th year of Jahangīr's reign, he was appointed Ṣūbadar (Governor) of Kashmīr and next Mīr Bakhshī under the Emperor directly. On Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne, Shāh Jahān raised him to the rank of *Panjhazari*, and also to the office of *vizier* of the Supreme Dīwan. In the second year of Shāh Jāhān's reign, he was set to reform the Revenue Administration of the Provinces in the Dakhin. In the third year, he received the title of "Ā'zām Khān," and was employed by the Emperor for chastising Khān Jahan Lodī and for the conquest of the Nizam Shāhī kingdom in the Dakhin. Though he succeeded in dispersing Khān Jahan's force, and though he stormed the fort of Dharwar, his services in the Dakhin

duties of a Governor, the work of administration fell into confusion. The Assamese, making an incursion, invaded and ravaged many of the pargannahs within the Imperial domains, and along with much riches and effects captured and carried away 'Abdus Salam,[1] who had gone on an expedition to Gauhatī with 1,000 Cavalry and numerous infantry. When this news reached the Emperor, the latter superseded 'Aẕam Khān, and appointed Islām Khān, who had much experience in the work of administration and was one of the principal *'Omarā* of Jahangīr, to the office of Ṣūbadār of Bengal.

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RULE OF NAWAB ISLĀM KHĀN.

When Nawab Islām Khān was appointed Ṣūbadār of Bengal, as he was an experienced and a sagacious ruler, on his arrival in

did not satisfy the Emperor, who sent him to Bengal as Viceroy, in succession to Qāsim Khān, who died in the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. He continued in Bengal as Viceroy for three years only, and in the 8th year was transferred to Allahabad, and subsequently to Gujrat, and lastly to Jaunpur, where he was Rector of the Jaunpur University, and died in 1059 A.H., in his 76th year, and was buried in a garden which he had laid out on the banks of the Jaunpur river. His daughter was married to Prince Shāh Shuja (after the latter had lost his first wife, a daughter of Mīrza Rustam Ṣafavī). He possessed many good qualities, and was very strict in auditing the accounts of 'Amils (Collectors of Revenue). (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 174, Vol. I).

[1] This 'Abdus Salam would seem to be the Abdus Salam (son of Muaẕẕam Khān, Ṣūbadar of Delhi) who opportunely reinforced Shujait Khān at the decisive battle near Dhaka (Dacca) with the Afghan leader Osman Lohanī. He would seem, therefore, to have been a brother of Mukkaram Khān (another son of Muaẕẕam Khān) who was Governor of Bengal and who was conqueror of Kuch Hajo (or Kuch Behar) and Khurdah. 'Abdus Salam at the time would seem to have been Governor of Kuch Hajo. in succession to his brother Mukkaram Khān, and to have invaded Assam. (See n. *ante*). The *Alamgīrnamah* (p. 680, Fasc. VII, Pers. text) calls him "Shaikh Abdus Salam," and states that towards the early part of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was 'Faujdar' of 'Hajo' (that is, Kuch Hajo, or western part of Kuch Behar), and that at Gauhatī he together with many others was captured by the Assamese, and that, to chastise the Assamese, an expedition to Assam was shortly after (during the Viceroyalty of Islām Khān II *alias* Mīr Abdus Salam) sent out under command of Siadat Khān (Islām Khān's brother), but that the expedition reached only Kajal (which is on the frontier of Assam), and did not result in any decisive issue, as Islām Khān was shortly after recalled by the Emperor to assume the office of Imperial *Vizier* at Delhi.

the Ṣūbah, he vigorously set himself to the work of administration. He organised a punitive expedition against the refractory Assamese, and also planned to conquer Kuch Behar and Assam. Marching towards those tracts and fighting many battles, he chastised those wicked tribes, recovered the Imperial *mahals* which had been over-run by the latter, and marched against Kuch Behar. After much fightings, he stormed numerous forts, and then extirpated the refractory Assamese. At this juncture, Islām Khān[1] was recalled by Shāh Jahān, for the purpose of being installed in the office of Vazir. And order was sent to Nawab Saif Khān[2] to the

[1] Islām Khān *Mashadī*; his actual name was Mīr Abdus Salām, and his titles were "Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān" and subsequently "Islām Khān." He should not be confounded with "Islām Khān Chishtī Faruqī," whose real name was Shaikh 'Alau-d-dīn, and who was Viceroy of Bengal, under Emperor Jahangīr.

Mīr Abdus Salām was in the beginning a Munshī or Secretary of Prince Shāh Jahān. In 1030 A.H. (during Jahangīr's reign), he was *Vakil-i-Darbār* or Prince Shāh Jahān's Political Agent at the Imperial Court (Shāh Jahān being engaged at the time in affairs connected with the Dakhin), and at the same time received the title of "Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān." When dissensions broke out between Shāh Jahān and Emperor Jahangīr, Mīr Abdus Salām joined Shāh Jahān. On Shāh Jahān's accession to the throne, he raised Mīr Abdus Salām to the rank of *Chahārhazārī*, bestowed on him the title of "Islām Khān," and appointed him Bakhshī and subsequently Governor of Gujrat, with command of Five Thousand. In the 8th year, on the recall of A'ẓam Khān (the Bengal Viceroy), Mīr Abdus Salām *alias* Islām Khān Mashadī was appointed Viceroy of Bengal. In the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's accession, he achieved several notable triumphs, *viz.*, (1) the chastisement of the Assamese, (2) capture of the son-in-law of the Assam Rājah, (3) capture of fifteen Assam forts, (4) capture of Srīghat and Mando, (5) successful establishment of Imperial military out-posts or *Thanas* in all the *mahals* of Kooh Hajo (the western portion of Kuch Behar), (6) capture of 500 Kooh war-vessels. Manīk Rai, brother of the Rājah of Arrakan, also at this time came to Dhaka (Dacca) and took refuge with Islām Khān. In the 13th year (in the text, correctly, 11th year), Islām Khān was called back by Shāh Jahān from Bengal, and installed in the office of Imperial *Vazir*. He was subsequently appointed Viceroy of the Dakhin, where he died at Aurangabad in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, in 1057 A.H. He was buried in a mausoleum at Aurangabad. He was a learned scholar, a brave general and a sagacious administrator. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 162, Vol. I).

[2] Saif Khān Mirza Ṣafī was a son of Amanat Khān. He married Malikāh Bānū, sister of Empress Mumtaz Mahal, and a daughter of Aṣif Khān Eminu-d-daulah, and was thus closely connected with Emperor Shāh Jahān, by marriage. He first became Dīwān of the Ṣūbah of Gujrat, and for his victory over 'Abdullah Khān under daring circumstances, was appointed Ṣūbadar of

effect that the Nizamat of Bengal was assigned to Prince Muhammad Shuj'a, and that until the latter's arrival, he should, as Prince's Deputy, carry on the work of Bengal administration. As Islām Khān, in the very midst of fighting, had to march back to the Imperial presence, the work of Assam conquest was left incomplete, and his departure was a signal for fresh disturbances amongst the Assamese. This happened towards the end of the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.



RULE OF PRINCE MUHAMMAD SHUJ'A.

In the 12th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, Prince Muhammad Shuj'a [1] arrived in Bengal, and made Akbarnagar or Rajmahal the

Gujrat, and also received the title of "Saif Khān." He was subsequently appointed by Emperor Shāh Jahān to be Governor of Behar (where at Patna he built several lofty public edifices). [Ṣafīabād town, near Jamalpūr in Monghyr, I guess, was built by him, and is named so after him. There is still a place in it called "Ṣafī Sarai" or "Safi's inn." If my memory serves me aright, I found a big well in Monghyr town near the Club, which bears an inscription to show that it was built by Saif Khān]. In the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he became Governor of Allahabad; in the 8th year, he was selected as Governor of Gujrat, and next appointed Commandant of Agra. In the 12th year, when Islām Khān Mashadī was summoned back from Bengal to Delhi, to assume charge of the portfolio of Imperial *Vazarat*, Bengal was assigned to Prince Shāh Shuj'a. As the Prince was at the time away at Kabūl, Saif Khān received orders to administer Bengal on behalf of the Prince, during his absence. In the 13th year of Shāh Jahān's reign (in 1049 A.H.) Saif Khān Mīrza Ṣafī died in Bengal, and his wife Malikah Bānū died the following year. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 416, Vol. II).

1 Prince Shāh Shuj'a was the second son of Emperor Shāh Jahān, whose other sons were (1) Dārā Shekoh, (2) Aurangzeb, and (3) Murād. Shāh Shuj'a was married to a daughter of Mīrza Rustam Ṣafāvī, and subsequently (on the death of his first wife) to a daughter of Nawab 'Azam Khān (a former Bengal Viceroy). Shāh Shuj'a, on appointment to Bengal, temporarily removed the Viceregal Capital from Dacca to Rajmahal. He twice ruled over Bengal, that is, once for eight years, and again (after a break of two years) for another eight years. Shāh Shuj'a's rule over Bengal was marked by the introduction of financial reforms and by the growth of revenue. "About 1658 A.C. he prepared a new rent-roll of Bengal, which showed 34 Sarkars and 1,350 mahals, and a total revenue on *Khalsa* and Jagir lands of Rs. 13,115,907 exclusive of *abwabs*." (See Blochmann's Contr. to history of Bengal and the *Padshahnamah*). Shāh Shuj'a was a lover of architecture, and he built numerous marble edifices in Rajmahal, Monghyr and Dacca. He also

seat of his Government, and adorned it with grand and handsome edifices. The Prince deputed to Jahangirnagar or Dacca his Deputy and father-in-law, Nawab 'Azam Khān.[1] The affairs of administration which had fallen into confusion by the departure of Islām Khān, received now fresh *eclat*. For a period of eight years, the Prince devoted himself to the work of administration. In the 20th year[2] of Shāh Jahān's reign, the Prince was recalled to the Imperial presence, and Nawab 'Itaqād Khān was appointed to the Nizamat of the Ṣūbah of this country.

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NIZAMAT OF NAWAB 'ITAQĀD KHĀN.

When Nawab 'Itaqād Khān[3] being appointed to the Nizamat of Bengal arrived in this country, he ruled over Bengal for two

extended his Bengal Satrapy by incorporating therein Sarkars Monghyr and Behar (see *Alamgirnamah*), but shortly after he received a check in his onward career by coming in collision with his clever brother, Aurangzeb, and at length fled to Arrakan where he perished.

1 See n., *ante*.

2 In the text هشتم is evidently a misprint for بیستم.

3 'Itaqād Khān Mirza Shapūr was a son of 'Itamd-u-daulah, and a brother of Aṣif Khān Mirza Abul Hasan, and therefore, a brother also of Empress Nūr Jahān (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 180, Pers. text, Vol. I., Fasc. 11).

Professor Blochmann's list (p. 511, *Ain*, Tr., Vol. I), does not give his name. In the 17th year of Jahangir's reign, he was appointed Governor of Kashmir, and continued there for a long period. He was also raised by Emperor Jahangir to a command of five thousand. In the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was recalled from Kashmir. In the 16th year, he was appointed Governor of Behar, and whilst there, in the 17th year, he organised and despatched an expedition to Palaun (Palamow) under Zabardast Khān, and defeated its zemindar or Rajah, named Partab, who submitted to the Emperor, and agreed to pay an annual tribute of one *lac* of rupees. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Prince Shāh Shuj'a was recalled from Bengal, 'Itaqād Khān in addition to his Governorship of Behar was appointed Viceroy of Bengal, where he continued for two years. In the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign (1060 A.H.) 'Itaqād Khān died at Agra. He was a man of great refinement and culture, and his aesthetic tastes led him to be one of the founders of a new and elegant style of architecture. He built a splendid palace on a new and improved design at Agra.

In *Alamgirnamah* (p. 111) 'Itaqād Khān is mentioned as a son of Eminu-d-doulah Aṣif Khān. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, Fasc. 2, Pers. text, p. 180).

years. In the 22nd year of Shah Jahān's reign, he was superseded, and Prince Muhammad Shuj'a was for the second time re-appointed to the Nizamat of Bengal.



AN ACCOUNT OF THE RULE OF SHAH SHUJ'A, FOR THE SECOND TIME, AND THE END OF HIS CAREER.

When, for the second time, Prince Muhammad Shuj'a arrived in Bengal, for eight years more he carried on vigorously the work of administration, and conquering other tracts added laurels to himself. In the 30th year of the Emperor's accession, corresponding to 1067 A.H., Emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill. As the period of illness become protracted,[1] and the Members of

[1] Emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill at Delhi on 7th Zil-haj 1067 A.H. (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 27). At the time of the Emperor's illness, Prince Dara Shekoh, the eldest son, was at Agra. Prince Shuj'a, the second son, was in Bengal; Aurangzeb, the third son, was in the Dakhin; whilst Prince Murad, the fourth son, was in Gujrat. Owing to illness, Shāh Jahān was invisible to the public as well as to his ministers and officers, and great confusion in State affairs occurred, and Dara Shekoh went to the Emperor, and took into his hands the reins of Government. In order to make himself thoroughly master of the situation, Dara Shekoh aimed to keep the Emperor fully under his control, and so forcibly removed the Emperor together with all royal treasures from Delhi on 20th Muharram, 1068 A.H. (1086 in the printed Pers. text is a misprint) to Agra, which was reached on 19th Safar, 1068 A.H. In the meantime, Murad proclaimed himself King in Gujrat, whilst Shuj'a similarly proclaimed himself King in Bengal, and invaded Patna and Benares (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 29).

Dara Shekoh's plan was first to vanquish Shāh Shuj'a, next Murad, and to reserve the final blow for Aurangzeb, whom he dreaded most. In pursuance of this scheme, he first detached a large army under the command of his son Sulaiman Shekoh together with Rajah Jai Singh to operate against Shāh Shuj'a. The army under Sulaiman Shekoh on the 4th Rabi-al-Awwal 1068 A.H. reached Bahadurpur, a village on the banks of the Ganges, 2¼ *kos* from Benares, and 1¼ *kos* from Shāh Shuj'a's encampment. Shāh Shuj'a had brought with him a large number of *Nawarah* or war-ships from Bengal, and so was sanguine of success, and treating the foe with contempt, he had dispensed with all ordinary precautions of war. Sulaiman Shekoh made a feint retreat which further took in Shāh Shuj'a, and then suddenly wheeling round, made a bold dash which completely surprised Shāh Shuj'a, who leaving behind his tents, treasures, guns and horses, hastily got into a boat, and sailed down to Patna, thence to Monghyr, where he halted for some days. Sulaiman Shekoh's army pursued Shuj'a to Monghyr; and, then the latter quitting

Government could not obtain audience with the Emperor, great confusion ensued in the affairs of the Empire. Since amongst the

Monghyr, set out for Bengal. (See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 31). Whilst these events were transpiring in Bengal, Aurangzeb with his marvellous insight grasping the situation forestalled Dara Shekoh by making a move from Aurangabad towards Burhanpur on Friday, 12th Jamadi-ul-Awwal 1068 A.H. (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 43). After halting for a month at Burhanpur to get news of the state of things at Agra, Aurangzeb learnt that Dara Shekoh had detached a large army under Rajah Jaswant Singh, who had already arrived at Ujjain, in Malwah. This made Aurangzeb decide his plans. He immediately on 25th Jamadi-ul-Akhirah on a Saturday marched from Burhanpur, reached the banks of the Narbadda, crossed it, and on the 20th Rajab encamped at Dibalpur. On the 21st Rajab, setting out from Dibalpur, he met on the way Prince Murad, and won him over to his side (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 55), and reached Dharmatpur, a place 7 *kos* from Ujjain, and one *kos* from Rajah Jaswant Singh's army, and pitched his camp on the banks of a rivulet, called Chūr Narainah. (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 56). Rajah Jaswant Singh was quite out-witted by this strategic move of Aurangzeb who had united his forces with those of Murad. Aurangzeb then inflicted a crushing blow on Rajah Jaswant Singh at Dharmatpur. (See charming description of this battle in the *Alamgirnamah*, Pers. text, pp. 61, 66 to 74). Marching quickly from Dharmatpur, Aurangzeb passed through Gwalior. In the meantime Dara Shekoh had marched to Dholpur (p. 85, *Alamgirnamah*), to oppose Aurangzeb's progress, and to prevent his crossing the Chanbal river. Aurangzeb quickly however crossed the Chanbal river at the ferry of Bhadureah, which is 20 *kos* from Dholpur, on the first day of the month of Ramzan. On the 7th Ramzan, the battle of Dholpur was fought, and Dara Shekoh was completely defeated by Aurangzeb. (See description of the battle of Dholpur in the *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 100 to 104). Dara Shekoh fled to Agra, and thence to the Panjab and other places, was eventually captured and beheaded. Shortly after his installation, Aurangzeb drew his force against Shāh Shuj'a who had advanced, and occupied Rohtas, Chunar, Jaunpur, Benares and Allahabad. The battle between Aurangzeb and Shuj'a was fought at Kachwa, a place close to Korah, and resulted in Shuj'a's defeat. (See description of the battle in the *Alamgirnamah*, Pers. text, p. 243). After his defeat, Shuj'a fled to Bahadurpur, thence to Patna, thence to Monghyr which he fortified, and thence (owing to the treachery of Rajah Bahroz, zamindar of Kharakpur) to Rangamati, and thence (owing to treachery of Khwajah Kamalu-d-dīn, zamindar of Bīrbhum) to Rajmahal, thence through minor places to Dacca, thence through Bhaluah and minor places to Arrakan, always heroically contesting every inch of ground against the hosts of Aurangzeb, led by his General Muazzam Khān *alias* Mir Jumla, but every time baffled by the treachery of so-called adherents, barring a noble band of Barha Syeds who clung to him to the last. (See pp. 495 to 561, *Alamgirnamah*, Pers. text).

Princess Royal, no one except Dara Shekoh was near the Emperor, the reins of Imperial administration were assigned to him. Dara Shekoh, viewing himself to be the Crown-Prince, fully grasped the threads of Imperial administration. Owing to this, Prince Murad Baksh in Gujrat had the *Khutbah* read after his own name, whilst in Bengal, Muhammad Shuj'a proclaimed himself King, and marshalling his forces, marched towards Patna and Behar, and advancing thence, reached the environs of Benares. On hearing this news, Dara Shekoh, during the serious illness of the Emperor, marched with the latter from Shāhjahanabad (Delhi), to Akbarabad (Agra), on the 20th Muharram, 1068, A.H corresponding to the 31st year of the Emperor's accession, and on the 19th Safar, reached Akbarabad (Agra). From this place, Dara Shekoh detached Raja Jai Singh Kachhah, who was a leading Rajah and a principal member of the Empire, together with other leading noblemen, such as Diler Khān, Salabat Khān and Izad Singh, and other officers holding the ranks of *Panjhazari* and *Chaharhazari*, besides a large army composed of his own and the Imperial troops, along with guns and armaments, under the general command of Sulaiman Shekoh, his eldest son, in order to fight against Muhammad Shuj'a. Accordingly, these marched from Agra on the 4th of the month of Rabiul-Awwal of the aforesaid year, and set out on the aforesaid expedition. And after marching several stages, and passing through the city of Benares, these encamped at the village of Bahadurpur (which is situated on the bank of the Ganges at a distance of two and a half *kroh* from the city of Benares) to a distance of one and a half *kroh* from Muhammad Shuj'a's army. Both the armies exhibited military stategy and tactics, and sought for an opportunity to surprise the other. In consequence neither side made a sally. On the 21st Jamadiul-Awwal, the Imperialists made a feint as if to shift their camp, but suddenly wheeled round, and rushed Shuj'a's army, which was completely taken by surprise. On hearing the news of the feint retreat of the Imperialists on the previous day, Shuj'a had neglected his war-preparations, and was fast asleep. Being thus taken by surprise, he woke up from his slumber, and mounting a female elephant, he moved about restlessly. But the game was already up, especially as Raja Jai Singh making a dashing flank movement from the left side, closed in upon him. Seeing no alternative, Shāh Shuj'a got into his war-vessels which he had brought

up from Bengal, and sailed down swiftly, abondoning his treasures, guns, horses, baggages and tents. Sailing swiftly down Patna, he reached Mungir, and prepared to fortify it, and halted there for some days. Sulaiman Shekoh's army, after plundering and ravaging and slaughtering and capturing, followed up Muhammad Shuj'a, and reached Mungir. Muhammad Shuj'a, finding it impossible to stand his ground there, fled with the swiftness of lightning and air, and entered Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). The Imperial army reduced to subjection the Ṣubah of Patna and Behar.[1] But in the meantime, Aurangzeb had marched from the Dakhin[2] towards the Imperial Presence, and on the outskirts of the Narbadda had fought an engagement with a numerous horde of Imperialists, and after sanguinary fightings had inflicted a signal defeat, and had marched to Shāhjahānabad, and entered the Capital. Deputing his eldest son, Sulṭān Muhammad, to be near the Emperor, Aurangzeb put the latter under surveillance, and killed Dara Shekoh[3] after much warfare, and in the holy month of Ramzan 1069 A.H. ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi. Sulaiman Shekoh, on hearing the news of Dara Shekoh's defeat, gave up the pursuit of Shāh Shuj'a, and retreated towards Shāhjahānabad (Delhi). Muhammad Shuj'a fancying that the struggle between Dara Shekoh and Aurangzeb would be a protracted one, thought his opportunity had come, and by the bad advice of Alīvardī Khān and Mirza Jān Beg and other members of his Government,

[1] The *Alamgirnamah*, p. 31 (from which the account here in the text appears to be borrowed) says: "From Monghyr to Patna became annexed to the Satrapy (*iqṭā*) of Dara Shekoh."

[2] Aurangzeb moved from the Dakhin in 1068 A.H., inflicted a crushing defeat on Dara Shekoh's troops led by Maharaja Jaswant Singh at Ujjain, and also defeated Dara Shekoh near Agra, and then informally proclaimed himself Emperor in 1069 A.H. (See *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 59 to 86, and pp. 87 to 108).

[3] Dara Shekoh, after his defeat by Aurangzeb near Agra, fled to Delhi, and thence to Lahore, and after various adventures in the Panjab, Gujrat and Kabul was captured by Jiwan, zamindar of Dadar, and made over to Aurangzeb who caused him to be imprisoned and subsequently slain, and his body buried in the mausoleum of Humayun at Delhi. (See *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 433 and 408). Those who take an interest in Dara Shekoh's adventures after his flight, will find a full account of the same in the *Alamgirnamah*. Dara Shekoh was a free-thinker and a pro-Hindu, and if he had succeeded to the throne, he would have out-Akbared Akbar in his pro-Hindu policy. Aurangzeb was the reverse of Dara Shekoh; he was a champion of Islām, and an iconoclast like Mahmud of Ghazni or Shāhabu-d-dīn Ghori.

refurbishing his sword, laid claim as his heritage to the suzerainty of Bengal, and with a large and formidable army marched towards the Capital of Hindustan. As before Shuj'a's arrival, the struggle in Hindustan between Aurangzeb and Dara Shekoh had terminated, and Aurangzeb had already mounted the Imperial throne, on hearing this news of Shuj'a's march, Aurangzeb with his entire army of Hindustan swiftly marched, and at Kachwah the two armies encountered each other, and a battle was fought.

The armies were arrayed on both sides,
They stood forth like mountains on a plain.
When the armies from both sides approached each other,
From the dark dust that arose, the universe turned dark.
When from both sides they struck up drums of war,
The lion-like heroes spread their claws to smite.
Tumult arose from drums,
The ear of the world was deafened.
From guns and muskets, rockets and arrows,
Security in the world fled to a corner.
From the smoke of gun-wagons that mingled with the atmosphere,
The sky became hidden from the world's view.
The spear warmed in slaughtering,
And whispered messages of destruction into the ear of Life.
The lightning of the sword kindled fire so much,
That it burnt the harvest of existence.
The fire of warfare blazed up so keenly,
That it scorched the heart of Mars aloft on the sky.

After much exertions and fightings, Aurangzeb's army was defeated. Aurangzeb, however, with a number of noblemen and some gunners, stood his ground on the battle-field. Alivardi Khān, the generalissimo of Shāh Shuj'a's force, attempted to capture Aurangzeb and checkmate him. As God has bestowed greater wisdom on Sovereigns than on the mass of mankind, and as in military affairs, Sovereigns are endowed with a more accurate perception of the situation, that wise sovereign (Aurangzeb) observing the adage that "war is fraud," deceived the aforesaid Khān by holding out to him the chance of being appointed Prime Minister, and said that if the latter could induce Muhammad Shuj'a to

dismount from his elephant and to mount a horse, he would win this game. The aforesaid Khān, seduced by the bait held out by Aurangzeb, played false with his own old benefactor, and spoke to Muhammad Shuj'a as follows: "Victory has been already achieved by our army, and the enemy's force has been defeated. As cannon-balls, and rockets and arrows are raining from every side, it is possible that the Royal elephant might be hit; it is therefore advisable that your Highness should dismount from your elephant and mount a horse. By the good luck of your Highness, I would immediately capture and fetch 'Alamgīr." Instantly as Shāh Shuj'a mounted a horse, the aforesaid Khān sent information to 'Alamgīr. 'Alamgīr immediately adopted the *ruse* of causing the music of victory to be struck up. And since the army did not find Shāh Shuj'a on the elephant, news spread in the army about the victory of 'Alamgīr and the defeat of Shāh Shuj'a. Shuj'a's force fled panic-stricken, thinking that Shuj'a had been killed. Although Shuj'a made exertions to stop the panic and prevent the flight, these were in vain. Hence the adage is "Shuj'a lost a winning game." The army of Aurangzeb collecting together, made an onslaught. When Shāh Shuj'a found that he had lost the game, he was obliged to take to flight, and fled to Bengal, and fortifying the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali, he entrenched himself at Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). 'Alamgīr appointed Nawab Mu'azzam Khān, Khān-i-Khanan, the Generalissimo, to be Ṣubadar or Viceroy of Bengal. And detaching twenty-two renowned noblemen, like Nawab Islām Khān, Dīler Khān, Daūd Khān, Fateh Jang Khān, and Ihtisham Khān, etc., under the command of Sulṭān Muhammad, to pursue Shāh Shuj'a, Aurangzeb himself triumphant and victorious marched back towards the Capital (Delhi).

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VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB MU'AZZAM KHĀN, KHAN-I-KHANAN.

When Nawab Mu'azzam Khān was appointed Ṣubadar of Bengal, he marched towards Bengal with a large army. As the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali had been fortified by Shāh Shuj'a, viewing the forcing of those defiles to be a difficult operation, with twelve thousand soldiers he swiftly marched to Bengal

by way of Jharkand[1] and the mountains. When the contending armies approached each other, Shāh Shuj'a finding it impracticable to tarry at Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) caused 'Alivardi Khān, who was the root of all this mischief, to be slain, himself retired to Tandah, and erecting redoubts, fortified himself there. When the two forces approached each other, separated by the river Ganges, one day Shārif Khān, who was a source of mischief, and Fateh Jang Khān, getting into boats, crossed over to the northern bank, and they were similarly followed by others. From the northern side of the bank, as soon as Sharif Khān landed, the soldiers of Shāh Shuj'a gave battle. Nearly seventy persons who had reached the banks were killed and slaughtered. The remaining boats retired from the middle of the river. Sultān Shuj'a ordered the wounded persons to be killed; but Shāh Neamatullah Firuzpuri expostulated. Shāh Shuj'a who had great faith in this Saint made over to the latter Sharif Khān together with other wounded prisoners. The Saint nursed them, and after their wounds had healed up sent them back to their army. But Sultān Muhammad, desiring to desert to his uncle, came alone to meet the latter, and receiving much kindness from his uncle, stayed on with him. Sultān Shuj'a gave his daughter in marriage to him. Sultān Muhammad, on the side of Sultān Shuj'a, fought several battles with the Imperialists, consisting of the Khān-i-Khanan[2] and Diler Khān, &c.

1 The *Alamgirnamah* indicates that at the time Shāh Shuj'a had halted at Monghyr, fortifying the place. Then Rajah Bahroz, zamindar or Rajah of Kharakpur, who professed loyalty to Shāh Shuj'a, but in reality was a traitor secretly intrigued with Aurangzeb's general, Mīr Jumla *alias* Mu'azzam Khān, and showed the latter another *route* across the hills to the east of Monghyr. In covering this *route*, Mir Jumla had to make a detour of several miles; and Shāh Shuj'a finding that he was being out-flanked, instantly sailed down on his war-vessels from Monghyr Fort to Rangamatī and Rajmahal, and on the way fortified the passes of Teliagadhi and Sakrigali, which were then regarded as the 'key' to Bengal.

2 A full account of his life will be found in the *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 530, Pers. text.

From it, it appears that his name was Mīr Muhammad Said Mīr Jumla, and his titles were "Mu'azzam Khān, Khān-i-Khanan Sipasalār." He came from Ardastan, first served under Sultān Abdullah Qutb Shāh, ruler of Golkondah, where he attained great eminence. Falling out with Qutb Shāh, he joined Prince Aurangzeb who was then in the Dakhin. His great services were (1) the conquest of Bijapur, (2) the extirpation of Shāh Shuj'a, (3) the conquests of Kuch Behar and Assam. He was a statesman of great sagacity

At length, on finding Sulṭān Shuj'a negligent and apathetic, Sulṭān Muhammad went over again to the side of the Imperialists, and from thence to the presence of Emperor Aurangzeb at Shāh Jahānabad, where he was imprisoned.[1] And orders were repeated to the Khān-i-Khanan to pursue Sulṭān Shuj'a. In short, one day when Dīler Khān, &c., crossed the river at Paglaghat, Dīler Khān's son, with a number of efficient men, was drowned. Sulṭān Shuj'a with his dependants and adherents, getting into war-vessels which had been brought up from Jahangīrnagar (Dacca), set out for the latter place. The Khān-i-Khanan[2] also followed him up by land. Finding it impossible to make a stand at this place either, Sulṭān Shuj'a with a number of followers took the road to Assam, and from thence proceeded to Arrakan, and took shelter with the ruler of that tract, who was a Syed,[3] and in a short time he died there, either owing to the treachery of the ruler of that tract, or from natural disease. When in the period of anarchy under Sulṭān Shuj'a, Bhim Narain, Rajah of Kuch Behar,[4] becoming daring, with a large force attacked Ghoraghat,

and foresight, and as a general, he was matchless in his day. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 555, Vol III, Pers. text).

1 Details of Sulṭān Muhammad's desertion to Shāh Shuj'a, and his subsequent secession, are given in the *Alamgirnamah*.

2 Details of Shāh Shuj'a's fightings and adventures are given in the *Alamgirnamah*. See notes, *ante*.

3 The description in the *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 557 to 562, shows that the ruler of Arrakan was *neither a Syed nor a Mussulman*, but a Buddhist. It also appears from the *Alamgirnamah* that setting out from Tandah on boats, Sulṭān Shuj'a reached Dacca (Jahangirnagar) where his eldest son Zainu-d-dīn had been from before. Zainu-d-dīn had arranged with the Rajah of Arrakan to escort Sulṭān Shuj'a to Arrakan, on the latter's arrival at Dacca. At this time, Manūar Khān, a zamindar of Jahangirnagar, proved obstructive to Zainu-d-dīn's plans, and so he (Manūar) was first chastised with the help of the Arrakanese. Starting from Dacca on boats, guarded by the Arrakanese, Shuj'a passed through Dhapa (4 *kos* from Dacca), Sīrīpur (12 *kos* north of Dacca), Bhaluah (which then formed the southern limit of the Mughal dominions in Bengal), and thence to Arrakan. One who cares to note names of old Bengal towns, may profitably read this portion of the *Alamgirnamah*.

4 In the *Alamgirnamah* (p. 676), he is called " Bim Narain, zamindar of Kuch Behar." It is stated therein that hitherto he used to regularly pay tribute to the Emperor, but that during the chaos which arose owing to Emperor Shāh Jahān's illness, and owing to Shāh Shuj'a march to Patna, in order to lay claim to the Imperial throne, Bim Narain ceased paying tribute, and invaded Ghoraghat or Rangpur and subsequently Kamrup,

he captured a large number of the Musalman residents, male and female, of that place, and with the object of conquering Kamrup, to which Province pertained the tracts of Hajo and Gauhati, and which was included in the Imperial domains, he despatched his minister named Sahnanath [1] with a large force. On the news of this invasion, the Rajah of Assam [2] shewing short-sightedness sent also a large force by land and water towards Kamrup. Mir Lutfullah Shirazi, who was Faujdar of the Province of Kamrup,[3] seeing from both sides torrents of invasion overtaking him, and despairing of relief, and being certain about the absence of Imperial auxiliaries, quickly got into a boat, and reached Jahangirnagar or Dacca, and rescued himself from the impending danger. And Sahnanath, not being able to cope with the Assamese, acting up to the saying: "To return is better," retired to his own country. The Assamese, without contest, conquered the province of Kamrup, swept it with the broom of plunder, carried by force to their own country all and everything, including the moveable and immoveable effects of the people, pulled down the edifices, left no trace of fertility, and reduced the whole province to one plain, level ground. As Sultān Shuj'a was occupied with his own affairs, the infidels of Assam finding an opportunity conquered the environs of mauza Kadi Bari, which is five stages from Jahangirnagar, and placing a garrison at the village of Tabsilah near Kadibari, raised the standard of daring and insurrection. Consequently, when the Khān-i-Khanan reached Jahangirnagar, after devoting himself for some time to administrative business, he collected war-vessels and artillery and other armaments, and leaving Ihtisham Khān to protect Jahangirnagar (Dacca) and its environs, and appointing Rai Bhogati Das Shujāi to charge of financial and internal affairs, in the 4th

According to the *Iqbalnamah-i-Jahangiri* (p. 110), Lachmi Narain, "zamindar of Kuch Behar" also used to pay homage and tribute to Emperor Jahangir.

[1] In *Alamgirnamah* (p. 678), "Bholanath."

[2] His name was Ji dhaj Singh. (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 678).

[3] See *Alamagirnamah*, a contemporary record, p. 678. Lutfullah Shirazi, the Faujdar of Kamrup, retired on war-boats from Kamrup to Jahangirnagar (Dacca). The Koch also withdrew, on finding that the Assamese had invaded Kamrup. The Assamese advanced up to Karibari which is five *manzal* from Dacca, and established a military out-post at Mast Salah, close to Karibari. (See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 679).

year[1] of Emperor Aurangzeb's accession, corresponding to 1072 A.H., he set out on an expedition towards the conquest of the Kingdoms of Kuch Behar and Assam, sending forward by the river-route, artillery, &c., and himself pushing on by land with a force of twenty thousand efficient cavalry and numerous infantry, *viâ* a hill which was frontier of the Imperial dominions. In a short time, he subdued the Kingdom of Kuch Behar up to Gauhati. After this, he pushed on with his forces to conquer Assam. In the meanwhile, the Emperor's order came, directing him to march to Arrakan, in order to rescue the children and ladies of the household of Shāh Shuj'a from distress and from imprisonment at the hands of the Arrakanese, and to send them up to the Imperial presence. The Khān in reply to the Imperial order, represented that the Imperial troops were busy in fighting to conquer the provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam, and that to march to Arrakan, without accomplishing the conquest of the aforesaid two provinces, was opposed to expediency, and that he would postpone the expedition to Arrakan to next year, and that this year, he would set about subjugating the

1 The Khān-i-Khanan (Muazzam Khān) set out from Khizapur (which has been identified to be a place close to Naraingan j) with war-vessels, on 17th Rabiul-Awwal 1072 A.H., for the conquest of Kuch Behar, leaving Mukhalis Khān as Governor of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) and Ihtisham Khān as Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) and Bhagoti Dass as Diwan under the latter, and reached Baritollah, the Imperial frontier out-post. The *Alamgirnamah* mentions that at the time three land-routes lay to Kuch Behar:—(1) *viâ* the Murang! (2) *viâ* the Doars, (3) *viâ* Ghoraghat or Rangpur. The Khān-i-Khanan sent out scouts to ascertain which *route* was the best, and then chose the Ghoraghat route, by which he pushed on with his forces by land, sending out another force by the river on war-vessels, the two forces to give cover to each other, and to cover equal distance each day. (See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 683, for a full description of this expedition to Kuch Behar and Assam). The war-vessels passed through a river which joins Ghoraghat with the Brahmaputra, and the Imperialists reached Kuch Behar town. The Rajah (Bim Narain) fled to Bhutan, his minister Bholanath fled to the Murang, and the Imperialists stormed Kuch Behar town, and named it Alamgirnagar. Syed Sadiq, Ṣadr or Chief Justice of Bengal, shouted out the *Azan* from the terrace of the Rajah's palace; the Rajah's son Bishannath embraced Islām, and Isfandyar Beg (who received the title of Isfandyar Khān) was left by the Khān-i-Khanan as Faujdar of Kuch Behar, with Qazi Samu (who was formerly Shāh Shuj'a's officer) as Diwan of Kuch Behar. (See p. 694, *Alamgirnamah*, Pers. text).

provinces of Kuch Behar and Assam. After this, on the 27th Jamadialsani of the aforesaid year, marching from Gauhati, he entered Assam. Fighting by water and by land, he pushed through the jungles, mountains and rivers. And wherever he went he established a garrison. Storming the citadel and palace of the Rajah of that country after much fighting, he gained much booty. After successive battles,[1] the hapless Assammese, being routed, fled and escaped to the hills of Bhutan, and the whole of Assam was conquered. At length, the Rajah of Assam drawing the rein of submission to the neck, and wearing the ring of obedience on the ear, deputed a trustworthy envoy to wait on the Khān-i-Khanan with gifts and presents, and agreed to pay tribute to the Emperor, and also sent his own daughter with goods, rare silk-stuffs, elephants and other rarities in charge of Badli Phukan, for Emperor Aurangzeb. The aforesaid Phukan, with all the presents, reaching the outskirts of the city of Dacca, encamped and prepared

1 After conquering Kuch Behar, the Khān-i-Khanan (Muazzam Khān), proceeded to the banks of the Brahmaputra, with his military and naval forces, and passed through Rangamati. Diler Khān commanded the van, whilst Mīr Murtazza was in charge of the artillery. The Khān-i-Khanan occupied Jogikhapa, and appointed Ataullah to be Faujdar of that place, and then occupying Sirighat, stormed Gauhati, and appointed Muhammad Beg to be Faujdar of Gauhati. After halting at Gauhati for some time, the Khān-i-Khanan marched out, when the Rajahs of Darang (named Makrupanj) and of Daromariah offered tribute and submitted. The Khān-i-Khanan then stormed the fort of Jamdhara, appointed Syed Mirzai Sabzwari (together with Syed Tatar and Rajah Kishin Singh) to be Thanadar of Jamdhara, and appointed Syed Nasir-ud-dīn Khān (together with other Imperial officers) to be Thanadar or commandant of Kilabari, captured 400 Assamese war-vessels with numerous guns and armaments and stores, occupied Solagadha, Lakhokadh, Diwalgaon, Kajpur, and Kargon or Gargaon, the capital of Assam, captured 208 battering guns, 100 elephants, and 3 *lacs* of specie in gold and silver, 675 other guns, 1,000 war-vessels, with other armaments and stores. (See description of Gargaon, the old Assam capital, in p. 728, *Alamgirnamah*). When the rains set in, the Khān-i-Khanan encamped at Mathurapur, which was a high place, about 3 *kroh* distant from Gargaon, leaving Mīr Murtazza with Rajah Amar Singh and others in charge of Gargaon, and appointing Syed Muhammad as Diwan, and Muhammad 'Abid to confiscate the effects of the Rajah who had fled to the hills of Kamrup, and Meana Khān in charge of Salpani, and Ghazi Khān in charge of Dewpanī, and Jallal to protect the banks of the Dhank river. The whole of Dakhinkul and portions of Uttarkul were subdued by the Imperialists (p. 736, *Alamgirnamah*).

to set out for the Imperial capital. In that the sorcery of the Assamese is well known, the Khān-i-Khanan was affected by their sorcery. For some time he was laid up with pains on the liver and heart; daily these increased, and pointed to a fatal termination. Although he got himself treated, no beneficial effect was perceptible. He was, therefore, obliged to leave behind Mīr Murtaza and other commanders. Leaving garrisons at every strategic point, he proceeded to a hill, and from thence, owing to his illness increasing, he set out [1] on a barge for Jahangīrnagar (Dacca). At a distance of two *kroh* from Khizrpur, on the 2nd of the month of Ramzan 1073 A.H., corresponding to the 5th year of Emperor Aurangzeb's accession, he died on board the vessel.[2] Subsequently, the garrisons of the outposts evacuated their outlying posts, but the Rajah's daughter stayed behind with the tribute, as the Rajah refused to take her back into his household.

1 After the rains set in, the Rajah of Assam with his army came down from the hills of Kamrup, and gave some trouble to the Imperialists, who suffered also from ague and diarrhœa. At length, the Rajah sued for peace, and the Khān-i-Khanan, who had fallen ill, granted it on the following terms (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 808):—

1. That the Rajah should send his sister and a daughter of Rajah Patam together with 20,000 *tolas* of gold, and 20,000 tolas of silver, and 20 elephants by way of tribute, besides 15 elephants for the Khān-i-Khanan, and 5 elephants for Diler Khān.

2. That in course of next 12 months, the Rajah of Assam should send 3 *lak* tola of silver and 90 elephants to the Emperor, and that every year he should send 20 elephants to the Emperor, and that till the payment of the indemnity, 4 leading Assamese noblemen should be given as hostages.

3. That Darang (in the Uttarkul) and Biltali and Domariah (in the Dakhinkul) should be subject to the Emperor, and that in the Dakhinkul, the delimitation line between Assam and the Imperial dominions should be the river Kalang, and in the Uttarkul it should be Ālībarārī. Rahmat Banū, a daughter of the Assam Rajah, was given in marriage to Prince Muhammad Azam, her dower being one *lak* and Rs. 80,000. (See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 73).

2 See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 812. He was Viceroy of Bengal from 1658 to 1663. He died near Dacca in 30th March, 1663. In 1661, he had threatened to expel the English merchants from Hughli.—These, however, prudently submitted and were pardoned, on their tendering an apology through their Hughli agent, Trivisa, on their agreeing to pay Rs. 3,000 annually. See Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 35.

VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB AMIR-UL-UMARA SHAISTA KHAN.

After the Khān-i-Khanan's death, the office of Ṣubadar of Bengal being conferred on Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khān, the latter arrived in Bengal. For some years devoting himself to administrative work, he administered justice and promoted the welfare of the people. Bestowing grants of villages and lands on widows of nobles and others in straitened circumstances, he made them well-off. Spies informed the Emperor, whereon Shaista Khān [1] himself went to the latter and explained the true state of things. As the alleged dissipation of the Imperial revenue was unfounded, he was re-invested with the *Khellat* of appointment, and sent back to Bengal.[2] But as the Khān was

1 Shaista Khān was a son of Eminu-d-daulah Aṣaf Khān, and a brother of Mumtaz Mahal, wife of Shah Jahan. His name was Mirza Abū Talib, and his titles were "Amir-ul-Umara Shāista Khan." In the reign of Shah-jahan, he became a *Panjhazari* and Nazim of Balaghat in the Dakhin, and subsequently Subadar of Behar and Patna, when he invaded Palaon (Palamu) and subdued Partab, Zamindar of Palaon (Palamu). He then became Ṣubadar of Malwah and Gujrat and subsequently Viceroy of all the Subahs of the Dakhin. He rendered good services to Aurangzeb in the latter's fightings with Dara Shekoh and Sulaiman Shekoh. On the death of Mir Jumla, he became Viceroy of Bengal in 1664 A.C. He chastised thoroughly the Mag pirates who harried the coasts of Bengal, and wrested from them (chiefly through the exertions of his own son, Buzurg Umed Khan) the fort of Chittagong, and named it Islamabad (*Alamgirnamah*, p. 940). He subsequently became a *Hafthazari* and Viceroy of Agra, where he died in 1105 A.H. He was held in high esteem by Emperor Aurangzeb, who lavished on him high privileges and semi-regal honours. With all his greatness, Shāista Khān was meek and humble, courteous and affable, just and liberal, brave, noble, and enlightened. He established mosques with madrassas, rest-houses, bridges, and roads throughout India, and his charities were wide. He was married to a daughter of Shāh Nawaz Khān, son of Abdur Rahim Khān Khānan. He forms a prominent figure in connection with the early commercial enterprises of the English East India Company. (See Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. 1, pp. 48—99 and 111, and Hunter's "History of British India," Vol. 2, pp. 238—266). Nawab Shāista Khān's Viceroyalty in Bengal forms a brilliant chapter in the Mughal annals of Bengal, as during it many useful public works, such as *serais*, bridges, and roads were constructed, and the economic and agricultural condition of the people attained an unique degree of prosperity, in that a maund of rice sold in the *bazar* for *two annas only* (See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 167 and 368, and *Maasir-ul-umara*, Vol. 2, p. 690).

2 Shaista Khan was Aurangzeb's Viceroy of Bengal for a quarter of a

not desirous of staying in this Province, he used constantly to write letters to the Emperor, requesting permission to kiss the Royal feet, and begging deputation of some other officer to assume the office of Ṣubadar of this Province. At first his resignation was not accepted; but at length, owing to Shaista Khan's importunities, the Nizamat was bestowed on Nawab Ibrahīm Khān, a son of 'Alimardan Khān *Yar Ofadar*. Traces of the beneficent administration of the Nawab Amir-ul-umara are known not only in Bengal, but throughout Hindustan. One is this, that during his Nizamat the cheapness of food-grains was so great that for a *damrī*,[1] one seer of rice could be purchased in the market. At the time of his return to the capital Shāhjahanabad (Delhi), he caused the following inscription to be engraved on the western gate of Jahangīrnagar (Dacca): "Let him only open this gate that can shew the selling rate of rice as cheap as this." From his time onward till the *regimé* of Nawab Shujaud-dīn Muhammad Khān, this gate remained closed. In the period of the Viceroyalty of Nawab Sarfaraz Khān, the gate was again opened, as will be mentioned hereafter. The *Katrah* and other buildings of the 'Amir-ul-umara[2] up to this day exist in Jahangīrnagar (Dacca)."[3]

century with a short break, that is, from 1664 to 1680 A.C. He died in 1694 in his 93rd lunar year. For his *parwana* of pardon to the English in 1687, see Hunter's History Vol. 2, p. 260, f.n.

1 *A dam* was equal to the fortieth part of the rupee, and a *damri* was equal to one-eighth part of a *dam* (See Āin-i-Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 31), that is, 320 *damris* made up one rupee. Therefore, during Shaista Khān's Viceroyalty in Bengal, for one rupee 8 maunds of rice could be had, in other words, the price, per maund, of rice was *two* annas only.

2 The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* (p. 368) is highly eulogistic in praise of Nawab Shaista Khān. It says that he established numerous caravanserais and erected numerous bridges throughout India. His great achievements in Bengal were (1) the Conquest of Chittagong which was named by him Islamābād (for details see *Alamgirnamah*, p. 940); (2) the extirpation of the Mag pirates; (3) the improvement of the economic and agricultural condition of Bengal; and (4) construction of numerous useful public works. (See also *Maasir-ul-umara*, p. 690, Vol. II). During his Viceroyalty, Duldan Namjal, Rajah of Tībat (through the exertions of Saif Khān Ṣūbadar of Kashmir, Murad Khān, zamindar of Tibat-i-Khurd, and Muhammad Shafi envoy) submitted to Aurangzeb (*pp.* 921-922, *Alamgirnamah*).

3 It is stange that the author of the *Riyaz* in his account of the Viceroyalty of Nawab Shaista Khān should have omitted all mention of the Nawab's greatest military achievements in Bengal, *viz.*, the chastisement of

VICEROYALTY OF NAWAB IBRAHIM KHAN.[1]

Nawab Ibrahim Khān on being invested with the Khillat of the Nizāmat of the Ṣubah of Bengal, arrived at Jahangirnagar

the Mag and Portuguese pirates and the re-conquest of Chittagong. I therefore translate freely the following contemporary account from the *Alamgirnamah* (Pers. text, p. 943):—

As the Mags emerging from Arrakan on war-vessels (Nawarah) and taking advantage of the struggle for supremacy between Aurangzeb and Shāh Shuj'a, harried the coasts of Bengal, Emperor Aurangzeb sent out orders to his Bengal Viceroy, Nawab Shaista Khān, to take immediate steps for chastising the Mags. With this object in view, Nawab Shaista Khān first took steps to guard and fortify his southern frontier out-posts. He appointed an Afghan named Said with 500 rocketeers and musketeers to charge of the Noakhali out-post, Muhammad Sharīf, Faujdar of Hughli, with 500 rocketeers, 1,000 infantry and 20 guns to defend the out-post of Sankram-Kadah, and set Muhammad Beg Abakash and Abūl Hassan with the Imperial war-vessels which lay at Siripūr to patrol the river. From Siripūr to 'Alamgirnagar covering a distance of twenty-one *kroh*, an embanked road so that it might not be flooded during the rains was also constructed under the Nawab's order, for military purposes. The Nawab then ordered Abūl Hassan to bring round Dilawar, zamindar of Sandīp, or to punish him, as the latter secretly sided with the Mags. Abūl Hassan attacked Sandīp and fought with Dilawar, who being hit by an arrow fled to the jungles. Meanwhile, the Arrakanese fleet came up to Sandīp to render assistance to Dilawar. Abūl Hassan prepared to assault the Arrakanese fleet, which withdrew, and then Abūl Hasan, not pursuing it, retired to Noakhali. Nawab Shaista Khān, on hearing of this, sent another fleet consisting of 1,500 gunners and 400 cavalry, commanded by Ibn-i-Husain, Superintendent of the *Nawarah* (Fleet),

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[1] Ibrahīm Khān was the eldest son of Amir-ul-Umara 'Alī Mardan Khān. On his father's death, he was made a *Chahar hazari*, and subsequently a *Panjhazari*. He became Ṣūbadar of Kashmir, of Lahor, of Behar, and of Bengal in quick succession. His sons were Zabardast Khān (who chastised the rebel Afghan, Rahīm Khān) and Yaqūb Khān (who became Ṣūbadar of Lahor). He was recalled from Bengal in 1109 A.H. (in the 41st year of Aurangzeb's reign), when Shahzadah Muhammad Azim, *alias* Azimu-sh-Shan, was appointed in his place. (See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 71, 163, and 387, and *Maasir-ul-umara*, Vol. I, p. 295). The English merchants styled him "the most famously just and good nabob" (see Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 124), as he allowed them to return from Madras and finally settle at Sutanuti (future Calcutta) in the first year of his Viceroyalty (1690), after Emperor Aurangzeb had that year granted a 'general pardon' to the English merchants, on their making a most humble submissive petition, and on their 'promising to pay a fine of Rs. 150,000' (See Hunter's India, Vol. 2, pp. 265-266).

(Dacca) and devoted himself to administrative affairs. He unfurled to the oppressed the gates of justice and clemency, and did

Jamal Khān, Serandaz Khān, Qaramal Khān and Muhammad Beg, to re-inforce Abūl Hassan, to co-operate with the latter and occupy Sandīp (Sondīp), and to extirpate its zamindar, Dilawar. Ibn-i-Husain with this re-inforcement moved up to Noakhali, which is in front of Sandīp, and halted there with Muhammad Beg, in order to blockade the passage of the Arrakanese fleet. Abūl Hassan with others then attacked Sandīp, wounded and captured Sharīf, son of Dilawar, and captured also, after severe fighting, Dilawar with his followers, and sent them prisoners to Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in charge of Manūar, zamindar of Jahangīrnagar, and subdued Sandīp. Nawab Shaista Khān, on getting news of the conquest of Sandīp, appointed Abdūl Karīm, brother of Rashīd Khān, to the charge of Sandīp, with 200 cavalry and 1,000 infantry. The Feringīs (Portuguese) were at this time siding with the Arrakanese, so Nawab Shaista Khān first took steps to detach the Feringīs, and for this purpose sent out letters to some of the leading Feringīs. Some of these letters falling into the hands of Karam Kibrī, a Mag, who with a fleet was in the environs of Sandīp, the latter communicated it to the Rajah of Arrakan, who lost confidence in the Feringīs, and ordered that the Feringīs should be deported from Chittagong to Arrakan. The Feringīs of Chittagong getting scent of this set fire to many of the Arrakanese fleet, and fled to Noakhali in the Mughal dominions. Farhad Khān, Commandant of Bhaluah out-post, kept some Feringīs with himself, and sent their leaders to Nawab Shaista Khān to Dacca (Jahangīrnagar). The latter treated them generously. The Nawab then sent out an expedition to Chittagong in charge of his son, Buzurg Umed Khān, of Ikhtiṣaṣ Khān Barha, Sabal Singh Sinsudiāh, Mīanah Khān, Karan Khajī, with 2,000 cavalry. Orders were sent out to Farhad Khān, *Thanadar* of Bhaluah, to move up with Ibn-i-Husain and Manuar zamindar, with the fleet, and to Mīr Murtaza, Superintendent of Artillery, to join Farhad Khān and to cover the latter's front. Captain Moore, Chief of the Portuguese in Chittagong, with his fleet was directed to render loyal services. Kamal, son of the former Rajah of Arrakan, who had taken shelter in Dacca in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, was also directed to go with Mīr Murtaza, and to send conciliatory messages to the Mag Commander of Chittagong. Farhad Khān and Mīr Murtaza proceeded by the land route, whilst Ibn-i-Husain, Muhammad Beg, and Manuar proceeded by the river route. These reached (setting out from Noakhali) Thana Jagdiah, on 16th Rajab; on the 18th Rajab, Farhad Khān with his followers crossed Finny river (Phanī), and on the 24th Rajab reached near a tank, which was one day's distance from Chittagong, and then waited for the General-in-Chief, Buzurg Umed Khān. The latter on 21st Rajab crossed Finny river, and on 25th Rajab reached a point which was 10 *kroh* distant from Chittagong, and 8 *kroh* from Farhad Khān's encampment. The Imperial fleet halted at Domariah village, which was 20 *kroh* from Buzurg Umed Khān's encampment. On 27th Rajab, two naval engagements were

not allow an ant to be oppressed. As Emperor Aurangzeb was engrossed in fighting for twelve years in the Dakhin with Abul Hasan[1] *alias* Tana Shāh, the Ruler of that Province, and with Sīva and Sambha[2] Mahrattas, rebellious zamindars of Sattara, &c., disturbances[3] broke out in several parts of the Empire owing to the Emperor's protracted absence from his capital. In the Subah of Bengal, in the district of Bardwān, Subha Singh, zamindar of Chitwah[4] and Bardah, revolted, whilst Rahim Khān the cut-nosed, who was leader of the Afghāns, joined the former with a contingent of Afghāns. Kishan Ram, zamindar of Bardwan,[5] who smarted under the former's oppressions advanced with his force to encounter him, and was killed. And the latter's wives and children, together with all his effects and

fought, in which the Arrakanese were defeated. The Arrakanese fleet then moved up to the Karanphuli river. Under orders of Buzurg Umed Khān, Mīr Murtaza cutting down the jungles, and laying down a road, moved up by land to near the Karanphuli, to re-inforce the Imperial fleet, Buzurg Umed Khān himself similarly moving up. A severe naval engagement took place in the Karanphuli river, in which the Mags were crushingly defeated, and Buzurg Umed Khān stormed Chittagong fort, captured the Arrakanese fleet, and subdued the whole tract of Chittagong, and 132 Arrakanese war-vessels, with guns, armaments and elephants, were captured. Emperor Aurangzeb ordered Chittagong to be named Islamabad, and conferred gifts on Nawab Shaista Khān, and raised his son Buzurg Umed Khān to the rank of *Hazar-o-Pansadī*, and Farhad Khān to the rank of *Hazar-o-Pansadī*, and conferred on Mīr Murtaza the title of 'Majahid Khān,' and on Ibn-i-Husain the title of Muzaffar Khān, and raised Manuar zamindar to the rank of *Hazar-o-Pansadī*. This conquest of Chittagong took place in the 8th year of Aurangzeb's reign. See *Alamgirnamah*, p. 956.

[1] See *pp.* 259, 144, 143, 244, 245, 269, 285, and 309, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*.

[2] See *pp.* 142, 211, 319, 332, 308, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*.

[3] The text does not narrate another disturbance that had previously broken out on the Assam frontier. The Assamese had attacked the Imperial garrison at Gauhati, and killed its Faujdar, named Syed Firuz Khān. For the purpose of chastising the Assamese, an Imperial expeditionary force was sent out by Aurangzeb to Assam (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 64).

[4] Chitwa or Chatwah is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (see Jarret's Tr. Vol. 2, p. 141) as a *pargana* or *mahal* under Sarkar Madaran. I have failed to trace Bardha, which may be a misprint in the text for Balgarhi, another *mahal* under the same Sarkar, or for Bharkondah (var. Bhargodha), a *mahal* under Sarkar Sharifabad (see *Ain*, Vol. 2, p. 139).

[5] Bardwan appears in the *Ain* (Vol. 2, p. 139) as a *mahal* under Sarkar Shārifabad.

treasures, were captured, and his son, Jagat Rai, taking to his heels, fled to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca), which was the Viceregal capital of Bengal. On hearing of this, Nuru-l-lāh Khān,[1] Faujdār[2] of the Chaklāh of Jasar (Jessore), Hugli, Bardwān, and Mednipur, who was very opulent and had commercial business, and who also held the dignity of a Sehhazāri, marched out from Jasar[3] in order to chastise and subdue the rebels. From the din of the enemy's march, considering himself unable to stand the onset, he retired to the fort of Hugli, and sought for help from the Christian Dutch of Chuchrāh (Chinsurah). The enemy, on getting news of Nurullah's cowardice, promptly set to besiege the fort, and after skirmishes reduced the garrison to straits. And that coward, acting on Shaikh S'adi's couplet:

"When you cannot vanquish the enemy by your might,
You ought to close the gate of disturbance, with largesses,"

throwing away his treasures and effects, considered it lucky to save his own life. With a nose and two ears, clad in a rag, he came out of the fort; and the fort of Hugli, together with all his effects and property fell into the enemy's hands. From the occurrence of this disaster there was a universal commotion. The leading gentry and nobility of the town and suburbs, and the merchants and residents of the environs, together with their effects, took refuge in Chuchrāh (Chinsurah), which was a place of security. The Dutch leaders sailed up to the foot of the fort with two ships loaded with soldiers and armaments, and by a shower of cannon-balls, they battered the buildings of the fort, and flooded the harvest of numerous lives with the torrent of destruction. Subha Singh, not arranging terms of peace, fled to Satgaon, close to Hugli, and there, too, not finding

1 This Nurullah Khān appears to have been subsequently promoted by Aurangzeb to the post of Deputy Ṣubadar of Orissa (See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 169).

2 *Ain*, II, says: "In the same way that His Majesty (Emperor Akbar), for the prosperity of the Empire, has appointed a Commander of the forces for each Province, so by his rectitude of judgment, &c., . . . he apportions several pargannahs to the care of one of his trusty, just and disinterested servants, called a Faujdar." (See *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, p. 40).

3 Apparently, Jessore or Jasar at the time formed the head-quarters station of the Mughal Faujdar of the Chaklah or Division, including Jessore, Hughli, Bardwan, and Mednipur districts.

it practicable to tarry, retired to Bardwan, and under the lead of Raḥim Khân marched thence with his rabble towards Nadia and Murshidabād, which was then called Makhsusabad. Amongst the women and children of the slain Kishan Ram that were captives in the oppressive grip of Subhā Singh, the former's daughter was adorned with the ornaments of beauty and elegance and of chastity and modesty. That wretch of a villain (Ṣubha Singh) plotted to stain the hem of the maiden's chastity with the filth of defilement. As fate would have it, that dog of a night wanted to pounce on that maiden,[1] and through seduction of Satan, it stretched out its hand towards her. That lion-like maiden with the swiftness of the wink of blood-shedding eyes, by means of a sharp knife which she secreted with herself for such an occasion, cut him up from below the navel to the belly, and with the same sharp knife cut asunder the thread of her own life. When this world-consuming fire was extinguished, another arose in the person of that villain's brother, by the name of Himat Singh. The latter also resolved to set the world on fire, and attempted to plunder and pillage the Imperial domains. And Raḥim Khān, owing to the strength of his rabble and clan, styled himself Raḥim Shāh. Placing crookedly on the head of pride the cap of vanity, and collecting a large number of low and ignorant *badmashes*, he redoubled the flame of insurrection,[2] so that from Bardwan to Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) on the west of the Ganges, half the Province of Bengal was harried by him. And whoever amongst the Imperial adherents refused to submit to him was punished and tortured. Amongst them, in the environs of Murshidabad, there lived an Imperial officer, named Neamat Khan, with his family and dependants. When he refused to join Raḥim Shāh the latter, thirsty for his blood, ordered his head to be brought. Seeing the measure of his life full to the brim, Neamat Khan prepared to drink out of the cup of martyrdom, and advanced to the field. Tauhar Khān, his nephew, who was as brave as his name implied, spurring on his charger, made a brave onset. At length the forces of the enemy hemmed him in, and from every side attacked him, so that he drank the syrup of martyrdom, and his comrades, one after another, were levelled

[1] Literally, "Chinese deer."

[2] This opportunity was utilised by the English for fortifying their new settlement in Calcutta—See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 147.

round him on the bed of annihilation. Neamat Khān, on seeing this, without cuirass and armour, tying a sword to his unlined garment, mounted a swift charger, cut through the right and left wings of the enemy's force, and, dashing up to the centre, inflicted a cut on the head of Raḥim Shāh. As fate would have it, Neamat's sword striking against the latter's helmet broke. From ferocity of disappointed rage, putting his grip on Raḥim's face and seizing his waist with the hand, by sheer strength, Neamat dismounted Raḥim from his horse and threw him on the ground. With great agility then springing from his own horse, Neamat sat on the top of Raḥim's chest, and drawing a dagger from his waist struck him on the throat. Accidentally, the dagger got entwined in the link of the cuirass of Raḥim and did not penetrate through to his throat. Meanwhile, the adherents of Rahim Shāh coming up wounded Neamat Khān, by inflicting cuts on him with swords and spears, so that he was disabled, and dragging him down from his saddle, they threw him down on the ground. Raḥim Shāh, recovering life in a way a second time, remained unhurt and unscathed. And they carried Neamat Khan to a tent, with his flickering life, in a state of fainting. From excessive thirst, he opened his eyes to signal for water. When the men of Raḥim Shāh brought a cup of water, his feelings revolted against his drinking it out of their hands, and thus with a parched lip he quaffed the goblet of martyrdom. The zamindars of the environs and the news-messengers, in succession, carried this woful news to Nawab Ibrahim Khān, to Jahangirnagar (Dacca). The Nawab, to whom the following couplet is applicable :—

"Although possessed of the strength of a lion,
In seeking vengeance, he was flabby like a soft sword"

owing to pusillanimity, said : "War causes the spilling of blood of God's creatures ; what necessity is there that the blood of people on both sides should be shed ?" And when from messages and news-letters, the gist of this disaster reached the Emperor in the Dakhin, an Imperial order was despatched to Zabardast Khān, son of Ibrahim Khān, conferring on him the office of Faujdar[1]

1 Apparently, Zabardast Khan was appointed to the office of Faujdar

of the *chaklahas* of Bardwan, Mednipur, etc., insisting on the chastisement of the miscreant enemy, and directing the Nazims and Faujdars of the Ṣubahs of Oudh and Allahabad and Behar, that, wherever they might get trace of the enemy, they should capture him with his women and children. It was also proclaimed that whoever would desert the enemy should be granted security of life, and whoever would join the enemy and thereby draw the paint of infamy on the face, should have his family extirpated. And so it came to pass. Shortly after, the Ṣubahdari of Bengal and Behar was conferred on Prince 'Azīmu-sh-s͟han, who was ordered to proceed to Bengal with a number of the Imperial officers.[1] The noble K͟hān, named Zabardast K͟hān, on the very receipt of the Imperial order, fitting out a fleet of war-vessels armed with artillery, sailed up from Jahangīrnagar (Dacca) with a numerous force, and spurred on the charger of war. Raḥim S͟hāh, on hearing news of the approach of the Imperial army of vengeance, swiftly marched to the banks of the Ganges, with a large army, consisting of infantry and cavalry. Zabardast K͟hān, mooring his war-vessels alongside the river-bank, quickly entrenched himself in front of the enemy's force, arrayed his troops for battle, and placed in front of the entrenchment of those Gog-like people the projecting parts of waggons, in the shape of Alexander's wall. On the next day, advancing from his entrenchment, he arrayed his troops, posting armed heroes and warriors in the right and left wings, in the centre, in the van, and in the rear. Placing the artillery in front, he advanced like the wave of the sea, and struck the kettledrum of war. When the din of call to battle resounded in the ear of Raḥim S͟hāh, the latter became perturbed, but moved with his intrepid Afg͟han soldiers to encounter the Imperialists. From the side of the Imperialists, Zabardast K͟hān ordered the artillery to be brought into action, and directed the discharge of muskets and war-rockets. The gunners and musketeers and rocketeers did not slacken their fire, whilst gallant combatants charged with their swords, and worked havoc in the enemy's ranks.

of the *chaklahs* of Jasar, Hugli, Bardwan and Mednipur, in the place of Nurullah K͟han, who was apparently recalled for his pusillanimity.

1 It would appear, like Nurullah, Nawab Ibrahim K͟han was also recalled promptly for exhibition of pusillanimity. The latter was a bookworm and a man of peace.

received from the Emperor a special *Khilāt*, together with a jewelled sword, a high *Mansab* and the Insignia of the *Mahi*[1] Order, and was appointed Ṣūbadar of Bengal and Behar.

For the chastisement of the rebels, he started from the Dakhin with his two sons, named Sultan Karimuddin and Muhammad Farukh Sir for the Ṣubah of Behar, and swiftly arrived in Behar *viâ* Ṣubah Oudh and Allahabad. The Prince issued Royal mandates, as potent as God's decrees, summoning to his presence the Zamindars, 'Amils, and Jagirdars. These appeared in His Highness' presence with tributes and gifts, and were recipients of valuable *Khillats* according to their respective ranks. And attending to the administration of the State affairs, they paid in the revenue and taxes into the Imperial treasury. The fiscal and administrative affairs were entrusted to honest Dīwāns and thrifty *Karkuns*, and Tahsildars were appointed to charges of Circles and Mahals. All of a sudden, news of the victory of Zabardast Khān and of the defeat of Raḥim Shāh arrived through the medium of news-letters. Fancying that the fish of victory and triumph that was worthy of himself might be angled by another, who would go in for reward on account of good services, and fearing that Zabardast Khān, who was a grandson of Nawab 'Alimardan Khān,[2] in recogni-

a daughter of Rup Singh Rathor. He was born on the 6th Jamadi-ul-Awal, 1074 A.H. (in the 8th year of Aurangzeb's reign). (See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 49). He married in 1089 A.H. (in the 21st year of Aurangzeb's reign) a daughter of Kerat Singh, who received as *jihas* or dower Rs. 63,000, jewelleries, one *palki*, five *dūlis* with embroidered and jewelled pillows. (See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 167). He married in the 36th year of Aurangzeb's reign (1103 A.H.) a daughter of Ruh-Allah Khān (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 347). In 1108 A.H. (in the 41st year of Aurangzeb's reign), he succeeded to the Viceroyalty of Bengal, including Kuch Behar, in succession to Ibrahīm Khān. (See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 387). In 1114 A.H., Behar was added to his Bengal Viceroyalty (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 470).

[1] The Order of the *Mahi* was one of the most Exalted Orders founded under the Mughal *regimé* in India.

[2] 'Alī Mardan Khān Amir-ul-Umara rendered important services to the State in the reign of Shāh Jahān, and rose to the offices of Ṣūbadar of Kamshīr and the Panjab and to the rank of a *Hafthasari*. In 1050 A.H., he became Ṣūbadar of Kabul, and also subsequently received the title of Amir-ul-Umara. In 1056 A.H., he invaded Balkh and Badakhshan and partially subjugated those tracts. Subsequently he became again Ṣūbadar of Lahore. In 1067 A.H. he died, and was buried at Lahore. His rectitude of purpose, straightforwardness in conduct, firm loyalty, and sincerity combined with

tion of such valuable services, might be invested with the office of Ṣūbahdar of Bengal, the ambitious S͟hāhzādāh, moving from Ṣūbah Behar, swiftly marched to Rajmahal, and spurring his horse for the chastisement of the rebels advanced with his large force to Bardwan. The Prince ignored Zabardast K͟hān's services, and failed to bestow on him a single word of praise or encouragement. The aforesaid K͟hān, becoming depressed by the apathy of the S͟hahzādāh, and finding his great labours wasted, resolved to proceed to the Emperor. Caring not for the power of the S͟hāhzādāh, he struck the kettle-drum of march, and took the *route* to the Dakhin. Raḥim S͟hāh who, from fear of the fury of that lion of the forest of warfare, had been hiding like the fox and the jackal, in the holes of the mouse and the serpent, finding now an opportunity, brought back water into the rivulet of his ambition, and triumphantly made incursions on the frontiers of Bardwan, Hugli, and Nadia. Pillaging the inhabitants of that tract he desolated it, nay rendered it a den of wild beasts and a nest of owls and crows. After the departure of Zabardast K͟hān the Prince, with great self-reliance, despatched mandates and orders to Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) for conciliating and reassuring the Zamindars and Faujdars. His Highness himself, slowly marching from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), advanced stage by stage, studying the convenience of his troops. The 'Amils, Faujdars, and zamindars, with appropriate contingents drawn from their respective mahals, presented themselves before the Prince with gifts and tributes, and accompanied the latter in his Royal Progress. The ill-fated Raḥim S͟hāh, fancying the news of the approach of the Prince to be a fiction, like his own fate, was sleeping the sleep of negligence. When, however, the news of the approach of the Royal Army reached the ear of that wretch, he hurriedly and anxiously concentrated his Afg͟han levies who were scattered far and near, and prepared for warfare. That royal eagle of the summit of the Empire, caring not for that flock of sparrows,

bravery, soon gave him an unique position amongst the Imperial officers of his day, and he enjoyed the full confidence of his sovereign, who used to call him "*Yar Ofadar*" or the "faithful friend."

His important public works were (1) the irrigation of a large canal joining the river Ravi with Lahore city; (2) the establishment of a splendid public garden called "S͟halamar" together with aqueducts, reservoirs, and fountains, on the banks of that canal, close to Lahore. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 807).

set out unhesitatingly, without baggage and paraphernalia, and pitched his camp in the outskirts of Bardwan. There the Prince suspended the royal pearl of salutary advice to the ear of that contemptible prevaricator, promised reward in the event of acceptance, and threatened vengeance in the event of refusal. That dissembler treated the bright pearl of the order of the Prince ostensibly as the jewel of the ear, but covertly as the gravel of his own eyes, that is, apparently he shewed signs of submission, but in reality, he sowed the thorn of rebellion and dissimulation in the field of his heart. He besought to his assistance Khwajah Anwar, elder brother of Khwajah 'Aṣam,[1] who was a high officer and a boon companion of the Prince, and in fact the latter's prime-minister, and represented that in case the Khwajah came and promised on oaths and re-assured his mind, next morning he would proceed in his company to the Prince's presence, to sue for pardon for misdemeanour. The guileless Prince, ignorant of the wiles of that traitor, assenting to his request, ordered the above Khwajah to proceed early in the morning to Raḥim Shāh's camp, and instructed him to reassure the latter and to fetch him to the Royal *Darbar* to publicly avow submission. Next morning the abovementioned Khwajah, following the order of his master, adopted no measures of precaution, and rode out with a few relations and friends. Halting in front of the camp of Raiḥm Shāh, he sent information, and on horseback remained on the look-out. Hiding his armed Afghan soldiers in his tent, Raḥim Shāh was in pursuit of treachery. Opening towards the envoy the door of wiles and softness, he requested that the Khwajah should enter his camp. Fearing lest smoke might arise from the fire of the reptile, the above Khwajah hesitated to go in, and making promises summoned out Raḥim Shāh. When the demands of both sides resulted in a parley and the object of the mission remained unaccomplished, suddenly Raḥim Shāh with an armed force sallied out of his camp shouting and advanced in front of the Khwajah. From wounds of the tongue it culminated in wounds of the spear. Fathoming the water underneath the straw, Khwajah Anwar, regretted his coming, and wanted to return without ac-

1 Khwajah Aṣam came to Agra from Badakhshan, and subsequently received the titles of "Samṣam-ud-daulah Khan Dauran Amir-ul-Umara." The *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 819, Vol. I, says his elder brother's name was "Khwajah Muhammad Jáfar-Khan." Dauran was wounded in the battle with Nadir Shah, and died in 1151 A.H.

complishing the object of his mission. Rahim S͟hāh, advancing forward, commenced fighting. Being compelled to encounter him, K͟hwajah Anwar gallantly and bravely fought, and made heroic exertions, but being covered with mortal wounds, fell together with a number of his comrades. Finding the field deserted, the Afg͟hans with swords rushed out and attacked the Royal camp of the Prince.

When that scion of the Imperial family
Beheld perfidy in that prevaricator,
And also in regard to the condition of K͟hwajah Anwar,
News arrived that his head had been severed from his body;
His face became cherry from rage,
He called for arms from the armour-bearer.
He placed the cuirass on the shoulder and the helmet on the
head,
From head to foot he became a figure of iron.
He suspended an adamantine sword,
And placed tightly a dagger in his waist.
He tied one sunny shield to his shoulder,
And placed a shining spear in his hand.
He hung a quiver from his waist,
And threw round the shoulder a *Kaianian* bow.[1]
He tied a noose to the top of his *howdah*,
And clutched with the hand an iron mace.
He gave order that the Generals of the army
Should collect quickly near the Royal tents.
At his order, the battle-seeking army
Flocked in towards the Prince.
When the Prince mounted his elephant,
He looked like the sun on a mountain.
The kettledrum of battle was struck, and the army moved,
Like the river waving.
He advanced to the field and raised aloft his standard,
And boldly set himself to put his troops in array.
He arranged his centre and wings:
The right and left wings, the rear and the van.

1 The old Kaianian sovereigns of Persia or Iran were capital archers and marksmen. Their bows were famous for range and precision of shot. See *Namai-Khusruan*, p. 44, for an account of Kaianian Kings.

From the overwhelming number of his force, and from the Imperial prestige,
The world quaked with terror.
He rode up to the battle-field,
But was dilatory in delivering an assault.

When the battle-field was arranged, and the cavalry and infantry, like the men at chess, were set in their proper places, Raḥim S͟hāh made a hostile flank movement, and fought gallantly. A number of Afg͟han troopers clad in cuirass and armed with daggers, by a desperate sally, galloped right through the ranks of the Imperialists, reached the centre, and sought for the Prince, shouting out "Azimu-s͟h-S͟hān." Attacking the Royal elephant with their horses, they prepared to give the final checkmate. The Imperial cavalry and infantry, unable to withstand the onslaughts of those villains, left the Prince in a corner before the enemy and fled. Thus the thread of the arrangement of the Imperial army was snapped. Raḥim S͟hāh, breaking through the entrenchments, attacked the Prince's elephant. At this crisis, and at the sight of this impudent daring, Hamid K͟hān Quraishi,[1] who was standing at a short distance, spurred on his charger like an arrow shot from its bow, attacked Raḥim S͟hāh, and said, "Villain, I am Azimu-s͟h-S͟hān." Promptly discharging a rock-piercing arrow from his quiver, he pierced Raḥim S͟hāh on the chest.

He pulled out his bow from its string
And drew out his *Khadang*[2] arrow from its quiver.
He joined the arrow-notch to the ass's leather,
And aimed at that giant.
When the arrow-notch was shot to take aim,
It pierced through the breast of that fighting demon,
Piercing right through his breast,
It figured like the balance from weight.

In quick succession Hamid K͟hān shot other arrows at the neck of Raḥim S͟hāh's horse, and laid low both its neck and head. Raḥim S͟hāh, owing to two mortal wounds on the breast, was

[1] He was a son of Daud K͟han Quras͟hi. See n. *ante* and *p.* 37 *Maaser-ul-Umara*, vol. 2.

[2] *Khadang* is the white poplar tree of which arrows and bows are prepared.

felled to the ground. Hamid Khān with great agility sprang down from his horse, and sat upon Raḥim Shāh's chest, and severing the villain's head from his body whirled it round on a spear. At the sight of this, the cowardly Afghan soldiery faltered and fled, whilst the standards of those insolent villains were turned upside down. The zephyr of triumph and victory once again blew on the tails of the Imperial banners, and the Imperial band of victory and triumph struck up loudly, whilst cries of "Allah, Allah" resounded from the earth to the sky. The cavalry of the victorious Imperial army chased the vanquished to their tents, and whoever amongst young or old fell across the range of its career became the food of the crocodile of blood-drinking swords; whilst the rest who escaped the sword, scampered off, covered with wounds and racked by anxieties. Much booty and numerous captives fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The fortunate Prince, an associate of triumph and victory, entered Bardwan, and made a pilgrimage to the noble shrine of the saint Shāh Ibrahim[1] Saqqā. Making votive offerings, the Prince entered the citadel, and sent a congratulatory message on this victory to the Emperor, and despatched troops for chastising the adherents and abettors of the miscreant Afghans. Wherever trace could be found of their whereabouts, they were captured and slaughtered, and in a short time the districts of Bardwan, Hugli, and Jasar (Jessore) were purged of the defilement caused by the Afghan raiders. The tracts that had been desolated by the ravages of these rebels once again became fertile. Jagat Rai, son of Kishan Ram, the slain Zamindar of Bardwan, was invested with the khilat of the hereditary Zamindari of his forefathers. In a similar way, other Zamindars of that tract who had been oppressed and banished by the Afghans, were re-assured by Royal Proclamations of goodwill, and re-installed in their hereditary ranks and dignities. Taking fresh settlements of the Khalṣah mahals (crown lands) and of Jagirs, these commenced making collections of rent; whilst the holders of *Tiyuls*[2] and *'Aimahs* and

1 In Stewart, "Bahram." He was a saint who lived at Bardwan, but I have not been able to get details of his career.

2 "Tiyuls" or "Tuyuls" and "Jagirs" are corresponding terms, and signify the same class of land-tenure. These were conferred for a specified time on Manṣabdars in lieu of salaries, and also on others by way of reward during lifetime or a fixed period. In the early Mughal period, the word "tiyul" is frequently mentioned, but it frequently gives way to the word

Altamghas re-entered into the possession of their respective *mahals*. Hamid Khān Quraishi, in recognition of his gallantry was rewarded by the Emperor with the advancement of his manṣab, with the bestowal of the title of Shāmshīr Khān Bahadur, and with the office of Faujdar of Silhat (Sylhet) and Bandasil (?). And the other officers of the Prince, who had rendered good services, according to the measure of their services, and according to their ranks, were honoured with manṣabs and dignities. The Prince halted in the fort of Bardwan, which contained the Residency of the Faujdārs of that district, laid the foundations of buildings, and erected a Cathedral mosque. And in Hugli, he founded Shahganj,[1] *alias*

Jagīr, from Akbar's time. In the time of Sher Shāh, the Afghan king, the word *Jagīr* is also freqnently used. In the Ghorian, Khilji and Tughlak periods, the word 'Iqta,' corresponding to 'Jagīr,' is frequently used. (See Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, Tarikhi Firuz Shāhi, and Āīn-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 270).

Besides the "Jagīrs" or "Iqtas" or "tiyuls," there was another class of land-tenures which were conferred for *benevolent purposes*, were hereditary (unlike *Jagīrs*), and free from revenue and cesses, and imposed no obligations for military or other services. These before Mughal times were called *milk*, *madad-i-mash*, *ayema* and *altamghah*, but were denominated in Mughal times by the Chaghtai word "Sayūrghal." An officer called Ṣadr-i-Jahān, or Administrator-General, was in charge of these Sayūrghals. These were conferred on the following four classes of persons: (1) On enquirers after wisdom who have withdrawn from worldly occupations and make no difference between night and day in searching after knowledge"; (2) on such as practise self-denial and have renounced society of men; (3) on such as are weak and poor and have no strength for enquiry; (4) on honourable men of gentle birth who from want of knowledge are unable to take up a profession." (See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, pp. 353, 382, and 558, and Āīn-i-Akbari, Vol. I, pp. 268, 270, 271, 272).

Sher Shāh was very liberal in conferring these *aimahs* and *altamghas*, which, however, were considerably resumed by Akbar who, on account of his hatred of the Ulama, deprived them of their *madad-i-mash* lands, and banished most of them to Bengal. (See note in *Ain-i-Akhari*, Vol. I, p. 270, and *Badadoni*, Vol. II, pp. 274, 276, 279).

Altamgha, a Turkish word, meant a 'red royal seal or stamp' and also a 'royal grant' of rent-free tenure, which was perpetual, hereditary, and transferable. (See Āīn, Vol. II, p. 57 *n*). In founding this system of Sayurghals or Altamghas, the Musalman Rulers were actuated by a desire to perpetuate the three aristocracies of birth, of character, and of intellect. Care was taken to also maintain more or less permanently the fourth aristocracy of wealth, as the Zamindārs under Mughal Emperors were more or less permanent *quasi*-state functionaries.

[1] Shahganj town lies between Bansbaria and Hughli towns. When

'Azimganj, and named it after himself. And he extended the scope of the *Sayer* taxes that had hitherto been levied only on wares and silk-stuffs. And he levied customs-duties, in the shape of tax,[1] at the rate of 2½ per cent. on the goods of Musalmans, and 5 per cent. on the goods of Hindus and Christians.[2] He held in esteem and respect the learned, the good, and the noble; and in the society of the nobility and the gentry, he discussed the subjects of Theology, Casuistry, Traditions, poetical works of Maulana Rūm[3] (God's mercy be on him), and History. He shewed an anxious solicitude to profit by the advice of saints and he exerted himself to promote the welfare of the realm. One day he sent Sulṭān Kārīmū-d-dīn and Muhammad Farukh-sir to invite over Ṣufī Bāizīd,[4] who was the most glorious amongst the saints of Bardwan. On their approach the saint greeted them with the salutation of "Salam Alaekum." Sulṭān Karīmū-d-dīn, assuming the gravity of princely rank, did not respond; but Farukh-sir walking

I was at Hughli in 1887, I saw at Shahganj an old dilapidated mosque which was said to have been erected by Prince Azimush-Shan.

1 This is another saint of Bardwan, the details of whose career are unknown to me.

2 There is nothing to wonder at in this, for one finds the same invidious distinction in a more accentuated form was observed by another European Christian community in the 16th and 17th centuries. "Moslems were to pay duty on all Merchandise. Portuguese were to be exempt." (See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 145).

3 Maulana Rum is the renowned Mystic or Sufi Persian poet. His name was Maulana Jallalu-d-din. He was born at Balkh in 604 A.H., and died in 672 A.H. He was a great saint. His *Masnavi* is a storehouse of spiritual treasures, and has well been described thus:—

مثنوي مولوي معنـــوي * هست قران در زبان پهلوي

Selflessness was the keynote to his teachings, which further inculcated the cultivation of a constant sense of Divine presence in all human actions. For instance, he says:—

الله الله غير الله نيست كس * الله الله گشت ضارا همنفس

Again:—

الله الله خود چه نيكو كردهٔ * آشكارا هستـــي دور پردهٔ

4 The word used is "*tamgha.*" "In every Kingdom, Government taxes the property of the subject over and above the land-revenue, and this they call *Tamgha.*" (See Āīn-i-Akbari, Vol. II, p. 57).

up barefooted, stood respectfully and after offering salutations communicated his father's message. The saint, being pleased with the courteous behaviour of Farukh-sir, took the latter by the hand, and said: "Sit down, you are Emperor of Hindustan," and he offered prayer for Farukh-sir. The arrow of the saint's prayer reached the butt of Divine acceptance. As a result of courteous behaviour on the part of Farukh-sir, what the sire desired was bestowed on the son. When the saint arrived to meet 'Azimu-sh-Shān, the latter advanced, and making apologies besought the saint's prayer for the attainment of the object which His Highness had in view. The saint said: "What you seek, I have already bestowed on Farukh-sir, and now the discharged arrow cannot be recalled." Offering the Prince benedictions, the saint returned to his own closet. In short, being satisfied with the administrative methods and arrangements introduced in respect of the affairs of the tracts of the *Chaklah* of Bardwan, Hugli, Hijli, and Midnipur, &c., the Prince set out on Imperial war-vessels, constructed by Shāh Shujā, towards Jahangirnagar (Dacca). After arrival at Dacca, he set himself to organise the administration of that tract. When information about certain improper acts of the Prince like practices of *Sauda-i-Khāṣ* and *Sauda-i-'Am*, and the wearing of saffron-coloured red clothes at the time of the *Holi*, which is the *Nauroz* or New Year of the Hindus, through the medium of messages of news-writers and historiographers, reached Emperor Aurangzeb, the latter was annoyed.[1] The Emperor wrote thereon to the Prince as follows: "A Saffron-coloured helmet on thy head, a red garment on thy shoulder, thy venerable age verging on forty-six years; hurrah on thy beard and moustache!" In regard to *Sauda-i-Khāṣ* the Emperor wrote the following across the news-letter, and putting his own signature returned it: "What propriety is there in

[1] Aurangzeb's pen was as much dreaded as his sword. As a writer of caustic and terse letters full of withering sarcasms, few Persian writers surpass Aurangzeb. He was in the habit of constantly writing D.-O. letters to his officers, in order to keep them straight. The reader who wishes to have a taste of Aurangzeb's caustic sarcasm, might turn to the original Persian, as I am afraid I have not been able to convey its full relish in this English dressing. I quote the original Persian :—

چیرهٔ زعفرانی برسر وحلهٔ ارغوانی در برسن شریف چهل وشش - آفرین
برین ریش وفش -

calling public oppression *Sauda-i-Khāṣ*, and what connection has *Sauda*[1]-*i-Khāṣ* with *Sauda-i-'Am*?

Those who purchase—sell;
We neither purchase nor sell."

And by way of censure, to serve as a deterrent, the Emperor reduced the Prince's manṣab by 500. The meanings of *Sauda-i-Khāṣ* and *Sauda-i-'Am* are as follows: "All the goods which arrived on board the mercantile ships at the port of Chatgaon (Chittagong), &c., were bought up on behalf of the Prince,[2] and were styled *Sauda-i-Khāṣ*; afterwards those very goods were re-sold to the merchants of this country, when they were called *Sauda-i-'Am*. When the news-letter containing the Emperor's signature came to be perused by the Prince, the latter abandoned the aforesaid trade. The Emperor Aurangzeb appointed Mirza Hadi to the office of Diwān of the Province of Bengal, after bestowing on him the title of Kār Ṭalab Khān. The Mirza was a sagacious man, and an officer of honesty and integrity. He had already held the office of Diwān of the Ṣūbah of Orissa. In several *Mahals* pertaining to Orissa he had effected retrenchments in expenditure, and had thus become prominent amongst the Imperial officials. He was held matchless in probity and rectitude of purpose. Rendering eminent services, in periods of siege and war, he had got into the good graces of Emperor Aurangzeb. At that period, the reins of the administration of Financial and Revenue affairs, the power over the assessment and collection of revenue, and payments into and disbursements from the Imperial Treasury lay in the hands of the Diwan of the Ṣubah. The Nazim had jurisdiction over the Procedure and Administration of Political affairs, such as the repression and chastisement of the refractory and the disobedient, and the extirpation of rebels and tyrants. Except with regard to the *Jagīrs* attached to the Nizāmat and personal Manṣabs and presents, the Nazim had no power to

[1] The reader might note that there is a pun here on the word '*sauda*,' which in Persian means both 'trade' and 'madness.'

[2] "Azimu-sh-Shān was lazy and covetous. He was ready to concede anything for a sufficient bribe." In July 1698, for the sum of Rs. 16,000, the English were permitted by the Prince to purchase from the existing holders the right of renting the three villages of Calcutta, Sutanati, and Gobindpur. (See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 150).

meddle with the Imperial revenue. Both the Nazim and the Diwan were guided in the administration of the affairs of the Ṣubah by a Procedure Code[1] that was issued year after year by the Emperor, and they were not permitted to deviate from, or infringe, them by a hair-breadth. Kar Talab Khān, being appointed by Emperor to be Diwan of the Ṣubah of Bengal, arrived at Jahangirnagar (Dacca). After waiting on the Prince, he devoted himself to the administration of the fiscal affairs. And the remittances into, and disbursements from, the Treasury being in charge of the abovementioned Khān, the Prince's control over the income and expenditure ceased. The abovementioned Khān, finding that the country was without thorns, and fertile and rich, commenced re-assessment, and deputed sagacious and thrifty Collectors to every *Parganah* and *Chaklah* and Sarkār. And after assessing accurately the Imperial revenue and *sair* taxes, he remitted one *Kror* of rupees to the Emperor, and prepared a complete Revenue-roll of the *Khalsah* mahals (crown lands) and of the *Jagirs*. In former times, owing to the badness of the climate of Bengal, the higher officers did not care to seek for service in this Province, as they fancied it not only fatal to human lives, but as actual haunts of demons. Therefore, the Chief Imperial Diwāns, by way of inducement, conferred numerous *Jagirs* in Bengal on the Bengal Manṣadars. In consequence of this policy, very few Khalsah mahals were left in Bengal, so that the revenue of the mahals of this Ṣubah did not suffice to meet either the pay of the soldiers under the Prince, or that of the *naqdi* troops. Therefore, their pay had to be provided for from revenues of other Ṣubahs. The aforesaid Khan submitted a scheme to the Emperor suggesting allotment of lands in Orissa on account of *Jagirs* to the Bengal Manṣabdars;[2]

[1] The Procedure Code or Manual, containing set rules and regulations on all revenue and administrative affairs, was called in Persian *Dastur-ul-'Amal.* It was issued to all Provincial Governors, Administrators, and officials after being personally approved by the Emperor himself, and every year modifications or additions were made to it with the Emperor's approval. No provincial Administrators, whether Nazims or Diwans, had authority to deviate from the set rules contained in the *Dastur-ul-'Amal. Badaoni* (Vol. I, pp. 384-385) states that in the time of Salim Shah, son of Sher Shah, the *Dastur-ul-Amal* was so comprehensive and explicit that even on Ecclesiastical matters (not to speak of Fiscal or Administrative matters), no reference to Qazis or Muftis was necessary.

[2] The Manṣabdars were the higher officers under the Mughal Emperors;

and this scheme met with the Emperor's approval. The Khān[1] thereon resumed all *Jagirs* in Bengal, together with their *sair* revenues, save and except such as pertained to the Nizamat and the Dīwānī,[2] and allotted in lieu thereof *Jagirs* to the Bengal mansabdars in Orissa, the soil whereof was comparatively worse, poorer, more sterile, and less fertile. By this ingenious stroke of policy, the Khān effected a big surplus in the Bengal revenue to the credit of the Emperor, and squeezed out the profits from the Bengal Zamindars and Jagirdars. And by minute attention to details, he effected considerable retrenchments under the several Heads of the Public Expenditure. Year after year, he enhanced the Revenue-assessments of the Ṣubah, and thus became the recipient of Imperial favours. When the Prince ('Azimu-sh-Shān) found his control over the Bengal revenue diminished, he was constantly in a bad humour. Besides, the rewards which the Khān received for his good services from the Emperor weighed as thorns of envy on the heart of the Prince, and kindled the fire of his jealousy. The Prince schemed to kill the Khān, but failed in his aim. The Prince won over to his side the Commander of *Nuqdi* troops

the term, however, was also used in the times of Sher Shāh. The leading Manṣabdars were either Provincial Governors or Generals in the Army, whilst other Manṣabdars held *Jagirs*. These Manṣabdars sometimes held Manṣab (or office) in one Province or Ṣūbah, and *Jagir* lands in another. (See *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, pp. 241-242, Blochmann's trans.)

[1] Revenue from land was called *Khiraj*. *Jaziayah* was capitation tax levied from non-Moslem subjects in exchange for protection afforded, at the rate of "48 *derhams* for persons of condition, 24 derhams for those of the middle class, and 12 for the lowest class." Over and above the land-revenue, taxes on properties were called "*Tamgha*." Imports on manufactures of respectable kinds were called *Jihat*, and the remainder *Sair Jihat*. *Sair* in its original purport, meant "walking," 'moving,' or 'unstable,' and so came to denote all *unstable* sources of state revenue (barring land-revenue or Khiraj which was stable), such as customs, transit duties, market-tax. (See Vol. II, pp. 57 and 58 and p. 66, *Āin-i-Akbari*, for a list of *Sair* taxes abolished by Emperor Akbar).

[2] *Jagirs* were conferred on Manṣabdars for military service, and on others they were conferred without requiring military service. Before Mughal times the word "Iqta" corresponding to "Jagir" is frequently met with in the Tabaqat-i-Naṣiri as well as in the Tarīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi. But in histories of the Mughal period, the word 'Iqta' is seldom met with, and is replaced by the word *Jagir*. In Akbar's time, an officer called Diwan-i-Jagir or Superintendent of Jagirs was maintained. (See *Āin*, Vol. I, p. 261).

named Abdul Wāhed and the *Naqdi* Contingent under the latter, by holding out promises of rewards and increase in pay. These *naqdi* troops were old Imperial servants. From pride of their strength and from confidence in their number, they did not truckle to the Nāzim or Dīwan of Dacca, and much less to others. From their conceit of being dexterous swordsmen, they fancied others no match for themselves. For their *nonchalance* and *bravado*,[1] they were widely known. These *naqdi* troops were incited to waylay the Khān when opportunity might offer, under the pretext of demand of pay, and to kill him. This wicked Contingent at the instigation of the Prince were on the look-out for an opportunity to kill the Khān. The Khān adopting precautionary measures, always carried in his retinue an escort of armed troops, and never failed to be on the alert whilst going to and from the *Darbar*. One day, however, early of a morning, he rode out unattended to wait on the Prince. On the way, a corps of *naqdis*, under pretext of demanding pay, raised a tumult, and crowded in round the Khān. The latter, displaying great nerve, faced them and drove them away. Ascertaining that the originator of this disturbance was the Prince, he in fury and rage proceeded to the latter. Discarding all official decorum, in an avenging mood, he placed his hand on his dagger, and sat knee to knee with the Prince, and added: "This riot was due to your instigation, desist from this course, or else at this moment I will take your life and give mine." The Prince saw no way of escape, and from fear of the Emperor's resentment he trembled like the aspen. Summoning Abdul Wāhed with his corps, the Prince publicly forbade him from creating tumult and disturbance, and set about soothing the Khān by display of courtesy and affability. The Khān, being freed from anxiety arising from the hostility of his enemies, proceeded to the Diwan-i-Am, demanded the account of *naqdi* troops, levied their pay from Zamīndars, and paying them off cashiered them. And he sent the Emperor an account of their meeting, embodying the same both in the

[1] These *naqdi* troops appear to be a class of *Ahadi* troops who received their pay in cash from the Imperial treasury, and were reckoned immediate servants of the Emperor. They constituted an Imperial Contingent of troops maintained in Provincial capitals, and were thoroughly independent of the local authorities, and were thus dignified by their independence. (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 249 and 231).

Court-Record as well as in the News-sheet.[1] He also submitted to the Emperor a Proceeding signed by the leaders of the riot, together with his own Report. Fearing the ill-humour of the Prince, the Khān resolved to keep himself aloof from the former, and to stay at a safe distance from him. After much deliberation and consultation, he fixed on the excellent site of Makhsusābad, where news of all the four quarters of the Ṣubah could be easily procurable, and which, like the pupil of the eye, was situate in the centre of the important places of the Ṣubah. It had on the north-west the *chaklāh* of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) and the passes of Sakrigali and Tiliagadhi, the 'Key' to Bengal, on the south-west, Bīrbhūm, Pachit and Bishanpur, the road to Jharkand, and the forests and hilly passes for the ingress and egress of free-booters and armies from the Dakhin and Hindustān, on the south-east, the *chaklāh* of Bardwan, the road to Orissa, and Hughli and Hijli (ports for the arrival of ships of Christian and other traders), and the *chaklāhs* of Jasar (Jessore) and Bhūsnāh, and on the east the *chaklāh* of Jahangīrnagar (Dacca), which then constituted the Viceregal Capital of this Ṣubah, and to which pertained frontier outposts like those of Islamābād or Chittagong, and Silhat and Rangāmāti, and on the north, the chaklāhs of Ghorāghāt and Rangpur and Kuch Behar. The above mentioned Khān, without taking permission from the Prince, migrated to Makhsusabad with the officers of Zamīndars and Qanūngos and Revenue officials in charge of crown-lands, and settled down there. But when the news of the disturbance created by the *naqdis* reached the Emperor in the Dakhin through the

1 The terms used are "Waqiah" and "Sawanih." The Mughal Emperors maintained a Special Intelligence Department. In every Provincial capital and important centre, two special functionaries were maintained by the Mughal Emperors, one called "Sawanih-navis," and the other "Waqiah-navis." These were Imperial servants, quite independent of the local officials. The duties of both these functionaries were to daily record and send news to the Emperor of all that transpired in local centres, and as they worked independently of one another, the report of intelligence sent by one checked that of the other. The "Waqiah-navis" was an official Court-Recorder, whilst the "Sawanih-navis" was an official General Intelligence-giver. (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 258 and 259.) The object in keeping up these functionaries was that the Emperor at Delhi might "be informed daily of all that transpired throughout his Empire, and also that active servants might work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men be held in check."

medium of News-letters and Court-records, and through the Report of Kar Talab Khān containing denunciation of the Prince, an Imperial edict couched in threatening language was addressed to the Prince to the following effect: "Kar Talab Khān is an officer of the Emperor; in case a hair-breadth injury, in person or property, happens to him, I will avenge myself on you, my boy." And peremptory orders were also passed by the Emperor to the effect that the Prince should quit Bengal and withdraw to Behar. Leaving Sarbaland Khān[1] with Sulṭān Farukh-sir as his Deputy in Bengal, the Prince with Sulṭān Karimu-d-dīn, his household attendants and bodyguard set out from Jahangīrnagar, and reached Mūngīr (Monghyr). Finding there the elegant white and black marble edifices[2] built by Shāh Shuja to be in a dilapidated condition, and seeing that a heavy outlay would be needed to set them in order, he did not like to fix his quarters there. And preferring the climate of Patna, which is on the bank of the river Ganges, the Prince fixed his quarters there. With the Emperor's sanction, he improved that city, named it 'Azīmabad after himself, and built there a fort with a strong rampart. Kar Talab Khān, at Makhsusabad, after the lapse of a year, prepared the Annual Abstract Accounts, and started for the Imperial Camp.[3] And preparing the Revenue-Assessment papers, the Revenue-Roll, the estate Ledgers, and the Cash-Account of Receipts and Disbursements of the Ṣubah, he desired Darab Narain, the Qanūngo of the Ṣubah of Bengal, to sign them. Taking advantage of the system then in force that the Accounts relating to the financial and internal administration of the country were not passed by the Imperial Central Dīwan, unless they bore the signatures of Qanūngos, that mischievous and shortsighted fool refused to sign the papers, unless his demand for three *laks* of rupees on account of his fees as a Qanūngo were satisfied. The Khān under stress of necessity promised to

[1] Subsequently in 1709, this Sarbaland Khān, whilst in temporary charge of Bengal, received a bribe of Rs. 45,000 from the English merchants, and granted them freedom of trade in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. (See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 183).

[2] No trace of these ruined white and black marble edifices was found by me at Mūngīr (Monghyr) when I was there in the years 1893, 1894, or subsequently.

[3] Emperor Aurangzeb was at this time in the Dakhin busy warring against the Musalman Kingdoms of Golkondah, Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, and

pay one *lak* of rupees on his return from the Emperor, but Darab Narain would not accept this arrrangement, and withheld his signature. But Jinarain Qanūngo, who was a Joint-Qanūngo [1] with Darab Narain, using foresight, signed the Accounts. Regardless of the hostility of the Prince, and regardless of the refusal of Darab Narain to sign the Account-papers, the Khān started for the Imperial Camp, presented gifts and tributes of Bengal to the Emperor and to the Vizier and other Imperial Ministers, and also paid to the Emperor the Revenue-balances and profits of the *Jagirs*. And making over the Account-papers of the Ṣubah to the Mastaufi [2] and to the Diwan-i-

also against the Mahratta free-booters. Aurangzeb, with all his political sagacity, committed a grievous mistake of policy by supplanting these Musalman States, as these had hitherto effectually curbed Mahratta and other outside ambition, and kept in order all disturbing elements in the Dakhin. Their political effacement resulted in letting loose a number of Mahratta free-booters and other adventurers that had hitherto had no political existence, and hastened the growth of the Mahratta Confederacy that later on in a great measure, coupled with other forces, distracted the Great Mughal Empire. By use of a liberal and statesman-like policy, Aurangzeb might have federated those Musalman States in the South into Imperial feudatories, and thus converted them into strong and loyal bulwarks of the Mughal Empire. But fanaticism in this matter (see *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, which explains that this policy of repression was adopted by Aurangzeb, by reason of certain *religious innovations* that were in force in those States) fatally clouded the otherwise clear political vision of this Great Mughal Emperor, to the lasting detriment of the Indo-Moslem Common-wealth.

[1] The Qanūngo "was an officer in each district acquainted with its customs and land-tenures and whose appointment was usually hereditary. He received reports from the *patwaris* (land-stewards) of new cases of alluvion and diluvion, sales, leases, gifts of land," etc. (See *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 47 *n*).

Over the district Qanūngos, there was a Provincial Qanūngo as the text indicates. (See also p. 66, Vol. II, *Āin-i-Akbari*, which sets forth functions and emoluments of Patwaris, Qanūngos, Shiqdar, Karkuns, and Amins).

In the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Vol. II, p. 49) it is stated that it was the duty of the *Betikchi* or Accountant, "at the year's end, when the time of revenue-collections had closed, to record the balances due, and deliver the record to the Collector, and forward a copy to the Royal Court." It would seem from the text the same duty in regard to the entire Subah had to be performed by the Provincial Diwan and the Provincial Qanūngo.

[2] These important functionaries are frequently mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbari*. Their function was to check, overhaul and audit important State

Kul,[1] and proving his good and faithful services, the Khān became the recipient of further Imperial favours, and was appointed by the Emperor Deputy to the Prince in the Nīzamat of the Ṣubah of Bengal and Orissa, in addition to the office of Dīwan. He was also given the title of Murshid Qūlī Khān, and further received a valuable *Khilat*, with a standard and a kettle-drum. His *manṣab* was also raised.

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BESTOWAL OF THE NIZAMAT OF BENGAL ON NAWAB JAFAR KHĀN, AS DEPUTY TO PRINCE AZIMU-SH-SHĀN.

When Murshid Qūlī Khān[2] being invested according to the former usage with the khilat of the offices of Deputy Nazim of Bengal Dīwān of Bengal and Odīsa (Orissa), reached the Ṣubah, he appointed Syed Akram Khān to be his Deputy Dīwān in Bengal, and Shujau-d-dīn Muhammad Khān, his son-in-law, to be his Deputy Dīwān in Odīsa (Orissa). After his arrival at

papers, such as Royal grants, payment-orders, *sanads*, *farmans*, state-accounts, etc., and then to sign and seal them. (See *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. I, pp. 262, 263, 264).

1 The *Diwan-i-Kul* was the Central Imperial Dīwān-in-Chief. It would appear the keen administrative genius of the Mughal Rulers of India evolved and organised a perfect system of Accounts as well as of Audit. Two independent systems of Account and Audit (each checking the other) were maintained. The *patwaris* kept one independent set of accounts, and the *Bitikchis*, (Accountants) another. The first submitted their accounts to local or district *Qanūngos*, who submitted their Consolidated Accounts to the Provincial *Qanūngo*. The second submitted their accounts to District Collectors as well as copies direct to the Royal Court; and the several District Collectors submitted their consolidated Accounts to the Provincial *Dīwān* who collected them, and compared them with the Consolidated Accounts (independently prepared) in the hands of the Provincial *Qanūngos*. Then both the Provincial *Dīwān* and the Provincial *Qanūngo* signed after comparison one General Detailed Consolidated Account together with an Abstract Account, and forwarded it to Court, where it was first audited by the Central *Mustaufi* and next audited by the *Diwan-i-Kul* (after reference to the set of accounts already received regularly in the Royal Courts from district *Bitikchis* or Accountants), and lastly approved and passed by the Emperor himself. Thus, few loop-holes were left for defalcations in accounts. (See the text, and the *Āīn-i-Akbarī*).

2 Murshid Qūlī Khān was son of a Brahmin and embraced Islam. Haji Shafī Iṣpahanī purchased him, and named him Muhammad Hadi, treated him

Makhsusabad, he improved that town, and named it after himself Murshidabad, and founded a mint [1] there. And separating the *chākhlah* of Midnipur [2] from the Ṣubah of Odisa (Orissa) he annexed it to Bengal. And imprisoning the defaulting zamindars of the Ṣubah, and deputing experienced and honest Collectors of Revenue to their *mahals*, he attached the rents, and realised the outstanding Imperial revenues. And putting a complete stop to the authority of zamindars over the collection and disbursement of the Imperial Revenue, he limited their source of income to profits of *Nānkar* [3] tenures. And the 'Amils' (Collectors of revenue) under

like a son, and took him to Persia. On Shafi's death, Muhammad Hadī came to the Dakhin, and entered the service of Hajī Abdullah Khurasanī, Dīwān of Ṣūbah Berar. He subsequently entered Imperial service, and received the title of Kar Talab Khān, and was employed in the Dakhin. He rose there to be Dīwān of Haidarabad—and then to be Dīwān of Bengal (on the transfer of Ẓiaullah Khān), with the title of Murshid Qūlī Khān. Previous to this, he was Dīwān of Orissa (*Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 483), in the 48th year of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign. When Farrukh-sir ascended the throne, by payment of large sums as presents to the Emperor, he became Ṣūbadar of Bengal and received a Manṣab of *Haft hazari*. His advancement is an eloquent testimony to the Islamic toleration (even under the much-abused Aurangzeb) that made no distinction between converts and born Musalmans in matters of official preferments. He died in 1138 A.H. at Murshidabad, which he had founded as the new Viceregal capital of Bengal, in place of Dacca or Jahangirnagar. He was a good financier, an able accountant, and a strong and sagacious administrator. He built a dungeon full of filth, named it 'Baikant' or 'Paradise,' and confined in it zamindars who defaulted in payment of revenue. He re-surveyed and re-assessed Bengal, divided it into Chaklās, and prepared a new Perfect Revenue-Roll. [See *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 483, and *Maasir-ul-Umara*, p. 751, Vol. III (Pers. text)].

1 A list of mint-towns in Hindustan in Akbar's time is given in the *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 31. It appears that in Bengal, minting of gold coins was restricted to the Provincial capital (which in Akbar's time was partly Gaur and partly Tandah), and that minting of silver and copper coins took place in Bengal in Tandah.

2 In Akbar's Rent-Roll, Midnipur is shown as a city with two forts (caste, Khandait) under Sarkar Jalesar of Ṣūbah Orissa. It continued to form a part of the Orissa Ṣūbah, until it was transferred from Orissa to Bengal by Murshid Qūlī Khān.

3 The term 'Nankars' is still prevalent in several parts of Bengal and Behar. "Nankars" were "service-tenures," that is, "tenures of land conferred free of revenue, in consideration of services tendered." In those days, the zamindars amongst other duties would appear to have performed police

his orders, sent *Shiqdars* and *Amins* to every village of the *Parganahs*, measured the cultivated and waste-lands, and leased them back to tenants, plot by plot, and advanced agricultural loans (Taqāvi) to the poorer tenantry, and put forth exertions for increase in the produce of the lands. Thus in all the mahals Murshid Qūlī effected not only increase in revenue, but also increase in their areas.

Murshid Qūlī prepared a perfect Revenue-Roll, collected the rents in kind, season by season, and also the land-revenue, *sair* taxes, and fees from agricultural lands. And effecting retrenchment in the Public Expenditure, he remitted revenue, double the former amount, into the Imperial[1] Treasury. The zamindars of Birbhūm

duties, and were held responsible for maintenance of peace in their mahals—the village *chowkeedars* or watchmen being directly under them. They were also in charge of village ferries, village pounds, and village roads in their mahals, and performed more or less the duties of "justices of the peace." They were more or less quasi-official functionaries, and received *sanads* on appointment, and were liable to removal for gross misconduct. Their mahals were not liable to auction-sale for arrears of revenue, but liable to attachment by the Crown for realisation of revenue, and defaulting zamindars were liable to punishment. They were quasi-state functionaries or *quasi*-official landed Aristocracy maintained by Musalman sovereigns for State purposes. They were quite a different species from the Bengal zamindars of to-day. (See *Alamgirnamah*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, *Āīn-i-Akbarī* and the text).

[1] As has been remarked before, Murshid Qūlī Khān was an able financier, and prepared a perfect actual Revenue-Roll of Bengal, after carefully re-surveying lands in all the mahals in Bengal, and re-assessing them on the basis of increase in actual areas as ascertained by measurement, and of increase in the actual produce of the soil. He sent out for this purpose *Amīns* (or Surveyors) together with *Shiqdars* (or Supervisors of revenue) to each village, under the immediate supervision of honest, experienced and capable Collectors of Revenue or 'Amils. He helped the poorer tenants with agricultural loans or advances (*taqavi* or *tuccavi*), and encouraged them to till their lands and improve agriculture. Murshid Qūlī Khān was no believer in Permanent Settlements. He preferred the Ryotwarī Settlement system to the Farming system. Islamic Revenue systems recognise the soil as State property and allot a portion of its profit or produce to the *actual tiller* of the soil for his labour on it.

"A *Shiqdar* meant an 'officer appointed to collect revenue from a certain division of land under the Mughal Government."

The constitution of the Surveying party, their pay, their duties, with the process of measurement and testing in Mughal times, are set forth in the *Āīn-i Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 45, which shews that the measurement of lands and

and Bishanpur, being protected by dense forests, mountains and hills, did not personally appear before the Nawab, but deputed instead their agents to carry on transactions on their behalf, and through them used to pay in the usual tributes, presents, and gifts. In consideration of the fact that Asadullah, zamindar of Birbhūm, was a pious and saintly person and had bestowed half of his property as *Madad-i-māsh* grants on learned, pious and saintly persons, and had fixed daily doles of charity for the poor and the indigent, the Khān refrained from molesting him. He directed his attention, however, to the chastisement of the zamindar of Bishanpur, whose items of expenditure were heavy, and whose collections of rents from mahals were low. The Rajahs of Tipra, Kuch Behar, and Assam called themselves *chatar dhāri* and ruling chiefs, and did not bend their heads in submission to the Emperor of Hindustan, and minted coins after their own names. On hearing, however, of the vigorous administration of the Khān, the Rajah of Assām presented to the Khān chairs and palkis of ivory, *musk*, musical instruments, feathers, fans of peacock feathers, etc., and offered his submission. Similarly the Rajah of Kuch Behar offered presents and tribute to the Khān. The abovementioned Khān sent Khilāts for them; and this practice was observed year after year. The Khān, having introduced order in the Financial condition of the Mahals of Bengal, devoted his attention to the improvement of other administrative and internal affairs. His administration was so vigorous and successful that there was no foreign incursion nor internal disturbance, and consequently the military expenditure was nearly abolished. He kept up only 2,000 cavalry and 4,000 infantry, and with these he governed the Province. Through Nazir Ahmad, who was a peon, he used to collect the revenue of Bengal. And the Khān was so powerful a personality and his commands were so overawing, that his peons sufficed to keep peace in the country, and to overawe the refractory. And fear of his personality was so deeply impressed on the hearts of all, both the high and the low, that the courage of lion-hearted persons quailed in his presence. The Khan did not allow petty zamindars access to his presence. And the mutsadis and 'amils and leading zamindars had not the heart to sit down

the assessment of revenue were based on thoroughly scientific principles, quite analogous to the existing Settlement Procedure in India.

in his presence; on the contrary, they remained standing breathless like statues. Hindu zamindars were forbidden to ride on *palkis*, but were permitted use of *Jawalahs*. The mutaṣadis, in his presence, did not[1] ride on horseback; whilst the Mansabdars attended at State functions in their military uniforms. In his presence one could not salute another; and if anything opposed to etiquette occurred on the part of anyone, he was immediately censured. Every week he held court on two days to listen to complaints, and used to mete out justice to the complainants. Amongst his deeds of justice, it may be mentioned, that to avenge the wrong done to another, obeying the sacred Islamic law, he executed his own son.[2] In administration of justice, in administration of the political affairs of the country, and in maintenance of the respect due to his Sovereign, he spared no one. And he reposed no confidence in the *mutaṣadis*, and used daily to inspect the collection and disbursement papers and the estate ledgers, and to sign them. At the close of each month, he used to seize all the agreements of K͟hālṣah (crown lands) and Jagirs. Till the dues on account of those agreements were paid up into the Imperial Treasury, he caused *mutaṣadis*, 'amils, zamindars, qanungos and other officers to remain in duress in the *Dīwān K͟hana* of the *C͟hihel Satūn* Palace. Setting collecting peons to realise the dues, he did not allow the defaulters leave for eating or drinking or for answering calls of nature, and posted spies over the peons, so that none of the latter, owing to temptations of bribe, might supply a drop of water to the thirsty defaulters. Week after week they had to pass without food and drink, and at the same time he had them suspended, head downwards, to triangles off the ground, and had their feet rubbed against stones, and had them whipped; and in beating with sticks he shewed no quarter. And he converted[3] to the Muhammadan religion the *amlahs* of zamindars with their wives and children, who, in spite of being scourged with

1 In the text apparently, "منه" has been by mistake dropped.

2 Murs͟hid Qulī K͟hān's uprightness in administration of justice (regardless of all family ties of attachment) is remarkable. But his severity in ill-treating and torturing defaulting zemindars throws a shade on his otherwise bright personality.

3 The only instances of forcible conversions of Hindus in Bengal to the Islamic religion, as would appear from these pages, were on the part of two

sticks, failed to pay up the State revenue-collections that they had misappropriated. Amongst these, Andinarain, zamindar of the Chaklah of Rajshahi, who was the descendant of a Hindustani, and who was both capable and efficient, held charge of the revenue-collections of the Khalsah (crown lands). With him were in league Ghulām Muhammad and Kalia Jamādar with two hundred troopers. Andinarain demurred to the payment of the demand, and prepared to fight. Murshid Qulī Khān sent his officer, Muhammad Jān, with a force to chastise him. Close to Rajbari,[1] the contending forces approached each other, and a battle ensued. Ghulām Muhammad Jamadar was killed, whilst Andinarain from fear of Murshid Qulī Khān's anger slew himself, and his zamindari was transferred to two Bengal zamindars on the northern side of the Ganges, named Ram-Jivan[2] and Kali Kunwar, who were punctual in payments of revenue. When that year came to a close, and the new year commenced, in the month of Farwardī (corresponding to Asar) weighing the treasures[3] Murshid Qulī remitted to the Emperor one *kror* and three *laks* of rupees on account of the Imperial revenue, loading the same on two hundred waggons,

non-Moslems, that is, by Hindus themselves who had embraced the Islamic religion, namely (1) by Jado *alias* King Jallal-ud-dīn, son of Rajah Kans and (2) by Murshid Qulī Khān, who was himself the son of a Brahmin. I fail to come across in Bengal history any instance of forcible conversion of Hindus in Bengal to the Islamic religion, on the part of any *born* Musalman ruler or king. Proselytes and converts, under all systems of the world's religions, are generally more zealous and bigoted than those born and brought up within their pale. The general insinuation, therefore, against Musalman sovereigns and rulers of Bengal that they forcibly converted the Hindus to the Islamic religion, seems to be as unfounded as ungenerous. No doubt, the superior moral influence of Musalman saints, like Nūr Qutb Alim and others, naturally told on Hindu society (disorganised and demoralised by the caste-systems of the later days, and shorn of the old Vedantic purity) and induced portions of its ranks to flock spontaneously to the Moslem creed, with its simpler doctrine of Monotheism.

[1] Probably, Rajbari on the E.B. Railway, near the Goalundo station.

[2] This Ram-Jivan, I believe was the founder of the present Natore Raj-house. I do not know of which family Kali Kunwar was the founder.

[3] In the Āīn-i-Akbari (Vol. II, p. 49), it is explained under the term 'Fotadar' or the 'Treasurer,' that the term *fota* (not, *potah*) is applied in Arabic to cloths used as waist wrappers. A poddar meant 'a banker, a cash-keeper, or an officer in public establishments for weighing money or bullion.

convoyed by six hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry. Over and above this amount, he remitted the profits derived from *Jagirs*, together with other fees. And also at the beginning of each year he sent to the Emperor elephants, *Tangan* horses, buffaloes, domesticated deers, and game dressed specially at Jahangirnagar (Dacca), wolf-leather shields, *sital pati* mats mounted in gold, and mosquito curtains[1] made of *Ganga jali*[2] cloth of Sylhet, through which serpents could not penetrate, together with other rarities, such as ivory, musk, musical instruments, and European manufactures and presents received from Christians, &c. At the time of sending the remittance, he used to accompany it on horseback together with his staff up to the Suburbs of the City, and used to have the fact recorded in the Court-Record as well as in the News-sheet. And the procedure for despatch of remittances was the following. When the waggons, loaded with treasure, passed into the limits of another Ṣubāh, the Ṣubadar of that place sending his own men had the waggons of treasure brought into his fort, and relieving the waggons and their escorts reloaded the treasure into fresh waggons, convoyed by fresh escorts furnished by himself. And the same procedure was adopted by succeeding Subadars, till the treasures with the presents reached the Emperor Aurangzeb. And when the Khān's efficient administration met with the approbation of the Emperor, the former received fresh favours from the Emperor, who raised his rank and bestowed on him the title of Moatamanu-l-Mulk'Alau-d-daulah Jā'far Khan Nasiri Nāṣir Jang. He was also rewarded with the personal Manṣab of a *Haft Hazari* together with the Insignia of the *Mahi* Order, and was raised to a higher class of the Peerage. No appointments to offices in Bengal were made without his advice. And Imperial Manṣabdars hearing that the country of Bengal had been turned into a fertile garden without thorns, sought for offices in Bengal. Nawab Jafar Khan appointed the applicants to offices under him. One

Therefore تودہ کردہ would seem to mean 'weighing the coins' or 'testing and counting them,' or "putting them in cloth bags."

[1] Here we get a glimpse of some of the old industries and arts of Bengal.

[2] *Gangajal* was a kind of cotton-stuff manufactured in Bengal in the times of the Mughals. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 94 (Blochmann's trans.)

of these was Nawab Saif Khan[1] whose application for appointment being received through the Emperor, Nawab Jāfar Khān conferred an office on him. A short account of Saif Khan's career is mentioned in the body of this History. Nawab Saif Khān was alive till the period of the Nizamat of Nawab Mahabat Jang. As he was the scion of a very noble family, he never visited Nawab Mahabat Jang.[2] Although the latter sought for an interview, Nawab Saif Khan did not visit him. Whenever Nawab Mahabat Jang whilst out on a hunting excursion went towards Purneah, Nawab Saif Khān advanced with his troops and blocked his progress. But whenever Nawab Mahabat Jang had need of auxiliaries, Saif Khān furnished efficient contingents. After Saif Khān's death, his son, the Khān Bahādur, succeeded to the office of Faujdar of the tract of Purneah and its environs. Nawab Mahabat Jang gave in marriage the daughter of Nawab Said Ahmad Khān Bahadur Ṣaulat Jang, his nephew, to the Khān Bahadur,[3] but that lady died four days after the wedding. On account of this, confiscating the treasures and effects of the Khān Bahadur, Nawab Mahabat Jang kept the latter under surveillance. The Khān Bahadur of necessity was obliged to mount a horse and escape to Shah Jāhānābād (Delhi). Nawab Mahabat Jang bestowed the tract of Purneah on Saulat Jang. The latter proceeding there with a large force, devoted himself to its administration, and held sway. After Ṣaulat Jang's death, his son, Shaukat Jang, succeeded him. Nawab Siraju-d-daulah, who was the latter's cousin, during the period of his Nizamat, killed Shaukat Jang in battle, and deputing Diwan Mohan Lal, confiscated Shaukat's treasures and effects.

What was I saying? and to what have I digressed?
Where lay the horse? and where have I galloped away?

I now return to my story. Nawab Jafar Khān was seeking

[1] He received the office of Faujdar of Purneah, held the rank of a *Haft házari*; and was a son of 'Umdatu-l-mulk Amir Khān, Subadar of Kabul. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 574.

[2] 'Mahabat Jang' was a title of Nawab Alī Vardi Khān; his actual name was Mirza Muhammad Alī. See *Seirul Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 470 Pers. text.

[3] In *Seirul Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 552, the name of Saif Khan's son is mentioned as Fakhruddīn Husain Khān.

an opportunity to avenge himself on Darab Narain Qanungo, who, during the Nawab's incumbency of the office of Dīwān, had declined to sign the accounts. Inasmuch as the office of Qanungo corresponded to the office of Registrar of the Conquered dominions, and the Dīwān's Statements of Account and Revenue-roll without the Qanungo's signature were not accepted by the Central Imperial Diwān, the Nawab sought for an opportunity to tarnish Darab Narain's reputation, by doubling the sphere of Darab Narain's authority over the affairs of administration. With this object in view, the Nawab entrusted to him control over the affairs of the Khalṣah (crown lands). And when Dīwān Bhupat Rai, who had come with the Nawab from the Imperial Camp, died, and his son, Gulab Rai, could not satisfactorily discharge the duties of the office of Dīwān, the office of *Peshkar* of the Khalṣah was also bestowed on Darab Narain. And leaving to his control the Assessment and Collection of the revenue and other Financial and Internal affairs, the Nawab made him supreme. Although the abovementioned Qanungo by minute attention to details raised the Revenue of the Khalṣah (crown lands) to one *kror* and fifty lakhs, made Revenue Collections, and under every Head of Income shewed considerable increase, and presented a Budget with a larger Surplus of Imperial Revenue than before, still the Nawab, gradually wresting authority from him, imprisoned him together with the Statements of Accounts and Estate-ledgers, and employing various tortures killed him. And he allotted ten annas of the Qanungo-ship to Dārāb Narain's son, Sheo Narain, and six annas thereof to Jai Narain, who at the period of the Nawab's Dīwāni, when the Nawab was setting out for the Imperial Camp, had shewn good-will, and had signed the Nawab's Statements of Accounts. And dismissing Ziau-d-din Khān, Faujdar of Hughli,[1] he with the Emperor's sanction brought the Faujdari of that Port under his immediate autho-

[1] The office of Faujdar of Hughli was hitherto directly under the Emperor, and was independent of the Ṣubadar of Bengal. Murshid Qulī Khan succeeded in reducing the Faujdar of Hughli to the position of his own immediate subordinate. For Murshid Qulī's relations with the English merchants, see Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 301, 299, 298, 297, 290, 268. The English merchants secured a great patron in Ziau-d-din, who was appointed by Shah Alam in 1710 to be Faujdar of Hughli and Admiral of all the seaports on the coast of Coromandel. See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, pp. 185 and

rity as an appendage to the Nizamat, and appointed Wali Beg on his own authority as Faujdar of that place. The abovementioned Khān, on the arrival of Wali Beg, relinquishing the fort, came out of the town to set out for the Imperial Capital. Wali Beg summoned to himself Kankar Sen Bengali, who was Peshkar of the dismissed Faujdar, for submission of papers relating to receipts of revenue and the office-records, together with the clerks and subordinate officers of the office of Faujdar. Ziau-d-din Khān turned to Kanker Sen's assistance; and thereon Wali Beg opposed the Khān's march. In consequence, between Ziau-d-din Khān and Wali Beg a quarrel ensued. The abovementioned Khān with his army, on the field of Chandanagar (Chandenagore) between Chinsurah and French Chandanagar, with the help of the Christian Dutch and French, constructed redoubts, and prepared to fight. Wali Beg also on the field of the 'Idgāh,[1] on the bank of the tank of Debī Dās, to a distance of one and a half *kroh*, drew up his forces, constructed entrenchments, and transmitted an account of the state of affairs to Nawab Jāfar Khān. And both the *quondam* and the new Faujdars were busy fighting from behind their respective entrenchments, and reviewing their forces. Mulla Jarsam Jūrani, Deputy of Ziau-d-dīn Khān, and Kankar Sen, secretly obtaining help of guns, gunpowder, and armaments from the Dutch and French, advanced to the battle-field, and assumed the offensive. Wali Beg, waiting for auxiliaries, assumed the defensive. At this juncture, Dalīp Singh *Hazari* with a force of cavalry and infantry came from Nawab Jāfar Khān to the assistance of Wali Beg, and also brought a mandate containing threats addressed to the Christians. Ziau-d-din Khān, on the advice of the Christians, opened negotiations of peace with Dalīp Singh, and put him off his guard. Early in the morning, sending by way of a *ruse* a false message to Dalīp Singh through an agent, Ziau-d-din Khān instructed the latter to hand the message to Dalīp Singh and to get back the reply, and placing one red *shawl* for recognition on the head of the agent despatched the latter on

332, 329, 341. Murshid Qūlī got Ziau-d-din promptly dismissed in 1711. (See Wilson's *Annals*, pp. 22 and 123, Vol. II, p. 28).

[1] I found the *Idgah* existing when I was at Hughli in 1887 to 1891 An *Idgah* is a place where the *'Id* prayer is offered.

his errand. And an English gunner whose aim was unerring directed a large bronze[1] gun (the range whereof extended over one and a half *kroh*) towards Dalip Singh's camp, and by means of a telescope kept in view the agent's *shawl*. Arriving at a time when Dalip Singh was bareheaded and barebodied and was engaged in rubbing oil in order to bathe, the agent handed the message to Dalip Singh. Then the gunner directing his aim at the *shawl* fired his gun, and the cannon-ball hit Dalip Singh on the chest and scattered his body to the air. Praise is due to that unerring magician, for no harm ensued to the agent. Ziau-d-din Khān rewarding the gunner attacked the enemy's entrenchment.

When Dalip Singh was killed without delay,
Ziau-d-din rushed to fight.
Like the tumultuous river, his army moved,
And flight ensued in the ranks of the other side.
Not only were the soldiers killed,
But the entrenchment was also stormed.
Wali Beg fled from that place,
And in an anxious mood took refuge in the Fort.

Ziaū-d-dīn Khān, free from all anxiety, set out for the Imperial Capital, and after arrival at Delhi died. After his death, Kankar Bengali, who was the root of all this disturbance, and had his residence at Hughli, returning from the Imperial Capital, arrived in Murshidābād, and fearlessly waited on Nawab Jāfar Khan, and with the left hand saluted the latter, wishing to convey that with the hand that he had saluted the Emperor, to salute Jáfar Khan would be profane. Nawab Jāfar Khān retorted by saying: "Kankar is under the shoe." And *Kankar*[2] with *fatah* on both the ک and the *sakūn* of the ن and ر in Hindustani means "a gravel." Nawab Jafar Khan, feigning forgetfulness of

1 It would appear the French, Dutch, and English were all backing up the dismissed Faujdar Ziau-d-din Khān against the new Faujdar, Wali Beg. See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, pp. 66, 72, 75, 79, 81, 82. The skirmishes between Ziau-d-din Khān and Wali Beg occurred in 1712 A.C.

2 "Kankar" means a "pebble" "a gravel" or a "brick-bat." Murshid Qulī Khān was punning on the Hindu Naib's name of 'Kankar.' So, it would seem that Murshid Qulī Khān, the stern iron-man, could now and then unbend himself and receive humourous flashes.

Kankar's past and present misconduct, and outwardly shewing reconciliation, appointed him to the office of *Chaklahdar* of Hughli. At the close of the year, at the time of auditing the Annual Abstract Accounts, the Nawab put him in prison on charges of misappropriation of the current and arrear revenue collections and *sair* duties, and put this cat into breeches, and forced him to swallow some laxative, and set on him a harsh collector of revenue. In the breeches continually easing himself, Kankar died. At that time Syed Akram Khān who held the office of Dīwān of Bengal died, and Syed Razi Khān, husband of Nafisāh Khanam, a daughter of Shujāu-d-dīn Muhammad Khan, (Nawab Nazim of the Ṣubah of Orissa and son-in-law of Nawab Jāfar Khān,) who was the scion of a leading Syed family of Arabia, was appointed Dīwān of Bengal. And he[1] was a bigoted and short-tempered man, and in collection of dues was extremely strict, and by adopting harsh measures collected the revenue. It is said he prepared a Reservoir full of filth, and as in the language of the Hindus Paradise is called '*Baikant*,' he sneeringly named this Reservoir "*Baikant*." He used to thrust into this Reservoir the defaulting Zamindars and defaulting Collectors of Revenue. After torturing them in various ways, and making them undergo various privations, he used to collect in entirety the arrears. In that year, news of the insurrection of Sitaram Zamindar, and of the murder of Mīr Abū Tūrāb, Faujdār of the *Chaklāh* of Bhusnāh, in the Sarkar of Mahmūdābād, was received. The details of this affair are as follows:—Sitārām,[2] zamindar of Parganāh Mahmūdābād, being sheltered by forests and rivers, had placed the hat of

[1] The text is ambiguous. This sentence refers probably to Murshid Qulī Khān.

[2] Sitaram had his residence at Muhammadpūr or Mahmūdpūr, at the junction of the Barasia and Madhumati rivers, in Jessore district. See Westland's History of Jessore. Muhammadpur is now a police circle. Ruins of his tanks still exist there. Bhosna lies near Bonmaldiah (formerly in Jessore, now in Faridpur district), an old Musalman colony, on the Chandana river. Ruins of a fort lie at Bhosna. Close to Muhammadpur or Mahmadpur, lies an old Musalman colony at Shirgaon, on the Barasia river. See also Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, pp. 166, 167, 168. Sitaram was 'executed for murder and rebellion' by Murshid Qulī's order. Sitarams family and children who had taken refuge in Calcutta, were in 1713 surrendered by the English to Mīr Naṣir, Faujdar of Hughli, for being made over to Murshid Qulī Khān.

revolt on the head of vanity. Not submitting to the Viceroy, he declined to meet the Imperial officers, and closed against the latter all the avenues of access to his tract. He pillaged and raided the lands adjoining to his Zamindari, and also quarrelled with the Imperial garrisons and Faujdars. Mīr Abu Turab, Faujdar of the *Chaklah* of Bhusnah,[1] who was the scion of a leading Syed clan and was closely related to Prince Azīmu-sh-shān and the Timūride Emperors, and who amongst his contemporaries and peers was renowned for his learning and ability, looked down upon Nawab Jāfar Khān. Mīr Abū Tūrab tried to capture Sītārām, but was not successful. At length, he detailed his General, Pīr Khān, with 200 cavalry to chastise Sitārām. On being apprised of this, Sitaram concentrating his forces lay in ambush to attack the aforesaid General. One day, Mīr Abu Tūrāb with a number of friends and followers went out for hunting, and in the heat of the chase alighted on Sitaram's frontiers. Pīr Khān was not in Abū Tūrāb's company. The zamindar (Sitaram) on hearing of this, fancying Mīr Abū Tūrāb to be Pīr Khān, suddenly issued out from the forest with his forces and attacked Mīr Abū Tūrāb from the rear. Although the latter with a loud voice announced his name, Sitaram not heeding it inflicted wounds on Abū Tūrāb with bamboo-clubs, and felled him from his horse. When this news reached Nawab Jāfar Khān, his body trembled from fear of the Emperor's resentment. Appointing Hasan Ali Khān who had married Nawab Jāfar Khān's wife's sister and was descended from a noble family to be Faujdār of Bhūsnāh, and supporting him with an efficient force, Nawab Jāfar Khān directed him to capture that troublesome villain (Sitaram). The Nawab issued mandates to the Zamindars of the environs insisting on their not suffering Sitaram to escape across their frontiers, and also threatening that should the latter effect his escape across the frontiers of any one, not only he would be ousted from his Zamindari, but be punished. The Zamindars from all sides hemmed him in, when Hasan Ali Khān arrived and captured Sitaram together with his women and

[1] It was formerly in the Jessore district, but is now included in the more modern district of Faridpur. Close to Bhūsnāh, on the banks of the Chandana river, lie several other ancient colonies of Syeds or Mirs, such as those at Baumaldih and Dakhinbari, etc.

children, confederates and adherents, and sent them with chains round their necks and hands to Nawab Jāfār Khān. The Nawab enclosing Sitaram's face in cow-hide had him drawn to the gallows in the eastern suburbs of Mūrshidābād on the high-way leading to Jahangīrnagar and Mahmūdābād, and imprisoned for life Sitaram's women and children and companions. Bestowing his Zamīndārī on Rām Jīvān, the Nawab confiscated to the State Sitaram's treasures and effects, and extirpating his family, root and branch, he sent an account of the affair to the Emperor. As the Emperor[1] Aurangzeb 'Alamgir had died in the Dakhin on Friday, 28th of Zīlqādh 1119 A.H., Muhammād Mu'āzzam Shāh 'Alim Bahadūr Shāh[2] ascended the Imperial throne of Delhi. Nawab Jāfar Khān sent presents with the tribute of Bengal, and received an Imperial Patent confirming him in the Viceroyalty of Bengal. The Nawab was also honoured with the gift of a *Khillat* including a fringed palanquin. Prince Azimu-sh-Shān, leaving Sar-bland Khān as his Deputy at 'Azimabad, set out for the Imperial Capital. And that very year Sultān Farrukh-sir, prior to the accession of Bahadur Shāh, came to Murshidābād from Jahangīrnagar (Dacca) at the invitation of Nawab Jāfar Khan, and put up at the L'āl Bāgh palace. The above-mentioned Nawab, paying proper deference to the princely rank of his guest, rendered him due services, and defrayed the expenses of the Prince and his household; whilst according to the established practice he remitted the Revenue with the tribute to the Emperor Bahādur Shāh. After a reign of five years and one month, in the year 1124 A.H., Emperor Bahadur Shāh died, and his eldest son, Sultān Māzū-d-dīn, under the title of Jahāndār Shāh,[3] became Emperor, and in concert with his two younger brothers

[1] Emperor Aurangzeb died in the 52nd year of his reign, at the age of ninety-one, in 1118 A.H. or 1707 A.C. at Ahmadnagar, and was buried at Aurangabad. See *Seir* Vol. II, p. 375, and Khafi Khān. He left the following sons :—Muhammad Muazzam (at Kabul), 2, Muhamad Azam (at Malwah) 3, Kam Bakhsh (at Bijapur.)

[2] Muhammad Muazsam *alias* Shāh 'Alam the eldest son became Emperor in 1707 with the title of Bahadur Shāh, after defeating and killing his two brothers. He died in 1712.—See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 378-379, and history of Khafi Khān.

[3] The great Timuride House was at this time torn asunder by factions and was badly served by venal ministers and officers. The Syed brothers

killed Prince 'Azimu-sh-Shān.[1] After removing the causes of anxiety, and with the exertions and help of Asad Khān the Prime Minister and Amiru-l-Umarā Zū-l-fuqār Khān, the new Emperor killed his other two brothers.[2] Indeed, after Bāhādur Shāh's death, within the space of eight days, he killed almost every one of the Imperial scions numbering more than thirty persons, and after torture and imprisonment of those who escaped the sword, Jahandar Shāh mounted the throne. He appointed the ' Amirū-l-Umarā who was Pay-Master-General of the Army to the office of Grand Vizir and Amirū-l-Umarā's father 'Asāfu-d-daulāh 'Asad Khān to the office of *Vakil-i-Kul* or Supreme Regent of the Empire. According to the established practice, the new Emperor sent message of confirmation to Nawab Jāfar Khān. The aforesaid Khān, shewing submission, remitted presents and tribute to the Emperor. In order to assert his claim to the Imperial throne, Sultān Farrukh-sir, the second son of Prince 'Azimu-sh-Shān, who resided in the Province of Bengal as Deputy Nazim of the Subah resolved to fight with Sultān Māzu-d-din, planned to start for Shāhjāhānābād (Delhi), and demanded money and troops from Nawab Jāfar Khān. The latter gave the following straightforward answer: "I as an Imperial servant am subject to the Crown and Throne of the Sovereign of the Imperial Capital. To submit to any one save and except the person who descended from the Timūride House sits on the Throne of the Empire of Delhi, would be an act of treachery. Since M'āzū-d-dīn, your uncle, is in possession of the Crown and the Throne, the Imperial revenue cannot be paid to you." Despairing of obtaining the treasures and troops of Bengal, but remembering the injunction in the Qoran "I put my trust in my Lord God" Farrukh-sir took heart,[3] and marched out with a small force of old and new comrades who were in his company, on an

were heads of one faction, and their ascendency and their selfish policy are fully related in the *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*.

[1] See *Seir* and Irvine's *Later Mughals*, J.A.S. for 1896.

[2] *i.e.*, Jahan Shāh and Rafiush Shan.

[3] Farrukh-sir's mother, Saheb-un-Nissa, was a brave and resourceful lady, and when Farrukh-sir contemplated flight across the sea, she inspired her son with a noble ideal by addressing him thus: "If thy flight must needs be across the *sea*, let it be the *sea not* of *waters but* of *blood*." Encouraged by his noble mother's inspiration, Farrukh-sir at length defeated Jahandar Shāh, at the end of 1712, and became Emperor.

expedition against Sultān M'azu-d-dīn. Summoning his own army and artillery from Jahāngīrnagar, Farrukh-sir set out for Shāhjahānābād, and by the time he arrived at 'Azīmābād (Patna) a large army collected under him. Levying money in the way of tax from the bankers of that town, he reduced the Subah of Behar to his subjection. Collecting paraphernalia of royalty, he mounted the throne, and unfurling the Imperial Umbrella he whirled it over his head. Raising the standard of march from Patna with Royal pomp and splendour, he cast the shadow of peace and tranquillity on the residents of Banaras. And raising a loan of one *kror* of rupees on the security of the Empire from Nagar Set and other leading bankers of Banares, he raised a levy of efficient troops. Syed Abdūllāh Khān and Syed Husain Ali Khān,[1] the two Syed brothers of Barhā, who were Nazims of the Subāhs of Oudh and Allahabād and were matchless in courage and heroism had been dismissed by Sultān M'azū-d-dīn, and consequently were smarting under a sense of wrong. They, therefore, espoused the cause of Sultān Farrukh-sir, and tied the girdle of devotion and self-sacrifice to the waists of their hearts. And intercepting the treasure from Bengal remitted by Nawab Jāfar Khān, which owing to the revolution in government Shūjan-d-dīn Mūhāmmād Khān, Darogha of Allahabād (unyoking the bullocks in the garden of the town) guarded with 300 troops, Farrukh-sir detailed a large force to guard it. Having satisfied himself about the security of the treasure and the efficiency of the force which he had detached to guard it, Farrukh-sir bestowed the office of *Vizarat* on Syed Husain Ali Khān, and had the *Khutbah* of sovereignty recited after his own name. "When God wills a thing, the conditions for its accomplishment are also provided." As Farrukh-sir was displeased with Jāfar Khān, he appointed Rashīd Khān,[2] elder brother of Afrasiab Khān Mīrzai-Ajmīrī, who was the scion of an ancient and noble family of Bengal and was brought up in the Imperial household, and who in physical prowess was equal to a Rustam or an Isfandiar, and who used to hurl down rogue elephants—to supersede Jāfar Khān in the Subāhdārī of Bengal. It is said that when Sultān Farrukh-sir set out from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) towards 'Azīmābād

1 See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 381.
2 See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 90. This was in 1712.

(Patna), the cannon of Malik Maidan[1] which required a maund weight of cannon-ball and 150 bullocks and two elephants to move it, was stuck in the mud in a hollow ditch near Sakrigali. Although an attempt was made to drag it out with the help of bullocks and elephants, it could not be moved. Farrukh-sir himself going up to the cannon brought into requisition the ingenuity of Christian gunners, but even that was of no avail. Mirza-i-Ajmiri making his obeisance, said: "If ordered, thy slave might try his strength." The Sultān gave permission. Mīrzā-i-Ajmiri, tying the hem of his garment round his waist and putting both of his hands beneath the cannon-frame, lifted up the cannon together with its frame on his chest, and said "wherever ordered, I will put it." The Sultān ordered it to be placed on a high ground. The Mirza removed the cannon from the ditch to a high ground. From the strain of his physical power, drops of blood were about to ooze out from his eyes. The Sultān applauded him whilst the assembly, sent up shouts of praise and choruses of applause to the skies. The Mīrzā at that very moment was rewarded with the manṣab of a *Sih hazāri* together with the title of Afrasiāb Khān. Rashid Khān set out with a large army for Bengal, and entered it *viâ* the passes of Tiliāgadhi and Sakrigali. On hearing the news of his entry, Jāfar Khān shewed no signs of anxiety. Besides the regular war-establishment of the Ṣubah he mobilised no extra troops. Rashid Khān reaching three *kroh* distant from Murshidābād arrayed his troops for battle. Next morning, Nawāb Jāfar Khān detailed Mīr Bangalī and Syed Anwar Jaunpuri with two thousand cavalry and infantry to encounter Rashid Khān, whilst the Nawab himself, according to his daily practice, set to copying the Qurān. When the two forces encountered each other, a battle ensued. Syed Anwar, in the thick of the fight, was killed, but Mīr Bangalī, with a small force, bravely stood his ground on the battle-field, till the army of Rashid Khān surrounded him from all sides. Although these tidings reached Nawab Jāfar Khān, the latter remained unconcerned and quietly went on with his work of copying the Qurān. At last the news of Mīr Bangalī's retreat arrived. It was then that the Nawab detached his special disciple, Muḥammad Khān, who was Faujdar of Murshidabad and

[1] He was apparently a Turk, as the title Malik would indicate, but I cannot trace who this notable was.

an Officer of the Army, to reinforce Mīr Bangalī. The former with the swiftness of lightning and breeze joined Mīr Bangalī, and threw in the auxiliaries. Subsequently, Nawab Jafar K͟hān, after having finished his work of copying the Qurān, recited the *Fatiha-i-K͟hair* and armed himself for battle. And mounting an elephant, with a force of cavalry and a retinue consisting of kinsmen and Turkish, Georgian and Abyssinian servants he encountered Ras͟hid K͟hān on the field of Karimābād outside the City, and commenced chanting the *Duai-Saifī.*[1] It is said that he had so persistently practised the *Duai-Saifī,* that when he commenced chanting it his sword of itself unsheathed itself from its scabbard, and through invisible help he vanquished the enemy. On the arrival of Jafar K͟hān, the courage and boldness of Mīr Bangalī and his army increased ten-fold and hundred-fold. With his clamorous force Mīr Bangalī attacked the centre of the enemy. Ras͟hid K͟hān, who considered Jafar K͟hān no match for himself, swaggering of swordmanship and his capacity to easily rout the enemy, mounted a rogue elephant, and charged Mīr Bangalī who was in the van. The aforesaid Mīr who was an unerring marksman

Placed a wooden arrow in his bow-string,
And stretched his bow, and extended his arm-pit.
When the arrow-notch came up to his ear,
He shot the arrow straight at the struggling enemy.
As luck would have it, the arrow hit the enemy on the forehead,
And pierced right through the hind-head.
That leader of the heroes was pierced by the arrow:
That brave lion rolled on the elephant.
At that juncture, the troops forming a solid column,
Made one united rush at the enemy.
The ground was trodden down into furrows by horses' hoofs,
The sky was cut to pieces by cannons and spears.
With swords, daggers, iron-maces and spears,
They charged the enemy.

1 This *dua* or prayer, meaning literally the "prayer of the sword" is said to have been uttered by the Prophet at the battle of Badr, when it is related angels descended to fight in his ranks, and turned disaster into victory.

Owing to profuse shedding of blood on that battle-field,
The whole face of the earth looked crimson.
A whole world was consigned to destruction,
If any one survived, he was imprisoned.
The enemy's treasures and effects were looted,
Jafar Khān won a glorious victory.

Nawab Jafar Khān returning triumphant caused the music of victory to be struck up, entered the Fort, and ordered that a minaret should be raised entombing the heads of the slain on the highway leading towards Hindustan, so that it might serve as a warning to others. The prisoners of Rashid Khān's army said that on the advance of Jafar Khān green-dressed soldiers with drawn swords descended from the clouds, attacked the force of Rashid Khān, and afterwards vanished. Sultān Farrukh-sir who had not yet finished settling his accounts with Sultān M'azu-d-din, on the way receiving news of Jafar Khān's victory and Rashid Khān's defeat was depressed. In short, when near Akbarābād (Agra) a battle[1] ensued between Farrukh-sir and Sultān M'azu-d-din Jahāndār Shāh, the Syeds of Barha,[2] on the side of Muhammad Farrukh-sir, displaying self-sacrifice, exhibited heroic valour. On the side of M'azu-d-din, Khān Jahān Bahadur Kokaltash Khān, who was the Pay-Master General of the Army, was killed, owing to the carelessness of the Amīru-l-Umara Zu-l-fuqār Khān.[3] And M'azu-d-din's other noblemen, especially the Mughal noblemen, being in conspiracy with the noblemen of Farrukh-sir, exhibited treachery during the battle. In consequence, great confusion arose in the army of M'azu-d-din Jahāndār Shāh. Becoming depressed by observing the fate of Khān Jahān Bahādur, Jahāndār

[1] See description of the battle in December 1712 in Seir-ul-Mutakherin, Vol. II, p. 392.

[2] The Syed brothers of Barha were Syed Husain Ali Khān, Nasim of the Şubah of Patna and Syed Abdullah Khān, Nazim of the Şubah of Allahabad. The *Seir-ul-Mutakherin* (Vol. II, pp. 387, 388, 391, 392), gives a detailed account as to how these Syed brothers helped Farrukh-sir in the war of succession. These Syed brothers subsequently fell out with Farrukh-sir, and imprisoned him and had him killed (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 419). For a life of Syed Husain Ali Khān, see *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 321.

[3] He was a son of Asad Khān, the Prime Minister of Aurangzeb. His name was Muhammad Ismail, and his titles were 'Zu-l-fuqār Khān Amir-ul-Umara Naşrat Jang.' See *Massir-ul-Umara*, p. 93, Vol. II, for his life.

Shah fled straight to Shāhjahānābad to the house of 'Asad Khān Āṣifu-d-daulah,[1] the Chief Minister of the Empire. Immediately after, Amiru-l-Umarā, son of Āsifu-d-daulah, presented himself before his father, and counselled the latter to shelter the Emperor. The father, not considering it expedient to throw in his lot with Jahāndār Shāh, kept the latter under surveillance. Then Sulṭān Muhammad Farrukh-sir, without encountering any further opposition, ascended the Imperial throne at Akbarābād (Agra), towards the end of the year 1124 A. H. From Akbarābād (Agra), Farrukh-sir swiftly marched to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), where he slew Jahāndār Shāh and the Amiru-l-Umarā.[2]

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ACCESSION OF SULṬAN FARRUKH-SIR TO THE THRONE OF DELHI.

On hearing of the accession of Emperor Farrukh-sir, Nawāb Jafar Khān sent presents and tribute, and remitted the entire balance of the Imperial revenue. In return, the Nawab received patents confirming him in the united offices[3] of the Niẓāmat and Dewani of the three Ṣubahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The Nāwab was also recipient of a rich Khilat. The Nawāb's representations to the new Emperor continued to receive attentive consideration, as during former *regimes*. The Nawāb became an object of envy to his contemporaries and peers. For instance, on Jafar Khān's representation to the Emperor, Nagar Set's uncle

[1] His name was Muhammad Ibrahim, and his titles were Āṣifu-d-daulah Jumlatul-Mulk Asad Khān. He was related by marriage to Eminu-d-daulah Asaf Khān, and became Prime Minister under Emperor Aurangzeb. (See his life in *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 310, and in *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 406.) He was a statesman of eminence and sagacity. On his son, Zulfuqqar Khān's assassination, he composed the following pathetic epitaph :—

هاتف شام غریبان با دو چشم خونفشان
گفت ابراهیم اسمعیل را قربان نمود

[2] See *Seir-ul Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 395 (Pers. text). The corpse of Jahandar Shāh was placed on an elephant, and the corpse of Zulfuqqar Khān was tied to its tail.

[3] This was a very unwise departure from the old Mughal policy of keeping the two offices distinct, in that it encouraged later on the growth of disloyal intrigues against the Central Authority in Delhi.

and agent, Fateḥ Chand Sahu, whose services had won the good graces of the Khān, was invested with the title of Jagat Set, and appointed to the office of Treasurer-General of Bengal. Syed Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, the Paymaster-General, who was a brother of Quṭb-ul-Mulk 'Abdullāh Khān Vazir, aspired after the title of Naṣirjang, which title Jafar Khān held. As it was not consonant with the Imperial regulations that two persons should simultaneously hold one title, an Imperial mandate was issued to Jafar Khān, suggesting an exchange of titles. Although the Syed brothers were personages of immense influence and power, Jafar Khān resented their impudence, declined to exchange his title, and sent the following manly reply to the Emperor: "This old servant has no hankering after names or titles; but the title which it pleased the late Emperor 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb) to confer on him, he declines to barter." When Syed Razī Khān died, at the desire of Jafar Khān, Emperor Farrukh-sir conferred the Diwānī of the Ṣubah of Bengal on Mirza Asadu-l-lāh, son of Shujā'u-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, Naẓim of Orissa, by the daughter of Jafar Khān, bestowing at the same time on the Mirzā the title of Sarfarāz Khān. As Jafar Khān had no son, and Sarfarāz Khān was his maternal grandson, shewing foresight, he purchased from the income of his personal *jagīr* the zamindāri of Qismat Chunahkhalī in Parganah Kholharbah in the district of Murshidābād from Muḥammad Amān, the Taluqdar of the aforesaid Qismat, in the name of Mirzā Asadu-l-lāh Sarfarāz Khān, named the said zamindari Asadnagar, and caused it to be entered in the Imperial and Provincial Qānungo's registers. This estate came to be known as Khāṣ Taluq, so that after his death it might afford subsistence to his descendants, and after the payment of revenue from its income its surplus might be at their disposal. And in the same year, the Deputy Governorship of Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on Mirzā Luṭfu-l-lāh, a son-in-law of Shuja'u-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān. The Mirzā at the same time received the title of Murshid Quli Khān. In that on the 9th Rabiu-l-Ṣani 1131 A.H. the Emperor Farrukh-sir was slain,[1]

1 Between Farrukh-sir and the Syed brothers, ill-feeling broke out through the instigation of one Mir Jumla (who possessed great influence over Farrukh-sir, having been Qazi of Dacca, when Farrukh-sir was there as Deputy Nazim). This ill-feeling was fanned by Ratan Chand, the crafty Diwan of the Vazir Quṭb-ul-Mulk Syed Abdullah, brother of Syed Husain Ali Khān. This ill-feeling which not only paralysed the Administration,

through the treachery of 'Abdullāh Khān the *Vizir* and Ḥusain 'Ali Khān, the Paymaster-General, the Syeds of Barha raised Sulṭān Rafi'u-d-darajāt,[1] son of Prince Rafi'u-sh-shān, son of Bahādur Shāh, to the throne. For four or five months, ruling nominally, this Emperor died of consumption. After this, Rafi'u-d-darajāt's second brother, named Sulṭān Rafi'u-d-daulāh,[2] was brought out from captivity, and placed on the throne, and was styled Shāh Jahān the Second. The latter also, like his elder brother, for five or six months sat nominally on the throne. At the time when the Imperial army was engaged in repelling Sulṭān Neko Sīr, son of Sulṭān Akbar, and grandson of Emperor Alamgir, who had invaded Akbarābād (Agra), Shāh Jahān the Second also died. And the Syeds of Barha and other Imperial noblemen, at the end of the year 1131 A.H., bringing out Sulṭān Raushan Akhtar, son of Jahān Shāh, from the citadel of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi), and marching with him day and night, reached Akbarābād (Agra), and in the beginning of 1132 A.H. they placed him on the Imperial throne, and styled him Abu-l-Fattāḥ Naṣiru-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh Ghazī.[3] A poet has said:—

روشن اختربود - اکنون ماه شد
یوسف از زندان برآمد شاه شد

"He was a bright star, now he has waxed into a moon,
Joseph has returned from captivity, and has become a king."

Nawāb Jafar Khān, hearing of the accession of Muḥammad Shāh to the Imperial throne, sent presents and tribute, and received

but undermined for ever the prestige of the old illustrious Timuride House is detailed in the *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, pp. 407, 409, 415, 416, 418, 419, and 420. The Syed brothers, to the detriment of the State and to their own lasting dishonour, made the Imperial Mughal throne of Delhi, at this time, a football for their own selfish aims and personal ambitions. (See extracts from Khafi Khān's history at p. 420, Vol II, *Seir*).

1 In *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 419, it is related the Syed brothers raised to the throne Shamsu-d-din Abul Barkat Rafi'u-d-darajāt, son of Rafiu-l-Qadr, and grandson of Bahadur Shāh, at the age of twenty, in 1131 A.H.

2 See *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 421. The ambitious Syed brothers now virtually ruled over the Mughal Empire in India.

3 See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 422, 423. At this time Ratan Chand was the evil genius of Quṭb-ul-Mulk Syed Abdullah the Vazir, and had the impudence of nominating persons to even the *Qaziships*, for which he was once snubbed by his master.

in return patents confirming him in his former offices, and adding thereto the Ṣubahdāri of Orissa. In short, owing to the undue influence exercised over the administration by Syeds Ḥusain 'Ali Khān and 'Abdu-l-lāh Khān from the reign of Farrukh-sir till that period, the affairs of the Empire had suffered much in *eclat*, and owing to constant changes in Emperors the administration of the country had fallen into chaos. The people of Bengal were, however, free from the troubles incidental to revolutions in the kingly office, as Jafar Khān ruled over that Province with great vigour. In his time no harm ensued to Bengal at the hands of the Mahrattas. The Christian Danes who had no factory in Bengal, and carried on commercial transactions through the agency of the French, with the advice of the latter, offering *nazar*, applied for permission to erect a factory at Bangibāzār.[1] Obtaining *sanad* from Nawāb Jafar Khān, they erected mud-walled houses, established themselves there, and laid the foundation of a factory with strong towers, surrounded by a deep and broad moat, into which the river water flowed, and wherein sloops could move about. Working day and night, and spending much money, they set about building the same. Placing obliquely the cap of vanity on the head of pride, they gave themselves airs at the expense of other Christian nationalities, and bragged they would sell woollen-stuffs, velvet, and silk-stuffs[2] at the rate of gunny-cloth.[3] The English and Dutch Christians, seeing the loss in their own markets,

[1] This place is marked between Ichapur and Chank, on the map in Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. I, p. 130.

[2] مشجر is a silk-stuff with figures of leaves and branches woven on it. The *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann's tr., pp. 92—96) gives a list of the gold-stuffs, cotton-fabrics, and woollen-stuffs current in India in Akbar's time. It would appear therefrom that out of 28 gold-stuffs only two were imported from Europe, out of 39 silk-stuffs only seven were imported from Europe, out of 29 cotton-stuffs *nil* was imported from Europe; whilst out of 26 woollen-stuffs only one was imported from Europe, all the rest being either manufactured in India, or imported from Asiatic countries, like Arabia, Persia, China, &c.

[3] Richardson's Dictionary does not seem to give the word پلاس, but it occurs in the following charming lines of the great Persian poet, Omar Khyam:—

در چشم محققان چه زیبا چه زشت
منزلگه عاشقان چه دوزخ چه بهشت

conspired to have the former's factory closed, intrigued with the Mughal merchants, and undertook to pay themselves their *nazars*. Relating to Ahsānu-l-lāh Khān, Faujdār of the Port of Hooghly, tales of their bloodshed and oppression in Europe and also exaggerated accounts of their having erected forts and towers with moats at Bangibāzār, and of their past misdeeds in the Emperor's dominions, they induced Ahsanu-l-lah Khān to write to Nawāb Jafar Khān, and themselves petitioned the latter to issue mandates in the name of the above Faujdār to close the factory of the Danes. Although Ahsānu-l-lāh Khān sent agents to close the factory, the Danes not relying on their message, failed to close their factory; at length the Faujdār deputed his own Deputy, named Mīr Jafar, to the Danes. The Chief of the Danes, who was styled a General, mounted cannons on the heights of the ramparts, and prepared to fight. The aforesaid Mīr, erecting entrenchments facing the ramparts, commenced fighting with cannons, rockets, arrows, and muskets. But the soldiers of the Mīr could not approach the factory, owing to constant shower of cannon-balls and rockets. And the ways for the ingress and egress of the vessels of merchants in the river became closed The Christian French secretly leagued with the Danes and assisted the latter with supplies of shot, powder, and armaments. The Danes captured, with the secret help of the French, Khwājah Muhammad Kamil, eldest son of Khwājah Muhammad Fazal, who happened to pass and repass the river by boat. Owing to this, all the Mughal, Armenian, and other merchants made great exertions to effect his release, and fearing lest he might be slain, for two or three days a truce was arranged. The aforesaid Khwājah, agreeing to pay a large ransom, and also promising to bring about peace, was released from the custody of the Danes. Then the Christian French, dreading the resentment of the Faujdār, deserted the Danes. Mīr Jafar, advancing his entrenchments, with volleys of cannon-balls, rockets, arrows, and musket-balls, reduced the garrison to straits, and cut off all supplies both by land and by water. When the garrison were reduced to starvation, their Indian servants all fled, and the General alone with thirteen Danes remained in the factory. Though reduced to such straits and numbers,

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پوشیدن بیدلان چه اطلس چه پلاس
زیر سر عاشقان چه بالین چه خشت

they with their own hands kept up a perpetual shower of cannon-balls and rockets, and allowed no opportunity to the attacking force to lift up their heads, and far less to advance out of their entrenchments or to assault the factory. For some time the fighting continued in this wise. By chance, a cannon-ball discharged from Mīr Jafar's entrenchment hit the Danish General on the right arm, and broke it, and his hand became in consequence useless. The General[1] was obliged, in consequence, at dead of night, to scuttle out of the factory, and, embarking on board a vessel, he set sail for his own native country. Next morning, the factory was captured; but save and except some cannon-balls, nothing of value was found. Mīr Jafar, rasing the gateway and the tower of the factory, returned victorious and triumphant. About that time, news arrived that the Afghans, Shuj'āit Khān and Nijāt Khān, zamindars of Tonkī Sarūbpūr,[2] in the Sarkar of Maḥmūdābād, who were notorious for their lawlessness, had plundered the revenue of Maḥmūdābād amounting to sixty thousand rupees, whilst on its way to Murshidābād. Nawāb Jafar Khān, who thirsted for the blood of thieves and robbers, hearing this news, appointed a Superintendent of Dacoity with spies under him, and after ascertaining the reality and origin of this affair, he issued an order to Aḥsānu-l-lāh Khān, Faujdār of the Chaklāh of Hughli, directing their arrest. The aforesaid Khān, ostensibly marching out on a hunting expedition, like a sudden calamity, surprised their stronghold, arrested and captured all the brigands, put them in chains and fetters, mutilated their hands and feet, tied them strongly and securely with pieces of stirrup-leather, and sent them to Nawāb Jafar Khān. The Nawāb imprisoned them for life, and confiscated their treasures. After they were thus banished and extirpated,[3] the Nawab settled their aforesaid *zamīndārī* with Rām Jivan. Levying indemnity equal to the plundered revenue from the landholders of the neighbourhood, the Nawab credited it to the Imperial treasury. During the Nawāb's administration, the names of free-booters, night-marauders, and assassins were blotted out from the annals of the Bengal Satrapy, and the dwellers, both of

[1] The Danish Chief's name appears to be Mr. Attrup (See Wilson's *Annals*, Vol. II, p. 200). This happened in 1714.

[2] This is a place about five miles from Jessore head-quarters.

[3] There is still a Pathan family in Sarubpur, though impoverished.

towns and villages, lived in perfect peace and comfort. The *Thanahs* of Katwah and Murshidganj, on the highway leading to Bardwān, were established by the Nawāb, in the early part of his Nizāmat, whilst he held the title of Murshid Quli Khān. He established these *Thanahs* for guarding the above highway, and their control and administration was entrusted by the Nawāb to his special disciple, Muhammad Jān. In that, in the environs of Fanachor, which is on the highway leading from Nadiā to Hughli, in the plantain groves thefts took place in broad daylight, Muhammad Jān established an outpost at Pūpthal, subordinate to the *Thanah* of Katwah. Capturing the thieves and robbers, and chopping them into bits, Muhammad Jān hanged them on the trees of the highway, to serve as warnings to others. As in his retinue, hatchet-men used to go ahead, he became known as Muhammad Jān *Kolharāh*. Thieves and robbers used to tremble on hearing of his name. As a propagator of Muhammadan religion, as a strict observer of the religious injunctions, as a friend of scions of good family, as a reliever of the distressed, and as an exterminator of oppressors, Nawāb Jafar Khān was a second Amira-l-Umarā Shāista Khān. He was strict in the enforcement of his orders, and faithful in the fulfilment of his engagements. He never neglected saying his daily prayers five times, and fasted for three months in the year, and used to completely recite the Qorān. On the 12th and 13th of the lunar months, he used to fast, and on Thursday nights he was vigilant in his prayers. Many nights he used to pass in reciting certain select portions of the Qorān, and he slept little. From morning to midday, he devoted himself daily to transcribing the Qorān. And he used to send, every year, copies of the Qorān transcribed by his hand, together with votive offerings and gifts, through the headmen of the pilgrims and other caravans bound for pilgrimage, to Mecca, Medinah, Najaf, Karballa, Baghdād, Khorāsān, Jidāh, Basrah, and other holy places, like Ajmir, Panduah, &c. For each of these places, he allotted votive offerings, endowments, and reciters of the Qorān. The humble author of this History has seen a torn copy of the Qorān, every chapter of which was detached, in the shrine of Hazrat Makhdum Akhi Siraju-d-din, at S'adu-l-lahpur,[1] written in large characters in the handwriting

[1] I do not know if that copy is still there. See also note *ante*.

of Nawāb Jafar Khān. The Nawāb had in his employ 2,500 reciters of the Qorān, who completely recited the Qorān daily, and corrected what the Nawāb transcribed from the Qorān; and their meals were supplied twice daily from the Nawāb's own kitchen, and comprised game, birds, and other animals. He shewed a great predilection for the company of Syeds, Shaikhs, the scholarly, and the pious, and he deemed it meritorious to serve them. And from the 1st to the 12th of the month of Rabi'u-l-Awwal, which is the anniversary of the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (Peace be on him!), daily he used to feed the excellent and the venerable Shaikhs, the Ulama, the pious saints, and inviting them from the environs of Murshidābād, he used to receive them with great respect at his banquets, and till they finished their dinners, he used to stand before them in a respectful posture, and to serve them. And every night during that period, from Māhinagar to Lālbāgh, on the banks of the river, he used to arrange illuminations with chirāghs, in an elegant fashion, so that from the brightness of the illumination, the altars of the mosques and the pulpits, with the inscriptions of the Qorān engraved thereon, could be read from the other side of the river by spectators, to their great amazement. It is said that he employed more than one *lak* of labourers to light the *chirāghs* under the supervision of Nāẓir Aḥmad. After sunset, as soon as the gun was fired to signal that the illumination should commence, all the chirāghs were simultaneously lit up in one instant, producing an illusion as if a sheet of light had been unrolled, or as if the earth had become a sky studded with stars. And he constantly consecrated his life to seek the approbation of his Creator and to seek the well-being of his subjects, and to redress the grievances of the oppressed. He used to sign his name with the *Shangarfi* pen. He exerted himself to render the prices of food-grains cheap, and did not allow rich people to hoard up stocks of grains. Every week, he had the price-current reports of food-grains prepared, and compared them with the prices actually paid by the poor people. If these latter were charged one *dām* over the prices stated in the price-current reports, he had the dealers, *mahaldārs*, and weighmen punished in various forms, and had them patrolled through the city, placed upon asses. During his administration, the ruling price of rice was 5 or 6 maunds (of the standard market

weight) per rupee, and other articles were similarly cheap, so much so that by spending one rupee in a month, people ate *polāo* and *qaliah* daily.[1] Owing to this cheapness, the poor lived in ease and comfort. And the captains of ships were not permitted to export on their vessels food-grains beyond those needed for actual consumption by those on board the ships. At the period of disembarkation of ships, the Faujdār of the port of Hughli deputed to the harbour a Preventive Officer for the inspection and attachment of the food-grains, in order that no food-grains beyond what were needed for actual consumption on board the ships might be exported. And the Nawab had so much reverence for the Imperial authority, that he never travelled on any of the Imperial flotilla of boats. In the rainy seasons, when the Imperial war-vessels came for review from Jahāngirnagar (Dacca) he used to go up to receive them, and turning his face towards the Imperial Capital he used to offer his salute and presents. And in obedience of the Sacred Law he never indulged in intoxicating liquors, and eschewed things prohibited by the sacred law, neither he saw dancings nor heard singings. In his whole lifetime, besides his one wedded wife, he kept no mistress, and never bestowed his attention on any other woman. Owing to his extremely nice sense of honour, he did not allow eunuchs and women who cannot be lawfully seen to enter his ḥarem. If a female slave went out of his ḥarem once, he did not allow her access to the ḥarem again. In every branch of learning, art, and science he had great proficiency. He abstained from delicious and luxurious dishes; nor did he taste anything of luxury except ice-water and ice-preserves. And Khizr Khān, Deputy of Nāẓir Muḥammad, was deputed for four months in winter to the mountains of Akbarnagar for storing ice. The Nawab had stores of ice full for twelve months, used ice daily and received his supplies of ice from Akbarnagar. Similarly, in the season of mango-fruit, which is the best of the fruits[2] of Bengal, the Superintendent of mango-supplies was posted in the

1 This would indicate wonderful economic and agricultural prosperity in Bengal during the Viceroyalty of Mur Shid Qulī Khān. *Polāo* and *Qaliah* are rich Hindustani dishes. See *Āin-i-Akbari* (Bloch's Tr., Vol. I, pp. 59 and 62) for a list of Hindustani *menu*, and also for statistics of prices of certain articles in Akbar's time.

2 For a detailed description of the Fruitery in India, in Akbar's time, see *Āin-i-Akbari* (Bloch's Tr., p. 64.)

Chaklah of Akbarnagar, and he, counting the mangoes of the Khāṣ trees, entered them in the accounts, and shewed their collection and disposal, and the watchmen and carriers, levying the expenses of carriage from the zamindars, sent the sweet and delicious mangoes from Maldāh, Katwāh, Ḥusainpur, Akbarnagar, and other places. And the zamīndārs had no power to cut down the *Khaṣ* mango-trees; on the contrary, the mangoes of all the gardens of the aforesaid Chaklah were attached. And this practice was more rigorously observed in the times of previous Nāẓims of Bengal. Even at present,[1] when the administration of Bengal is virtually in the hands of the Christian English, and only the nominal Niẓāmat rests with Nawāb Mubāraku-d-daulah, son of Nawāb J'āfar Alī Khān,[2] in the mango-season the Superintendent of the Khāṣ mangoes proceeds to Māldāh on behalf of the aforesaid Nawāb Mubāraku-d-daulah, attaches the mangoes of the Khāṣ trees, and sends them to the Nawāb, and the zamindārs do not go near the Khaṣ mango-trees. But the Superintendent no longer obtains the carriage expense from the Zamindars, nor does he enjoy his former prestige and respect. The roots of oppression were so thoroughly extirpated in the time of Nawāb J'afar Khān, that the agents of zamindars used to loiter about—from the Naqār Khānah to the *Chehal satun*,[3] in quest of the oppressed and of complainants. Wherever they came across an oppressed man or a complainant, they amicably settled matters with him, and did not leave him to complain to the Nawab. And if the officers of the Courts of justice shewed partiality towards the oppressors, and if the oppressed carried their complaints to the Nawab, the latter instantly redressed their grievances. In administering justice, he did not allow consideration and partiality to be shewn to anyone; he weighed the high and the low evenly in the scale of justice. For instance, it is well known that to avenge the death of an oppressed man, he executed his own son,[4] and obtained the title of "*'Adālat Gastar*" (or Justice-Strewer). He used to dispense justice, basing his orders

1 *i.e.*, when this history was written (1788.)

2 *i.e.*, Mir Jafar Ali Khan.

3 The Chihel *Satun* was a Public Audience Hall built by Murshed Qulī Khan, at Murshidabad.

4 This incident of stern and blind justice recalls to memory the glorious career of another Musalman sovereign in the far West—that is, of Abdur Rahman, the Khalifa of Spain. (See Amir Ali's History of the Saracens, p. 510)

on the injunction of the Qorān, and on the expounding of the law by Qāzi Muhammad S͟hārf, who had been appointed to the office of Qāzi by Emperor Aurangzeb, and who was an upright judge and a great scholar, free from hypocrisy. It is related that a mendicant at Chunāk͟hali begged for alms from Bindraban, the *Talqudar*. The latter got annoyed, and turned him out from his house. The mendicant on his (Bindraban's) route of passage collected some bricks, laid them one over the other like the foundation of a wall, and named it a mosque, and shouted out the call to prayer, and whenever the palanquin of Bindraban passed that way, he shouted out still more loudly the call to prayer. Bindraban, becoming annoyed by this, threw down some brickbats from that foundation, and abusing the mendicant drove the latter from that place. The mendicant lodged a complaint at the Court of justice of Nawāb J'afar K͟hān. Qāzi Muhammad S͟harf, with the concurrence of other Ulama, acting on the injunction of the sacred Law, ordered the execution of Bindraban. J'afar K͟hān, not acquiescing in the sentence of execution, enquired thus from the Qāzi as to whether he could be let off: 'Can in any way this Hindu be saved from the death-sentence?' The Qāzi replied: "Only so much interval may be allowed in the execution of his death-sentence as may be taken up in the execution of his interceder; after that, he must be executed."[1] Prince 'Azimu-s͟h-s͟hān also interceded for Bindrāban; but that, too, was of no avail. The Qāzi killed him by shooting him with an arrow with his own hand. Azimu-s͟h-s͟hān wrote to Emperor Aurangzeb as follows: "Qāzi Muhammad S͟hārf has turned mad; for nothing he has killed Bindrāban with his own hand." The Emperor remarked on the report of the Prince thus: "This is a gross[2] calumny; the Qāzi is on

[1] A wonderfully upright and fearless Judge Qazi Muhammad S͟harf must have been.

[2] Mark the pun on the word "*Azim*" in the text. "*Azim*" means 'great' as well as it may refer to the name 'Azimus͟hshan'. So it may mean "it is a great or gross calumny" and also "it is a calumny on the part of Azim (Azimus͟han)." Aurangzeb, even whilst angry, was not free from flashes of wit (often sarcastic wit) in his epistles. As I am afraid, in this English garb, the reader may miss the relish of the original, I give the original in Aurangzeb's language :—

هذا بهتان عظيم - قاضي خدا كي طرف

the side of God." Till the close of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, Qāzi Sharf continued to hold the office of Qāzi. On the death of the Emperor, the Qāzi resigned his office; though J'afar Khān pressed him to continue, he did not. And during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb and during the Nizāmat of J'afar Khān, only the nobility, the scholars, the learned, and the excellent who passed examinations were appointed to the office of Qāzi, which was never bestowed on the illiterate or the low. No changes or transfers in the offices of the pious and hereditary Qāzis existed, nor was any tax levied from them; in fact, they were subordinates to no superiors, nor answerable to any.[1] For instance, Ahsanu-l-lāh Khān, Faujdār of the port of Hughli, grandson of Bāqir Khān, the Senior (after whom a kind of Indian bread has acquired the name of *Bāqir Khāni*), was a *protegè* of Nawāb J'afar Khān, and he possessed great influence with the Nawāb. During his administration, Imamu-d-din, Kotwāl (Police Superintendent) of the port of Hughli, who had acquired a high position and much influence, enticed away the daughter of a Mughal from the latter's house. The aforesaid Ahsanu-l-lāh Khān, conniving at this offence, shewed partiality towards his Kotwāl, and stood surety for his future good behaviour. The Mughals carried their complaint to Nawāb J'afar Khān. The Nawab, according to the injunctions of the Holy Book, had the Kotwāl stoned to death, and did not listen to the intercession of Ahsanu-l-lāh Khān for the offender. Towards the close of his career, on the eastern plain of the city of Murshidābād, on the grounds of his Khas T'aluq, the Nawab erected a Treasury, a *Katrah*, a Cathedral mosque, a monument, a Reservoir, and also sank a large well, and under the staircase of the mosque, he located his own tomb, so that it might be safe from damage, and might also, owing to the proximity of the mosque, be blessed with perpetual benedictions for his soul. When his life drew to its close, finding that he had no son, he proclaimed Sarfarāz Khān, who was his maternal grandson, and who had been brought up by him, as his heir and successor, and he entrusted to him charge of the treasures

1 Emperor Aurangzeb, though rather a bigot in some points, had scrupulous regard for the majesty of the *Sharā* or Law, and took considerable pains to improve the administration of Justice. The Qāzis, or Magistrates and Judges, were exclusively recruited from the ranks of eminent scholars, and they were not subordinate to any except the Law itself, and their offices carried great *prestige*.

and effects and the control of both the Nizāmat and the Imperial offices. In 1139 A.H. he died. From the following Miṣr'a, the date of his death is obtained :—

زدورالخلافت جوار افتاد

(Translation) From the Imperial Capital, the rampart has fallen.

When the numerical value of the word جوار is deducted from the word دورالخلافت the date of his death is obtained.

He spurred on his steed of march towards eternity;
He has passed away, but his good name survives.
Aye, what better can anyone aspire to than this?:
That after he has passed away, his many virtues might survive.[1]

——o——

NIZAMAT OF NAWAB SHUJ'A-UD-DIN[2] MUHAMMAD KHAN WHO WAS ALREADY NAZIM OF THE SUBAH OF ODISA (ORISSA).

When Nawāb J'afar Khān passed to the regions of eternity, Sarfaraz Khān[3] following the Nawāb's dying wish, laid the former in the tomb under the staircase of the *Katrah* mosque, and himself ascended the *masnad* of Nizamat as his successor. And conciliating the Nizamat and Imperial officials, like Nawab J'afar Khān he administered fiscal and administrative affairs. Save and except the Public Funds and Imperial treasures, he removed to his private residence the private treasures and effects of J'afar Khān. He reported J'afar Khān's death to Emperor Muhammad Shāh

1 These beautiful lines, I suspect, are borrowed from Saadi, the great Persian Moralist and Poet of Shiraz.

2 He was called "Mirza Dakni," and he hailed from Burhanpur. His father's name was Nuru-d-din, who came originally from Khorasan. He was son-in-law of Murshed Quli Khan, and was Nazim of Orissa, when Murshed Quli Khan became Subādar of Bengal. He received the title of Mutaman-ul-Mulk, Shujau-d-daulah Asad Khan (See *Maāsir*, Vol. 3, p. 953, and *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. 2, p. 469).

3 His name was Mirza Asadu-d-din, and his titles were Alau-d-daulah Sarfaraz Khan Haidar Jang'. He was a son of Shujau-d-din Khan, and a maternal grandson of Murshed Quli Khan. (See *Maasir-ul- Umara*, Vol. 3, p. 754, and *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. 2, p. 408).

the side of God." Till the close of the reig zeb, Qāzi Sharf continued to hold the death of the Emperor, the Qāzi resigne Khān pressed him to continue, he did of Emperor Aurangzeb and during only the nobility, the scholars, who passed examinations were a was never bestowed on the ill transfers in the offices of t nor was any tax levied fro to no superiors, nor ans lāh Khān, Faujdār of t the Senior (after wh name of *Bāqir Khā* he possessed gre tration, Imamr of Hughli, w enticed awa aforesaid tiality behav Kh h

smat ed all Taqi rge of

ASC. 3.

...ammad Fazil, and his title was Itamadu-d-daulah ...adur. He was a son of Itamadu-d-daulah Muhammad ...n Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah resigning the office of Vazir, ... Khan became Vazir of Emperor Muhammad Shah in 1137 A.H. ... liberal, affable, and polished. (See *Maasir-ul-Umara*, Vol. 1, p. 358, and *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*, Vol. 2, p. 457).

FASC. IV.

' marched with a large army towards Bengal. In
'he Imperial *Sanad* of the *Niẓāmat* of Bengal, and
'he support of the Imperial Ministers, he sent
ılkishan, agent of Nawab Ja'far Khān, at the
njoyed more confidence and eminence than
ents. He also sent messages to other

h,[1] on receiving news of Nawab Ja'far
he *Ṣūbahdārī* of Bengal on Amīru-l-
n-i-Daurān[2] Khān Bahādur, Chief
ny. The latter was Emperor's
...ate associate both in social gaieties as well as
...uerations, and was his comrade, companion, and coun-
..or in matters pertaining to feasts, as well as to wars. The Amīru-l-Umarā misled by the intrigues of the aforesaid agent, sent the patent and Khila't of the Deputy Niẓāmat of Bengal in the name of Shujāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān. Shujāu-d-dīn Khān had reached this side of Mednipūr, when the patent addressed to his name arrived, and viewing this event as a good omen, he named that place "Mubarak-Manzil" or "the Auspicious place," and ordered a *Katrāh* (a Tower) and a masonry-built *Caravanserai* to be erected there. When news of the approach of his father reached

[1] Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was raised to the Imperial throne of Delhi by the Syed brothers in 1131 A.H. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 422.

[2] His name was Khwajah Āṣam. His ancestors had come from Badakhshan to India, and settled at Agra. He held a small *Manṣab* in the beginning under Prince Azimu-sh-Shan, and was in the latter's company in Bengal at Dacca. When the Prince in obedience to the summons of his father, Muḥammad Muazzam (afterwards Emperor Bahadur Shāh), on the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, left Bengal to join his father at Agra, he left Khwajah Āṣam in the company of his son Farrukh Sir, who remained in Bengal on behalf of his father. He soon made himself a *persona grata* to Prince Farrukh Sir, and exercised considerable influence over his conduct and policy. Farrukh Sir conferred on him the title of 'Ashraf Khān,' and on ascension to the throne conferred on him the further titles of "Ṣamṣamu-d-daulah Khān Dauran," and created him a *Haft hazarī*, and second Bakhshi. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, on the fall of Syed Husain Ali Khān, he received the title of 'Amiru-l-Umara' and also became the Supreme Bakhshi or Generalissimo, or Paymaster-General of the Army. He fell during the war against Nadir Shāh who had invaded India in 1151 A H. See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, Vol. I, p. 819.

Sarfarāz Khān, owing to recklessness of youth, the latter intended marching to Katwah, in order to oppose his father's advance. The Dowager Begam of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, who was a very wise and sagacious lady, and who regarded Sarfarāz Khān as dearer than her own life, dissuaded the latter, and with soft and sweet words of counsel set his mind at ease. She said to Sarfarāz Khān: "Your father is old; after him, the Ṣubahdārī as well as the country with its treasures would devolve on you. To fight against one's own father, is cause of loss both in this world and in the next, as well as of ignominy. It is meet that till the lifetime of your father, you should remain contented with the *Diwānī* of Bengal." Sarfarāz Khān, who never acted against the advice of his grand-mother, acquiesced in her counsel. Advancing, he received Shujāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, and escorted him to Murshidābād. Making over to his father the Fort and the offices of the Niẓāmat, Sarfarāz Khān retired to his private residence at Nakṭākhalī. From there he used to attend daily on his father, and spend his time according to the latter's wishes. Retaining in his own service the Qorān-readers, hymn-reciters, and scholars belonging to Nawab Ja'far Khān's household, Sarfarāz Khān employed them on devotions and on recitations of the Qorān, as was the practice under Nawab Ja'far Khān. He further consecrated his life to winning the hearts of people, and also sought for help and blessings from saints and hermits.

Shujāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān,[1] who in point of bravery and

[1] The author of the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* also pays a glowing tribute to the memory of Nawab Shujāu-d-dīn Khān, and styles him a second Naushirvan in justice and liberality. He treated all his officers, high and low, including soldiers and household servants, with affability and considerateness, and at the time of his death, begged their forgiveness, and gave them all two months' pay in advance. In the administration of justice, he was very impartial and made no difference between his own son and his humblest subject. He appreciated talent, and during his administration, people possessed of the east talent flocked into Bengal from all parts of Hindustan, and found a ready friend and helper in him. Bengal which enjoyed the title of 'Jinnatu-l-Bilad' or 'Paradise of Provinces,' now literally became so, under Shujāu-d-dīn Khān's wise and beneficent administration. His charities were unostentatious and catholic, and his liberality was unstiuted. His subjects, during his administration, enjoyed perfect peace and happiness. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, pp. 472 and 488 (Pers. text).

By the way, the general immunity from civil wars and disturbances

courage was unique in his day, and who in point of liberality and generosity was matchless in his time, was born at Burhānpūr.[1] As he ascended the *masnad* of the *Nizāmat* of Bengal in his old age, he felt compassion for the condition of the Bengal Zamindars, who being in duress from the time of Nawāb Ja'far Khān had never, even in dreams, beheld the faces of their wives and children. He set them at large, and permitted them to return to their homes, after levying from them *Nazars* over and above the amounts of revenue assessed by Nawāb Ja'far Khān. By this stroke of policy, over and above the profits of *Jāgīrs* and fees on ware-houses and factories, he easily raised one *kror* and fifty *laks* of rupees, which he remitted to the Imperial Treasury through the Banking Agency of Jagat Seth Fatiḥ Chānd. And selling off at fancy prices to Zamindars the jaded horses, cattle, and other live-stock, as well as damaged carpets and curtains belonging to the private estate of Nawab Ja'far Khān, he sent another forty *laks* of rupees, besides elephants, to Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. And after the Abstract Balance-sheet of the Annual Accounts was prepared, he remitted to the Imperial Capital the stipulated annual tribute of the Nizāmat, besides the Imperial Revenue, according to the established usage. And sending to the Emperor, at their proper seasons, elephants, *Tāngan* horses, special cotton-fabrics,[2] and *qūshkhana* [3] and

enjoyed by Bengal during the vigorous *régimes* of Murshid Qulī Khān and his successor, Shujāu-d-dīn Khān (whilst the whole of Upper India was convulsed and torn by fratricidal wars and foreign invasions which converted those fair regions into human shambles), would in a large measure account for the existence of a comparatively large Musalman population in Bengal, contrasted with that in Upper India, without having recourse to theories of a more or less fanciful character, for which there appears little or no historical warrant.

1 Burhānpūr is described in the *Āīn* (see Vol. II, p. 223) as "a large city, three *kos* distant from the Tapti, in Subah Dandes or Khandes. It was embellished with many gardens, inhabited by people of all countries, and handicraftsmen plied a thriving trade."

2 *Khaṣah* is mentioned in the list of cotton-fabrics manufactured in India. See *Āīn*, Vol. I, p. 94, for a list of cotton, silk and woollen manufactures of India, in Akbar's time. Emperor Akbar took great pains to improve all indigenous manufactures. "Skilful masters and workmen were settled in India to

3 قوش means "small-bodied (man)." I do not exactly understand what قوشخانه signifies. It was apparently some sort of cotton or silk-stuff manufactured in Bengal, with human figures woven thereon.

other manufactures, he attested thereby his loyalty to the Imperial throne, and was in consequence invested with the titles of Mautamanu-l-Mulk, Shuja'u-d-daulah, Shujā'u-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān Bahādur Asad Jang. He also received the personal *Manṣab* of a *Haft Hazārī*, with seven thousand troopers, besides a fringed Pālkī, together with the insignia of the *Māhī* Order, and a *khila't* consisting of six pieces of robes, precious stones, a jewel-mounted sword, and a Royal elephant with a horse. He was further confirmed in the office of Nāzim of Bengal. He surpassed his predecessors in office in paraphernalia of royalty and armaments, and though his prime of life had passed, he did not scorn life's pleasures. Dismantling the public buildings erected by Nawab Ja'far Khān, as they seemed too small according to his lofty ideals, he built instead a grand and spacious Palace, an Arsenal, a lofty Gateway, a Revenue Court,[1] a Public Audience-Hall,[2] a Private Office,[3] a *Boudoir* for Ladies, a Reception-Hall,[4] a Court of Chancery[5] and a Court of Justice.[6] He lived in magnificent splendour, and used to ride out in right regal state. He attended constantly to the well-being of his Army, and to the happiness of his subjects. On his officers, he lavished largesses amounting to no less than one thousand or five hundred rupees in each case. Constantly animated by a scrupulous regard for justice, and always inspired by fear of

teach people an improved system of manufacture. The Imperial workshops, the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fathpur, Ahmadabad, Gujrat, turn out many master-pieces of workmanship; and the figures and patterns and knots, and variety of fashions which now prevail, astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade, and on account of the care bestowed on them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-spinning were brought to perfection, and the Imperial workshops furnish all those stuffs which are made in other countries...." See *Āīn-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's translation, Vol. I, pp. 87, 88.

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1 'The *Diwan Khana*' is a building containing the office of Dīwan or Finance Minister.

2 A '*Chihel Satun*' means literally 'forty-pillared.' It was a large building, intended as a Public Audience-Hall.

3 '*Khilwat Khhana*' means a 'Private Chamber.'

4 '*Jalus-Khana*' means "Office-room or building."

5 *Khalisah Kacheri* means the "Court of Exchequer," or the Revenue Court or Revenue Board in respect of Crown-land Affairs.

6 *Farmanbari* means a 'Court of Justice.'

God, he uprooted from his realm the foundations of oppressions and tyrannies. Executing Nāẓir Aḥmad and Murād Farrāsh, the employés of Nawab Ja'far Khān, who were notorious for their high-handedness, he confiscated their effects. Nāẓir Aḥmad had laid the foundation of a Mosque with a garden at Dehpara on the banks of the river Bhāgiratī. Shujā'u-d-daulah, after executing him, finished the mosque and garden, and named them after himself. And he tastefully embellished the garden by building therein grand palaces with reservoirs, canals and numerous fountains. It was a splendid garden, compared with which the spring-houses of Kashmīr paled like withering autumn-gardens; nay, the garden of *Iram*[1] itself seemed to draw its inspiration of freshness and sweetness from it. Shujā'u-d-daulah used frequently to resort for promenades and picnics to that paradise-like garden, and held there pleasure-parties and other entertainments. Every year in that beautiful garden, he used to give a State Banquet to the educated section[2] of his State Officers. It is said that owing to the superb charmfulness of that garden, Fairies used to come down there for picnics and walks, and to bathe in its tanks. The guards on getting scent of this, informed Shujā'u-d-daulah. Dreading mischief from the genii, the Nawab filled up the tanks with earth, and discontinued his picnics in that garden.

Being fond of ease and pleasures, Nawab Shujā'u-d-daulah entrusted the duties of the Niẓāmat to a Council,[3] composed of Ḥājī

1 'Iram' or ارم "is the celebrated but fabulous garden said to have been anciently laid out in Arabia Felix by a king named Shadad-bin-i-Ad or Iram bin-i-Omad. Frequent mention of these gardens is made by the Eastern poets, who describe them as a perfect model of Paradise.

2 It is significant that even in those declining years of the Mughal *regime*, towards the first quarter of the eighteenth century, scholarship and intellectual attainments had not ceased to command esteem amongst the Mughal Pro-Consuls.

3 See slightly varied account in the '*Seirul-Mutakherin*,' which shews that Mirza Alī Vardī Khān was the leading spirit in Shujau-d-din's Council or Cabinet. See *Seirul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 473 Pers. text. On ascending the *gadi* of Nizamat, Shujāu-d-dīn Khān constituted a Cabinet of Advisers or Council of State, consisting of (1) Mirza Muḥammad Alī Vardī Khān *alias* Mirza Bandi, (2) Hajī Ahmad, brother of No. 1, (3) Rai Raiān 'Alam Chand (formerly Shujāu-d-dīn's Diwan in Orissa), (4) Jagatset Fateh Chand, the banker. In all important matters, he used to consult them before passing orders. His first measure was to release the Bengal Zamindars who had been imprisoned by Ja'far Khān. This measure brought him not only

Ahmad, Rāi Ā'lamchānd Diwān, and Jagat-Set Fatehchānd, whilst the Nawab himself indulged in pleasures.[1] Rāi Ā'lamchānd Mukhtār,[2]

popularity but also an increase to the revenue (as *Nazar* was levied), and at the same time contributed to the fertility of Bengal, the *Jinnatu-l-Bilad.* (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 473). For purposes of administration, he maintained his son Sarfaraz Khan as the nominal Diwan of Bengal, conferred the *Subahdari* of Orissa on his son (by another wife), named Muḥammad Taqī Khān, the Deputy Nizamat of Jahangirnagar or Dacca on his son-in-law, Murshid Quli Khān II, the Faujdarship of Rangpur on Sayid Ahmad Khān (nephew of Alī Vardī Khān), the Faujdari of Rajmahal or Akbarnagar on Zainu-d-dīn Ahmad (another nephew and son-in-law of Alī Vardī Khān); Nawazish Mḥd. Khān (another nephew of Alī Vardi) was created Generalissimo of the Army. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 472.

[1] This preference of personal pleasures to the performance of public duties by the later Mughal pro-consuls and sovereigns of the 18th century, marks a sad moral collapse, and was one of the causes that hastened the downfall of the Great Mughal Empire in India. Preferring their own personal ease and pleasures, these later Moslem Satraps and Emperors delegated the unchecked control of their State concerns into the hands of ministers, who often proved unscrupulous, venal and treacherous, and scrupled not to barter them to intriguers for the sake of what they deemed to be their individual and personal self-aggrandisement. It was a failing which stood out in jarring contrast to the noble traditions and examples of a Babar, a Sher Shah, an Akbar, and an Aurangzeb, each of whom 'scorned delights and lived laborious days.' As bearing on the same point, I may also quote from Bernier's *Travels* pp. 129-130 the weighty words of Aurangzeb, whilst admonishing one of his Omarah who had ventured to express his fears lest the Emperor's incessant occupations might be productive of injury to his health. Thus burst forth the Great Monarch in the following noble strain :—"There can surely be but one opinion among you learned men as to the obligations imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand *in defence of the people committed to his charge.* And yet this good and considerate man would fain persuade me that the public weal ought to cause me no solicitude; that in devising means to promote it, I should never pass a sleepless night, nor spare a single day from the pursuit of some low and sensual gratification. According to him, I am to be swayed by considerations of my own bodily health, and chiefly to study what may best minister to my personal ease and enjoyment. No doubt, he would have me abandon the government of this vast kingdom to some Vizier: he seems not to consider that, being born the son

[2] The *Seirul-Mutakherin* describes Alamchand as having formerly held the office of Diwan under Shuja'u-d-din Khān, when the latter held the office of Nāzim of Orissa. *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 473, Pers. text. It is worthy of note that in Kattak (Cuttack) town, there is still a quarter or *Mahalla* known as 'Alamchand Bazar.'

in the period of Shujā'u-d-daulah's Nizāmat of Orissa, was a Muḥrar attached to the latter's household. At this time, he was invested with the Deputy Diwānī of the Ṣūbah of Bengal, and being appointed Superintendent-General of the Affairs of the Nizāmat and the Diwānī, he effected considerable retrenchments in the public expenditure, and received the personal Manṣab of a Hazārī with the title of Rāi Rāiān—a title which until that time no officer of the Bengal Nizāmat or Diwānī had enjoyed. And Hāji Aḥmad [1] and Mirzā Bandī were sons of Mirzā Muḥammad, who was a cup-bearer of Ā'zzam Shāh, a son of Emperor Aurangzeb Ā'lamgir. Hāji Āḥmad, on the death of his father, was appointed Cup-bearer and Superintendent of the jewellery-stores of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ā'zzam Shāh. As Ā'zzam Shāh [2] fell in the struggle for the Em-

of a king, and placed on a throne, I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, *not for myself, but for others;* that it is my *duty not to think of my own happiness,* except so far as it is inseparably connected *with the happiness of my people.* It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State. This man cannot penetrate into the consequence of the inertness he recommends, and he is ignorant of the *evils that attend upon delegated power.* It was not without reason that our great Saadi emphatically exclaimed:—'Cease to be kings; Oh, cease to be kings; or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves....' Alas! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence; we need no such officious counsellors. Our wives too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury." What a noble ideal of kingly duty!, and what a sad falling-off in later Moslem times!

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1 In *Seirul-Mutakherin* and Stewart's History of Bengal, it is stated that Mirzā Muḥammad's eldest son was Hāji Aḥmad, and his second son was Mirzā Muḥammad Ālī (the latter received the title of Muḥammad Ā'lī Vardī Khān, through the favour of Shujā'u-d-din Khān, whilst the latter was Nazim of Orissa). See Seir, Vol. II, p. 470.

2 A'zzam Shāh, surnamed Prince Muḥammad A'zzam, was the second son of Emperor Aurangzeb, his eldest brother being Prince Muhammad Muazzam, afterwards surnamed Emperor Bahadur Shāh. On Emperor Aurangzeb's death, there was a fratricidal struggle for the Empire between the above two brothers, with the result that at the sanguinary battle of Jajo, near Agra, in 1119 A.H., A'zzam Shāh, or Prince Muḥammad A'zzam, was killed, and Bahadur Shāh became victorious. See description of this sanguinary battle with the slaughter of several Princes Royal in the *Seirul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 377. Emperor Aurangzeb's third son, Prince Kam Bakhsh, similarly fell shortly after in 1120 A.H., near Haidarabad, in a similar fratricidal struggle with

pire, at the time of this Revolution, the two brothers leaving the Imperial Capital proceeded to the Dakhin and thence to Odīsa (Orissa), and entered there the service of Shujā'u-d-daulah. Adopting a policy of tact and prudence which "is a friend, and like water, takes to every hue," these two brothers got into the good graces of Shujā'u-d-daulah. When Shujā'u-d-daulah acquired the Niẓāmat of the Ṣūbah of Bengal, Ḥājī Aḥmad became his intimate associate and councillor in all affairs of the Niẓāmat; whilst Mirzā Bandī was invested with the Manṣab and title of Ā'lī Vardī Khān, and appointed Faujdār of the Chaklah of Akbarnagar[1] (Rājmahal). Similarly, the Hājī's eldest son, named Muḥammad Riẓā,[2] received the office of Dārogbah or Superintendent of the *Bajūtrah* of Murshidābād; his second son, Agā Muḥammad Sa'īd, was appointed Deputy Faujdār of Rangpūr; whilst his youngest son, Mirẓā Muḥammad Hāshim, was invested with the Manṣab and title of Hashim Ā'lī Khān. Pīr Khān, who during Shujā'u-d-daulah's stay at Burhānpūr had rendered faithful services, and who from his youth to old age had passed his days in his company, was at this time invested with the Manṣab and title of Shuja' Qulī Khān, and given the Faujdārī of the Port of Hūglī, on the transfer of Aḥsanul-lah Khān.

Merit is no passport to worldly advancement,
When times are propitous, failings seem accomplishments.

The new Faujdār of Huglī commenced exactions and oppressions. The Port of Hūglī from his rapacity was ruined; and he commenced quarrelling with the European merchants. On the pretext of collecting the customs-duties of the Imperial Customs-

Bahadur Shāh. See Seir, Vol. II, p. 379. It ought to be noted that these fratricidal struggles did more to weaken the great Timuride Dynasty, than the ravages of Mahratta freebooters or the incursions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani.

1 'Mirzā Bandi' was another surname of Mirzā Muḥammad Ā'lī (subsequently styled Muḥammad Ā'lī Vardī Khān). In *Seir* it is stated that he formed the leading spirit in the Council or Cabinet of advisers of Nawāb Shujā'u-d-din Khān, and that the Faujdārship of Akbarnagar or Rajmahal was bestowed by Shujā'u-d-din Khān on Ā'lī Vardī Khān's *nephew* and *son-in-law* named Zain-udd-in Ahmad. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 472.

2 During the Niẓāmat of Ā'lī Vardī Khān, Muḥammad Riza received the title of 'Nawazish Muḥammad Khān,' and was advanced to the office of Diwan of Bengal. I do not quite understand what the word 'Bajutrah' in the text means. It probably signifies "Miscellaneous Revenue."

House, he requisitioned troops from the Emperor, commenced hostility with the English, Dutch, and French, and levied *Naẓārs* and taxes. It is said that once unloading from English vessels bales of silk and cotton-stuffs, and placing these below the fort, he confiscated them. The English troops advancing from Calcutta, arrived near the fort. Shujā' Quli Khān finding himself an unequal match for them climbed down, when the English troops carried off their goods. The aforesaid Khān writing to Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah requisitioned troops to attack the English, and by cutting off supplies of Qāsimbāzār and Calcutta, he reduced them to straits. The Chief of the English Factory at Qāsimbāzār was compelled in consequence to arrange terms of peace, by agreeing to pay three *laks* of rupees as *naẓar* to Shujā'u-d-daulah. The Chief of the English Factory in Calcutta, borrowing the *naẓarana* money from the Calcutta bankers, remitted it to Shujā'u-d-daulah.

In short, as the good services of Shujā'u-d-daulah came to the notice of the Emperor through the medium of Khān Daurān Khān, in recognition thereof, the Niẓāmat of the Ṣūbah of Behar[1] on the transfer of Fakhru-d-daulah, brother of Raushanu-d-daulah Ṭurābbāz Khān, was also conferred by the Emperor on Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah. The aforesaid Nawāb considering Muḥammad A'lī Vardī Khān to be a person of capacity and tact, appointed him to be his Deputy Governor of Behar, and sent him to 'Aẓīmābād (Patna) with five thousand cavalry and infantry. A'li Vardi Khān, arriving in the Ṣubah of Behar, associated with himself, in the administration, General Abdul Karīm

1 Fakhru-d-daulah was Ṣūbadar of Behar from 1140 A.H. for about five years. He was given to ease and pleasures, and ill-treated not only his minister, Shaikh Abdullah, who enjoyed the confidence of the public, but also insulted Khwajab Mu'taṣṣam (brother of Amiru-l-Umara Ṣamṣamu-d-daulah Khān Dauran Khwajah Aṣam). The latter in consequence left Patna, went to Delhi, and complained to his brother, who held great influence at the court of the Emperor, Muḥammad Shāh-Fakhru-d-daulah was at once recalled, and Behar was added to the Bengal satrapy under Nawāb Shuj'au-d-din Khān. The latter appointed Muḥammad A'lī Vardī Khān as his Deputy in the Niẓamat of Behar, conferring on him (with the sanction of the Emperor) the title of Mahabat Jang, and promoting him to the rank of a *Panjhasari*. A'lī Vardī ruled over Behar vigorously. See *Seirul-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, pp. 469, 472. For Raushan-u-d-daulah see page 462, Vol. II, *Seir*.

Khān,[1] Chief of the Afghāns of Dārbhanga, and raised a levy of efficient troops. Entrusting the reins of authority over administrative and revenue affairs to the hands of Abdul Karīm Khān, Ā'li Vardi Khan sent the former on an expedition against the *Banjarah* tribe, who were a class of marauders and murderers, and who in the guise of traders and travellers used to plunder the imperial domains and treasures. Abdul Karīm Khān, subduing the *Banjarah* tribe, gained a large booty. Muḥammad Ā'lī Vardī, by chastising the *Banjarah*[2] tribe, achieved a high reputation. And being aided by the Āfghāns, Ā'li Vardī advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājahs of Bītīah and Bhawārah,[3] who were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nāẓims, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any of the former Ṣūbahdārs. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting with them incessantly, Ā'lī Vardi Khān became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ā'li Vardī Khān carried off a large booty, amounting to several *laks*, in specie and other effects. And settling with the Rājahs the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiery also were enriched by the booty, and the strength of Ali Vardī's administration increased. And drawing his forces against the Chakwar tribe, who had acquired a world-wide notoriety for their marauding propensities, Alī Vardī also extirpated them. Invading the tracts of the refractory and turbulent Zamindar of Bhojpūr,[4] and of Rājah Sundar Singh, Zamindar of Tikarī, and of Nāmdār Khān Muīn,[5] who, sheltered by dense forests and rocks,

1 Abdul Karīm Khān was a Rohilla Afghan; he was very brave and powerful, and had a large Afghan following. See *Seir* Vol. II, p. 473.

2 *Banjarah* is described as a zemindari with 100 horse and 1000 foot, under Ṣubah Berar in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 230. The tribe of *Banjarah* were Rajputs in caste.

3 Bhaurah or Bhawarah is mentioned as a Mahal under Sarkar Tirhut, in Ṣubah Behar. See *Ain*, Vol. II, p. 156. Stewart inaccurately calls it Phulwarah. Phulwari is a Mahal under Sarkar Behar.

4 Bhōjpūr, a parganna in Sarkar Rohtas, Bihar, west of Arrah and north of Sasseram. The Rājahs of Bhōjpūr called themselves Ujjinniah Rājahs, as they claimed descent from the ancient Rajāhs of Ujjain in Malwah. See *Āīn* Bloch. *tr.*, Vol. I, p. 513 n.

5 I cannot trace of which place in Bihar he was a local chieftain.

had not cared for former Nāẓims, and had neglected to discharge loyal duties, and without coercion had never paid the Imperial revenue, Alī Vardī set about chastising every one of them, subdued their tracts thoroughly, levied the revenues from them to the fullest extent, and reduced them to thorough subjection. And similarly punishing other insolent rebels, Ali Vardī Khān placed the ring of submission on their ears. And in a short period becoming master of immense treasures and a large army, Ali Vardī's power and prestige grew enormously. As 'Abdul Karīm Khān held control over all the State affairs, he exercised absolute sway, and ignored Muḥammad Ali Vardī Khān. Hence the latter becoming suspicious of the former, inveigled him by some device into his own house, and slaying him raised the standard of triumph. And through the agency of Muḥammad Ishāq Khān,[1] Dīwān of the Imperial *Khaliṣāh*, Ali Vardī Khān opened negociations with Qamru-d-dīn Khān,[2] the Imperial Vizier, and also with other Imperial Ministers, and succeeded in obtaining directly from the Emperor the title of Mahabat Jang[3] Bahadur, without Shuju'ā-d-daulah's recommendation. Shujā'u-d-daulah, who reposed full confidence in Hājī Aḥmad and Ali Vardī Khān, viewed without misgivings this elevation of Ali Vardī's rank; but his son, Sarfarāz Khān, felt misgivings about it. On account of this difference in views, between the father and the son a coolness set in. Another son of Shujā'u-d-daulah by a different wife was Muḥammad Taqi Khān. He was Deputy Nāẓim of Orissa, and was not only brave and bold but was also popular with the Army. Hājī Aḥmad and Ali Vardī Khān basing their intrigue on his rivalry contrived to bring about a rupture, advantageous to themselves, between the two brothers. When the plan of this intrigue was matured, Hājī Aḥmad secured the adhesion of Rāi Rāiān 'Ālam Chānd and Jagatset Fateh Chānd; and the

1 For Ishaq Khān, see Seir, Vol. II, p. 489. He enjoyed Emperor Muhammad Shāh's confidence.

2 When Nizamu-l-Mulk Aṣaf Jah resigned the Imperial Vizarat, I'tamu-d-daulah Qamru-d-dīn Khān, son of Muḥammad Amin Khān, succeeded him as Imperial Vazir of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. See Vol. II, p. 457, *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*. Pers. text.

3 The *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, however, (see n. *ante*) states that Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān secured from Emperor Muḥammad Shāh the title of 'Mahabat Jang' for his favourite and *protege*, Ali Vardī Khān.

Triumvirate now waited for the development of their conspiracy. Shujā'u-d-daulah, by the advice of the Triumvirate, was induced not to entrust the control of any affair to Sarfarāz Khān. When the fibres of mistrust thus sown took root in the soil of the hearts of the son and the father, as well as of the two brothers, and these were about to germinate, Muḥammad Taqī Khān, ascertaining the real origin of this misunderstanding, proceeded from Orissa to Bengal, to personally interview his father and brother. The Councillors of Shujā'u-d-daulah, finding the odds of the times evenly balanced, fanned strifes and fomented jealousies between the two brothers, so much so that both the latter prepared to fight. Muḥammad Taqī Khān with his army rode out, and arrayed his force on a sandy plain, opposite to the Murshidabad Fort, on the other side of the river Bhāgiratī. Thence he advanced to interview his father, but did not plunder the City. And the army of Sarfarāz Khān was arranged in battle-array from Naktakhālī to Shāhnagar, and was ready to kindle the fire of war and slaughter. Secretly tempting by offers of bribe the commanders and officers of Muḥammad Taqī's army, Sarfarāz Khān won them over to his side, and sending messages for Muḥammad Taqī's capture, waited for the enemy, in the hope that when the two contending hosts would face each other in battle-array, his own officers would capture Muḥammad Taqī and bring him in. Muḥammad Taqī Khān, who in bravery was the Rustam[1] of his day, did not care for the enemy. The negociations for peace and war passed and repassed between the two brothers. When Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah saw that affairs had taken a grave turn, he intervened, reconciled the brothers, and prevented their fighting. And out of regard for the feelings of Sarfarāz Khān and the Begams, rebuking several times Muḥammad Taqī Khān, Shujā'u-d-daulah prohibited the latter from coming to see and salute him. At length, at the intercession of Sarfarāz Khān's mother, he pardoned Muḥammad Taqī Khān, and permitted him to go back to the Ṣūbah of Orissa. But on arrival in Orissa, in the year 1147 A.H., owing to the witchcraft of the enemy, he[2] died. On this, Murshid Qulī Khān, surnamed Majbur,[3] who was a son-in-law

[1] The Persian Hercules. His dauntless bravery and splendid heroism has been immortalised in the Shahnamah of Ferdausi, the Persian Homer.

[2] In Maasiru-l-Umara, Vol. II, p. 844, "Makhmur," which seems to be correct.

[3] Muḥammad Taqī Khān, the Nāẓim of Orissa and a son of Nawāb Shujā'u-

of Shujā'u-d-daulah and was already Deputy Nāẓim of Jahāngir-nagar (Dacca), and was a son of a merchant of the Port of Sūrat, and who in his writings and compositions, and in his poetical productions and caligraphy, enjoyed great excellence, was appointed Deputy Nāẓim of the Ṣubah of Orissa.

During the Viceroyalty of Nawāb Ja'far Khān, whilst the abovementioned Murshid Qulī Khān[1] stayed at Murshīdābād, a person named Mir Ḥābīb, a native of Shirāz, spoke Persian very fluently, though he was not read in that language. By chance, Mīr Ḥabīb arrived in the Port of Hūglī, where he earned his livelihood by retailing the wares of Mughal merchants. Owing to his kindred mercantile pursuits, and also owing to his conversational powers, Mīr Ḥabīb quickly ingratiated himself with Murshīd Qulī Khān, and entered the latter's service. When Nawāb Ja'far Khān conferred the Governorship of Jahāngīr-nagar (Dacca) on Murshīd Qulī Khān, Mīr Ḥabīb also went in the latter's company to Jahāngīr-nagar (Dacca), and was attached to the latter as his Deputy. By personally attending to minute details, and by adopting a policy of economy, Mīr Ḥabīb curtailed the State expenditure on account of the *Nawarah* (war-vessels), the artillery, and

d-dīn Khān, lies buried in the *Qadam* Rasul building at Cuttack, which had been erected by Nawāb Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān, when the latter was Nāẓim of Orissa. The tomb of Muḥammad Taqī Khān is now in a dilapidated condition. On it I found still the following inscription: تاریخ وفات نواب مرحوم چه حاتمي رفت ۱۱۴۷. I may add that the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Pers. text, p. 534), makes mention of this Katak Qadam Rasul building, and of the Deputy Governor, Abdul Nabi Khān (father of Abdur Rasul Khān, another Deputy Governor of Orissa), being entombed there. In this connection, I may point out there is a historial anachronism in the Qadam Rasul building inscription which states "it was erected by Shauja'u-d-dīn Khān in the time of Alamgir II." Shujā'u-d-dīn was *not* a contemporary of Alamgir II at all, he was a contemporary of Alamgir I whilst at Katak, and of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, whilst Nāẓim of Bengal.

[1] The reader must not confound *this* Murshid Quli Khān (*son-in-law* of Shujā'u-d-daulah whose real name was Mirza Lutfullah) with Nawab Ja'far Khān, who had formerly held the title of 'Murshid Quli Khān.' On reference to the account of Ja'far Khān in the text, it would appear that 'Ja'far Khān received several titles in succession; first he received the title of 'Kartalab Khān,' next that of 'Murshid Quli Khān,' and lastly that of 'Mutaman-ul-Mulk Alau-d-daulah Jafir Khān Nasir Jang," his original *name* having been Mirza Hadi.

the army, and thus rendered good services, and in consequence, shortly after, his official rank was raised. Finding the tract of Jahāngīr-nagar (Dacca) to be fertile, profit-yielding, and suited for trading business, he revived the system of *Ṣauda-i-k͟hāṣ* current during the Viceroyalty of Prince Āẕimu-s͟h-S͟hān, and by means of other exactions, both he and his Chief amassed wealth. On the pretext of collecting the Imperial revenue, he induced Nūru-l-lah, Zamindar of Parganah Jālālpūr,[2] who was the leading Zamindar, together with other Zamindars, to attend his *Kachiri* (Court). Adroitly dismissing the other Zamindars, one after another, Mīr Ḥabīb kept Nūru-l-lah under duress. At midnight, he permitted him to return home, escorted by a number of Afg͟hāns. The latter, at the instigation of Mīr Ḥabīb, slew Nūru-l-lah, in a narrow and dark alley. Next morning, Mīr Ḥabīb announced that Nūru-l-lah had fled, sent a detachment to his house, confiscated his treasures and jewelleries and effects and silk-stuffs, amounting in value to several *laks*, as well as his Abyssinian male and female slaves. Mīr Ḥabīb possessed himself of the above, and thus acquired aristocratic paraphernalia.

Subsequently leaguing with Āqā Ṣadīq, Zamīndār of Patpasār,[1] who in artfulness and cunning was his match, Mīr Ḥabīb sent him on an expedition against Tiprah. By chance the Āqā met the nephew of the Rājah of Tiprah, who having escaped from the con-

1 On reference to the *Āin-i-Akbari* (Vol. II, pp. 132-133), I find two parganahs with the name of 'Jallapur,' one being Sawail (apparently, Sarail), commonly called Jallapur (revenue, 1,857,230 *dams*) under Sarkar Fathabad, another being Dahlat Jallapur (revenue, 1,200 *dams*) under Sarkar Mahmūdābād. The first Jallapur or Sarail is situated in the Brahmanbaria Sub-Division of the present Tiprah district, and when I was in charge of that sub-division in 1896, I found the head of the Musalman family there (who was still called a Diwan) in an impoverished condition. The second Jallalpur parganah is now in the modern Faridpur district, and is owned, I believe, by the present Musalman Zamindars of Habibganj in that district. It may be that 'Habibganj' owes its name to Mir Habib; specially as there was formerly a "Chaklah Habibganj."

2 I fail to find Patpasar in the Ain-i-Akbari. I have not been able to trace where it is, nor know if any descendants of this family survive. I may, however, add here that local traditions prevalent in Tiprah mention that the Diwans of Horishpur (another old family of Musalman Zamindars, now in an impoverished condition) had something to do with the old Tiprah Rājahs, and with their conquest by the Mug͟hals. I am not sure if Aqa or Aga Sadiq of the text was connected with the above family.

trol of his uncle was wandering away from his native country, and who at this time happened to stay within the Imperial dominions. The aforesaid Āqā considering his company very lucky kept him in his company, promising to instal him in the Zamīndārī. The Rājah's nephew, according to the saying,—

> "The hare of that country can assuredly catch the dog of that tract,"—

guided the Āqā through the rocky defiles and river-fords, and led him to the country of Tiprah. The Rājah of Tiprah, who was careless and was unaware of the incursion of the Imperial army, was paralysed by this sudden on-rush of the Imperialists, and not having the capacity to fight fled to the summit of the hills. The tract of Tiprah, without any difficulty, fell into the hands of Mīr Ḥabīb, who by fightings stormed the fort of Chandīgadah, which was the residence [1] of the Rājah. Capturing numerous booty, Mīr Ḥabīb brought the tract of Tiprah within the Imperial domains. After completing the settlement of this tract, Mīr Ḥabīb [2] appointed Āqā Ṣadiq as Faujdār of Tiprah, and the

1 The present residence of the Rājah of Hill Tiprah is at Agartala. I do not know where Chandigadah lies. It could not have been far away from Agartala. Tiprah or Commilla does not appear in Akbar's rent-roll of Bengal.

2 A full account of Mīr Ḥabīb is given in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, Pers. text, pp. 593, 591, 590, &c. (also see Maasiru-l-Umara, Vol. II, p. 844). He subsequently joined the Mahrattas, and induced the latter to invade Orissa and Bengal in order to have his revenge against Ali Vardi Khān for supplanting from the Governorship of Orissa his old master and benefactor, Murshīd Qulī Khān (son-in-law of Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān). He appears to have been a man of wonderful resourcefulness, bravery and tact, and gave no end of trouble to Ali Vardi, who at length had to patch up a peace with Mīr Ḥabīb and the Mahrattas, by appointing Mīr Ḥabīb as *his* Deputy Nazim in Orissa, the arrangement being that Mīr Ḥabīb was to pay the Mahratta army of occupation from the revenue of Orissa, besides receiving from Ali Vardi an annual subsidy of twelve *laks*. Mīr Ḥabīb's signal services to the Mahrattas in the end were most churlishly requited by the latter, for Janoji, son of the Mahratta Raghoji Bhonsla, treacherously murdered him at Katak (see *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 592, Pers. text), after having invited him to a feast. But throughout their rise, treachery was their great weapon of offence and defence, and the Mahratta freebooters could not lay it down, even in the treatment of one, who, though distinct from them in race and religion, had given them the virtual mastery over the Province of Orissa.

Rājah's nephew as the Rājah,[1] whilst he himself returned to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) with treasures, valuables and elephants. Murshid Qulī Khān sent to Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah an account of the conquest of Tiprah, together with the best specimens of the wares and silk-stuffs of that tract. The Nawāb named that tract (of Tiprah) Raushanābād,[2] and invested Murshid Qulī Khān with the title of 'Bahādur,' and conferred on Mīr Ḥabīb the title of 'Khān.'

In short, when the Deputy-Nizamat of the Ṣūbah of Odisah (Orissa) was bestowed on Murshid Qulī Khān, the latter, on the recommendation of Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah, was given by the Emperor the title of Rustam-Jang. Observing the old age of his father, and fearing lest after the latter's death Rustam-Jang might fight against him, Sarfarāz Khān[3] detained at Murshidābād as hostages Rustam-Jang's son, named Yaḥyā Khān, and his wife, named Durdanah Begam. Although this incident caused some bitterness of feeling to Murshid Qulī Khān, the latter had no alternative but to endure it in silence. Murshid Qulī Khān with his army arrived in the Ṣūbah of Orissa, and appointed Mīr Ḥabību-l-lah Khān to be his Deputy there, in the same way as the latter had been his Deputy at Jahāngīrnagar. By use of diplomacy, and by dint of statesmanship and energy, Mīr Ḥabīb succeeded in chastising and reducing to order all refractory Zamīndārs of Orissa. He neglected no step towards the perfect organisation and settlement of Orissa, and effected a surplus in its revenue. During the commotion in Muḥammad Taqī Khān's time, the Rājah of Parsutam[4] had removed Jagannath, the Hindu

1 Evidently, the Rājah was no longer an independent Rājah, but was left more or less as a feudatory prince.

2 When I was at Brahmanbaria in 1896, I found the Court peons' badges still bearing the word "Chaklah Raushanabad." I do not know if they have been since changed.

3 Murshid Qulī Khān II Rustam-Jang was a son-in-law of Nawāb Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān, having married Durdana Begam, step-sister of Sarfarāz Khān. Syed Razī Khān was another son-in-law of Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān, having married Nafisah Begam, uterine sister of Sarfarāz Khān.

4 He was hitherto only 'Mīr Ḥabīb.' His name was changed to 'Mīr Ḥabību-l-lah Khān,' on his receiving the title of 'Khān' from Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, in recognition of his services in connection with the conquest of Tiprah. See note *ante* in regard to the title 'Khān' and its significance, under Musalman Emperors of India.

God, from the limits of the Ṣūbah of Odisah (Orissa), and had guarded it on the summit of a hill across the Chilka lake. In consequence of the removal of the idol, there was a falling-off to the tune of nine *laks* of rupees in the Imperial revenue, accruing from pilgrims. Establishing friendly relations with Mīr Ḥabību-l-lah Khān, and paying nazar to the Nazim of the time, Rājah Dand Deo brought back Jagannath the Hindu God to Parsūtam (Puri), and re-established the worship of Jagannāth at Puri. An account of the worship of Jagannāth has been already given in the text of this History.

When the Deputy-Nizamat of Odīsah (Orissa) was conferred on Murshid Qulī Khān Rustam-Jang, the Deputy-Nizamat of the Chaklah of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on Sarfaraz Khān.[1] The latter appointed as his Deputy-Governor Ghālib Ali Khān who was a scion of the Royal family of Persia, and deputed Ghalib Ali Khān to Dacca. Sarfaraz Khān also appointed Jasunat Rāi, the late Nawāb Jafar Khān's[2] Secretary, and his own tutor-

[1] 'Parsutam' is another name for Puri. See Hunter's 'Orissa.'

[2] It may be noted here there was a radical change in the administrative machinery of Bengal, during the latter part of Emperor Aurangzeb's reign. The offices of Nazim and Diwan had been hitherto kept quite distinct, but a retrograde step towards their eventual amalgamation was taken by Aurangzeb, when the latter appointed his favourite officer Murshīd Qulī Khān I. (afterwards Nawāb Ja'far Khān) to the dual offices of Diwan of Bengal and Orissa and Deputy Nazim of Bengal and Orissa. Murshīd Qulī Khān I. could not personally perform the functions of these dual offices, and whilst himself personally holding the portfolio of Deputy Nizamat of Bengal (the Chief Nazim being still Prince Azimu-sh-Shan), he delegated the office of Diwan in Bengal to Syed Akram Khān and, on the latter's death, to Syed Razi Khān, (son-in-law of Shujau-d-din Khān,) and that of Deputy Nazim and Diwan of Orissa to Shuja'u-d-dīn Khān (his son-in-law). Emperor Farrukh Sir, on his accession to the throne of Delhi, further confirmed and accentuated the above administrative change by uniting in the person of Nawāb Ja'far Khān the offices of Nazim of Bengal and Orissa, and of Diwan of those Provinces. This union of the two offices, whilst weakening the Imperial hold thereon, greatly added to the *prestige* of the Bengal Satrap, and gave him almost a semi-regal aspect. This regal aspect was further broadened by Emperor Muḥammad Shāh adding Behar to the Bengal Satrapy, whilst Nawāb Shujā'u-d-dīn was the Bengal Viceroy. For purposes of administration, Shuja'u-d-dīn appointed a State Council of three members to help him in the administration, and divided his entire Satrapy, consisting of three Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, into four Political or Administrative Divisions, *viz.:* (1) Bengal Proper, comprising Western, Central, and a portion of Northern Bengal, (2) Jahangir-nagar or

guardian, to be the Diwān and Minister of that place, and sent him to Dacca, in company of Ghalib Ali Khān. And out of regard for Nafīsah Bēgam, his sister, he bestowed the office of Superintendent of the *Nawarah* (war-vessels) on Murād A'lī Khān,[1] son of Syed Razī Khān. The control over Fiscal and Home affairs, and the management of Crown-lands, *Jāgīrs*, war-vessels, artillery, Accounts and Customs-house were all entrusted to Munshī Jasūnat Rāi. In that the aforesaid Munshī had been trained up by Nawāb Ja'far Khān, by dint of honesty and integrity, by thorough attention to details and by ripe wisdom, he effected not only an increase in the State Revenue, but secured the happiness of the people. He completely abolished the system of *Saudā-i-khas*, and banished the exactions and innovations introduced by Mīr Ḥabib, during the *regime* of Murshid Qulī Khān.[2] Putting forth laudable efforts to keep down the selling-rates of food-grains, and effecting cheapness in their prices, he threw open the western gate of the Fort of Jahangirnagar (or Dacca), which Nawāb Āmīru-l-Umarā Shāistah Khān had closed, inscribing on it a prohibition to the effect that no one should open it, until he succeeded in reducing

Dacca Division comprising Eastern and Southern Bengal, and a small portion of Northern Bengal, and including Sylhet and Chittagong, (3) Behar Division, (4) Orissa Division. Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān directly administered the first Division, and appointed a Deputy Nazim or Deputy-Governor to hold charge of each of the other three Administrative Divisions, under his general control and supervision.

1 Murād A'lī Khān was a son of Nafīsah Begam, uterine sister of Sarfarāz Khān. Nafīsah Bēgam was a daughter of Shujā'u-d-din Khān, and was married to Syed Raẓi Khān, who was Dīwān of Bengal, on the death of Syed Akram Khān, during the *regime* of Nawāb Ja'far Khān. On Syed Raẓi Khān's death, during the reign of Emperor Farrukh Sir, on the nomination of Nawāb Ja'far Khān (his maternal grandfather), Mīrzā Asadu-l-lah received the title of Sarfarāz Khān and was appointed Dīwān of Bengal. Sarfarāz Khān continued to be the nominal Dīwān of Bengal, whilst his father Shuja'u-d-din Khān succeeded Nawāb Ja'far Khān as Nāẓim of Bengal, being deprived, however, of all real power, which was transferred to the State Council, consisting of Ḥāji Aḥmad (brother of Ā'lī Vardī Khān), Dīwān Alamchand, and Fatihchand Jagat Set.

2 Mīrzā Lutfullah, surnamed Murshid Qulī Khān II, son-in-law of Shuja'u-d-din Khān. He was first Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), and was subsequently transferred in the same capacity to Orissa. He should not be confounded with Nawāb Ja'far Khān who also held the title of Murshid Qulī Khān.

the price of food-grains to one seer of the Bāzār weight per *Dirham*,[1] as was current in the Nawab's time. From that time until now, no one else had been able to effect such cheapness in the rate of food-grains. He rendered the tract of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) fertile, like the garden of *Iram*[2], by sprinkling on it the waters of liberality, equity and justice; and in consequence, Sarfarāz Khān won a good name amongst all classes of his subjects. At the desire of Nafisah Bēgam[3], Murād Ālī Khān was married to a daughter of Sarfarāz Khān, and was appointed Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in the place of Ghālib Ā'lī Khān. Murad Ālī Khān now promoted Rāj Balab, a clerk attached to the Admiralty, to the office of Pēshkār thereof, and commenced oppressions.[4] Munshī Jasūnat Rāi, who had acquired a good name amongst the people, apprehending that his reputation might be tarnished, resigned his office of Dīwān, and the Province of Jahangirnagar or Dacca turned to desolation through the tyranny of the new oppressive Deputy Nāẓim.

Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'īd, the second son of Ḥājī Aḥmad, who was on behalf of Sarfarāz Khān Faujdār of the Chaklah of Ghorāghāt and Rangpūr and Kuch Behār, desolated the *Mahals* of Rangpūr by his exactions and oppressions, and acquiring the treasures of

1 See n. *ante* and the text with reference to Nawāb Shaista Khān.

2 See n. *ante*.

3 Nafīsah Bēgam was a sister of Sarfarāz Khān, and Murād A'lī Khān was a son of Nafīsah Bēgam, by Syed Raẓi Khān, Sarfarāz Khān's predecessor in the office of Dīwān of Bengal. Thus, Murad A'lī Khān was a nephew of Sarfarāz Khān. He, hitherto, held the office of Superintendent of the *Nawarah* (war-vessels) at Dacca, and on his marriage with Sarfarāz Khān's daughter, was promoted to the office of Deputy-Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca), in supercession of Ghalib A'lī Khān. It may be interesting to note that there is a place called Murādnagar, near Daudkandi, in Commillah, which is associated with some former Nawābs of Dacca, and where some landed property is still, I believe, owned by the Bhiknapahari Nawabs of Patna, said to be descended from an extinct old Nawāb family of Dacca. I fancy, therefore, Muradnagar owes its name and origin to this Murād A'lī Khān.

4 Rajballab's son, Kishan Ballab, in the time of Nawab Siraju-d-daulah, fled from Dacca to Calcutta, and by his intrigues brought about a rupture between Siraju-d-daulah and the English. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 621. Rajballab was the evil genius of Murād Ā'lī Khān, as Alamchand was the evil genius of Shuja'ud-din Khān, and Ratanchand that of the Syed brothers. See note *ante*. Rajballab subsequently ingratiated himself with the infamous Miran, son of Mīr Ja'far.

those whom he oppressed, he mobilised an army. Requisitioning troops from the Emperor, he marched with his troops against the Rājahs of Kuch Behār and Dīnājpūr. Those Rajas fancying they were masters of large armies, and also fancying that they were sheltered by numerous forests and rivers, had hitherto paid little heed to the authority of the Nāẓim. By dint of diplomacy and by use of force, and by wars and battles, Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id conquered those tracts, and acquired possession of the treasures, buried hoards, jewelleries and effects of those Rājahs. Owing to the immense treasure—indeed the treasure of a Crœsus—that thus fell into his hands, he acquired much power. After the conquest of Kuch Bihār, by humouring Ḥājī Aḥmad, on the recommendation of Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah and Sarfarāz Khān, Mīrzā Muḥammad Sa'id received the titles of 'Khān' and 'Bahādur.'

Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah, on the advice of his Triumvirate Council, deputed Sarfarāz Khān to chastise Badī'u-z-zamān, zamīndār of Bīrbhūm. Sheltered by rocks and forests and supported by numerous Afghāns, this zamīndār did not bend his head in submission to the Nāẓim, and failed to pay the revenue beyond the stipulated tribute. He had also diverted to dancing-parties and pleasures fourteen *laks* of revenue derived from the measured and cultivated lands, that had been endowed for the express purpose of helping the poor and the scholarly. The zamīndār himself was plunged in dissipations and frivolities. On the ridges of Khubra Kandī and Lakra Khondah and of other hills and narrow rocky defiles, he had mounted strong guards, and cut off all ingress and egress of the Imperial troops and scouts, and he fancied the forest flanked by the hills to be a secure recess, in that no one could enter that tract without his passport. He had appointed his brother, Aẓam Khān, to administer his State, and his son, A'lī Qulī Khān, to command his army, and Naubat Khān to be his Dīwān and Minister. Badi'u-z-zamān himself did no work, but wasted his time on flute-playing and on carousals. Sarfarāz Khān sent him a message, containing promises and rewards in the event of his submission to Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah, and embodying also threats and punishments in the event of his recalcitrance and disloyalty. Subsequently, Sarfarāz Khān despatched *via* Bardwān his special *confidantes*, Khwajah Basant and Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn, the second Paymaster-General, with a large army. Badī'u-z-zamān now prudently woke up from the slumber of vanity, and ten-

dered his homage and submission. Inducing the aforesaid Mīr and the above Khwājah to become his interceders, he sent through the latter a petition expressive of submission and loyalty, and subsequently in the company of the former he set out for Murshidabad. And after waiting on Sarfarāz Khān, through the introduction of Mīr Sharfu-d-din, Badī'u-z-zamān was granted an audience by Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah, who not only pardoned his past misdemeanour, but generously bestowed on him khila'ts. Badi'u-z-zaman agreed to pay three *laks* of rupees annually on account of the Imperial revenue, consented to abide by the ordinary procedures for payment of land-revenue and for execution of orders, and furnished as his surety Karatchānd,[1] zamīndār of Bardwān. He was then allowed to return to Birbhum.

Towards the close of the year 1151 A.H., when Nādir Shaḥ invaded[2] the Imperial Capital, and Ṣamṣāmu-d-daulah Khān-daurān fell in the battle[3] against Nādir Shah, Nawāb Shujā'u-d-daulah being ill and confined to bed permitted Yahyā Khān and Durdānah Begam (son and wife respectively of Murshid Qulī Khān) to go to Orissa, and proclaimed Sarfarāz Khān as his heir. Earnestly exhorting the latter to confide in Ḥājī Aḥmad, the Rāi Rāiān[4] and Jagatset, and always to respect their feelings, and entrusting to him control over the offices of the Niẓāmat, Nawāb Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān died on the 13th Zilḥaj of the aforesaid year. After laying to rest Shujā'u-d-daulah's[5] corpse in the sepulchre which he (Shujā'u-d-daulah) had in his lifetime erected at Dehpara, opposite to the Fort and the City of Murshidābād, Sarfarāz

1 Badī'u-z-zamān Khān of Birbhum, and Karatchand of Bardwan, appear to have been the two principal zamīndārs in Western Bengal at the time. I understand the descendants of Badī'u-z-zamān still survive at Birbhum, but are in an impoverished condition.

2 A full description of Nādir Shah's invasion will be found in all Indian histories, and also in *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 482.

3 This battle took place at Karnal, 4 stages (*manzal*) distant from Shahjahanabad or Delhi, in 1151 A.H. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 482.

4 That is, Rai Alamchand, Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān's *de facto* Diwan. He received the title of 'Rā'i Rāiān' from the Emperor, on the recommendation of his master, Nawāb Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 471.

5 It should be noted that both "Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān" and "Shujā'u-d-daulah" signify one and the same person. These were his titles. This 'Shujā'u-d-daulah,' better known as 'Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān" must not be confounded with the Nawāb Vizier Shujā'u-d-daulah of later history.

Khān mounted the *masnad* of the Niẓāmat in the place of his father.

—o—

NIẒĀMAT OF NAWĀB SARFARĀZ KHĀN.

When Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān mounted the *masnad* of the Niẓāmat of Bengal, agreeably to the dying instructions of his father, he appointed Ḥājī Aḥmad, the Rāi Rāiān and Jagatset to be his Councillors in respect of Revenue and Administrative affairs. But these meddling more than before in State affairs ignored the old officers of Sarfarāz Khān who expected promotions and manṣabs, and further intrigued to bring about their disgrace and overthrow. Although Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān and the Begams were anxious to promote their old officers, owing to the opposition of the Triumvirate Council, they could not do so. The Triumvirate Council, after secret vows and stipulations, plotted to call in Alī Vardī Khān with his army from 'Azimabad (Patna) under pretext of visiting the Nāẓim, and then to instal him on the *masnad* of the Niẓāmat in supercession of Sarfarāz Khān.[1] And in deliberations over this plot they passed days and nights, but failed to mature any plan. At this time, Nādir Shāh,[2] the king of Persia, had defeated Muḥammad Shāh, captured Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, Burhānu-l-Mulk, Qamru-d-dīn Khān, and Muḥammad Khān Bangash, &c., who were the pillars of the Mughal Empire,[3] and en-

[1] The author of the *Maaseru-l-Umara* states that Sarfarāz Khān rendered himself unpopular by adopting a policy of rigid economy and retrenchment, and by reducing his army, and that this gave an opportunity to Alī Vardī Khān to intrigue, in concert with the latter's brother, Ḥājī Aḥmad, who was Sarfarāz Khān's chief councillor. See p. 844, *Maaseru-l-Umara*, Vol. II, p. 844. It should, however, be added in justice to Sarfarāz Khān's memory that this policy was inspired by the faithless Triumvirate Councillors, whom Sarfarāz Khān trusted owing to the dying exhortations of his father, and that it formed a part of the despicable trap they were cunningly laying to ruin and overthrow their benefactor's son. One feels sick to dwell on such tales of vile treachery, for Sarfarāz Khān from all accounts appears to have been an ideally noble and mild prince.

[2] Nādir Shāh was a soldier of fortune. After capturing Shāh Tahmasp, King of Persia, he held a Council of State, and got himself elected as King of Persia. See his life in *Namai Khusruan* (p. 153), which also gives his portrait.

[3] For details, see *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, p. 482 (Pers. text). It would appear, even at this crisis in the fate of the Empire, the venal Ministers of Emperor

tering Shāh-jahānābād (Delhi) [1] with his Persian troops had plundered the palaces of both the Emperor and his nobles. In consequence, the whole Empire was shaken to its foundation. [2] The Triumvirate Council persuaded Sarfarāz Khān to introduce in Bengal the coins and the *Khutbah* [3] of Nādir Shāh, and about the same time they remitted the confiscated treasures of Shujā'u-d-daulah and the Bengal tribute in charge of Murīd Khān, who had arrived in Murshidābād on behalf of Qamru-d-dīn Khān[4] long before Nādir Shāh's invasion. Ḥājī Aḥmad and Alī Vardī Khān intrigued with Murīd Khān, and won him over to their side. On the withdrawal of Nādir Shāh, they carried tales of the introduction of the Nādir Shāhī coin and Khutbah to Nawāb Qamru-d-dīn Khān and to Nizāmu-l-Mulk, and laid various other charges against Sarfarāz Khān. Aided by the machinations of the Imperial ministers,[5] they secured a royal patent granting to them the Nizāmat of Bengal, and authorising the execution of Sarfarāz Khān,[6] on account of his treason in introducing the coin and *Khutbah* of Nādir Shāh. When the

Muḥammad Shāh could not put aside personal feelings and clannish jealousies—the great bane of all Moslem races and the grave of so many Musalman Empires,—nor could combine loyally in one common and sacred cause to repel the enemy's invasion of India. Burhanu-l-Mulk was the greatest delinquent in this respect. Only Nizamu-l-Mulk and Qamru-d-dīn Khān appear in better light, and seem to have worthily maintained the high traditions of their great offices. For Nizamu-l-Mulk Asif Jah, and Qamru-d-dīn Khān, see *Maaseru-l-Umara*, Vol. III, p. 837, and Vol I, p. 358.

[1] For some gruesome details of the sack of Delhi and the general massacre of its population, see *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 485.

[2] Nādir Shāh's invasion was one of the great external calamities that overtook the Mughal Empire and hastened its ruin.

[3] *Khutba* was also recited after Nādir Shāh's name in all the mosques of Delhi on his entry there. See *Seir*.

[4] He was at the time Chief Vizier or Prime Minister of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh.

[5] The principal Imperial Minister who sided with Ḥājī Aḥmad and Alī Vardī Khān in their intrigue, was Mutamu-d-daulah Ishaq Khān. The latter exercised at the time great influence over Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. See p. 489, *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*.

[6] The Triumvirate Councillors were themselves responsible for this treason, which was a part of their adroitly-laid plot to overthrow Sarfarāz Khān, by subsequently denouncing the latter before the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh. It is a pity Sarfarāz Khān the Good, owing to his guilelessness and lack of insight, could not see through their despicable game of villainy.

arrow of their efforts reached the butt of their aim, the Triumvirate Council represented to Sarfarāz Khān that the resources of the State were limited, whilst its expenditure was heavy, and thereby persuaded the Nawāb to reduce the strength of his Army. They at the same time secretly sent instructions to Alī Vardī Khān to mobilise troops and collect arms, in view of the invasion of Bengal. Whoever was cashiered from the army of Sarfarāz Khān was straightway enlisted by Ḥājī Aḥmad in the service of Alī Vardī Khān, and sent off to Azīmābād (Patna). Nearly one-half of Sarfarāz Khān's troops were in this way disbanded. Alī Vardī Khān, having completed preparations for war and mobilised a large army consisting of Afghāns, Rohīlahs, and Bhalias, set out for Bengal; whilst Ḥājī Aḥmad sent his and his sons' hoarded treasures amounting to several *laks* of rupees for the expenses of Alī Vardī's army. When Sarfarāz Khān, from the despatches of his Political Agents at the Court of the Emperor, and from informations of emissaries, came to be apprised of the machinations of the treacherous enemy, deeming it prudent to adopt remedy for the affair before it came to pass, he set himself to overthrow the traitors, and decided to bestow the Deputy-Governorship [1] of Azīmābād (Patna) on his son-in-law, Syed Muḥammad Ḥasan, in supercession of Alī Vardī Khān, and the Faujdārī of Ākbarnagar (Rājmahal) together with the command of Sakrīgalī and Tēliāgaḍhī passes on Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn Bakhshī, in supercession of A'ṭāu-l-lah Khān, son-in-law of Ḥājī Aḥmad. Sarfarāz Khān also determined to appoint Munshī Jasunat Rāi as Diwan in the place of the Rāi Rāiān. But as yet this decision had not been put in force, when the members of the Triumvirate Council adroitly submitting a representation about their long services, the heavy outstandings of the Imperial Revenue, and their losses, persuaded Sarfarāz Khān to postpone their supercession and the installation of others in their places till their preparation of the Annual Balance-sheet, which fell due after three months.[2] Sarfarāz Khān, who owing to guilessness of

[1] See slightly varied accounts in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (p. 489), which states that Sarfarāz Khān transferred the office of Diwan from Ḥājī Aḥmad to Mir Murtaza, and contemplated transferring the Faujdari of Rajmahal from Atau-l-lah Khān to his son-in-law, Hasan Muḥammad Khān.

[2] This is the old story of gaining time. Sarfarāz Khān exhibited a lamentable lack of judgment in accepting this false representation of his faithless Councillors. His credulity, indecision, and generous impulsiveness cost him

his nature had already been victimised by the duplicity of the Triumvirate Council, once again suffered himself to be duped by their wiles. A'lī Vardi Khān, utilising this short respite, secured the adhesion of Mustafā Khān, Shamshēr Khān, Sardār Khān, U'mar Khān, Raḥīm Khān, Karam Khān, Sirāndāz Khān, Shaikh Ma'ṣūm, Shaikh Jahāngir Khān, Muḥammad Ẓūlfuqār Khān, Chīdan *Hazārī* (Bakhshī of the Bhaliahs), Bakhtāwar Singh, and other Generals and officers of the Army. Under the false pretext of waiting on Sarfarāz Khān, A'lī Vardi Khān marched swiftly, crossed the passes of Tiliagaḍhī and Sakrīgali, and reached the frontiers of Bengal. At the instigation of Ḥājī Aḥmad, Ataullah Khān, Faujdār of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), had taken steps to prevent all movements of messengers and spies, and to interdict all intercourse through news-letters between A'ẓīmābād (Patna) and Bengal *viâ* the passes of Tiliagadhī and Sakrīgali, until A'lī Vardī Khān had crossed through those passes. In consequence, no news of A'lī Vardi Khān's movements had reached Sarfarāz Khān. It was only when the vanguard of A'lī Vardī Khān's army had actually reached Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), that all of a sudden the news of Alī Vardī Khān's movement reached Sarfarāz Khān. This news threw both the City of Murshidabad and its *Bazaar* into commotion. Perplexed by this news, Sarfarāz Khān instantly imprisoned Ḥājī Aḥmad. Although the Rāi Rāiān treacherously explained that A'lī Vardi's arrival was for the purpose of waiting on Sarfarāz Khān, this explanation had no reassuring effect. Detailing Ghauṣ Khān and Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn, who were his old officers, to lead the vanguard, and leaving his son, Ḥāfiẓu-l-lah surnamed Mīrzā Āmānī, together with Yāsīn Khān Faujdār, to guard the Fort and the City, Nawab Sarfarāz Khān, together with Ghaẓanfar Ḥusain Khān and a son of Muḥammad Taqī Khān, (both of whom were his sons-in-law), and with Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir Khān, Mīrza Muḥammad Īraj Khān, Mīr Kāmil, Mīr Gadāī, Mīr Ḥaidar Shāh, Mīr Diler Shāh, Bajī Singh, Rājah Ghandarab Singh, Shamshir Khān Qurishī, (Faujdār of Silhat), Shujā Qulī Khān, (Faujdār of the port of Hūglī), Mīr Ḥabīb, Murshid Qulī Khān Faujdār, Mardān A'lī Khān (the late Shuj'ā Khān's Bakhshī) and other Generals and *Mansabdars* and Zamin-

his throne and his life, and sounded the first faint but certain death-knell of the ancient Moslem Satrapy in Bengal, which became shorn of its semi-regal *prestige* with his fall.

dars of Bengal, marched out from the City with a large army and fire-pouring artillery, and encamped at Bahmaniah, which is two *Karoh* distant from Murshidābād. Marching on the second day, the Nawab reached Sarāi Dīwān, and marching on the third day, he encamped at Khamrah, where he mustered his army and reviewed its strength and armaments. In that the officers of Shuj'ā Khān's *regime* were in league with Ḥājī Aḥmad, brick-bats instead of shells were discovered in the arsenal, and rubbish was found inside guns. Consequently, cashiering Shahriar Khān, the Ḥājī's brother, who was General Superintendent of the Artillery, and making him over to the custody of his retainers, Nawab Sarfarāz Khān appointed in his place Pancho, son of Antony the Portuguese, to be General Superintendent of the Artillery. The forces of Mahābat Jang were arranged in the form of a circle from Aurangābād, at the mouth of the Sūti (where the shrine of Shāh Murtaẓā' Hindī exists) to the plain of Balkatah.

On the fourth day, when the silvery-crowned King (*i.e.*, the Sun) pranced on to the plain of the sky from his camp in the East darting forth daggers of radial lines, and the dusky Moon with thousands of its forces (*i.e.*, stars), not finding itself a match for that unique Cavalier, hid itself behind the hills, Nawab Sarfarāz Khān, selecting an auspicious moment according to astrologers, advanced to assault the enemy. By one single assault, the troops of Mahābat Jang were thrown into panic and confusion, were set a-reeling, and were nearly routed. The Rāi Rāiān,[1] finding that the table was being turned, at this moment treacherously represented to Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān that the Sun had moved right vertical to the head, and that at that sultry hour if fighting were continued, both horses and soldiers would perish, owing to excessive heat and thirst, and that therefore if that day further fightings were postponed, next morning the bitter-palated enemy could be treated to a similar bitter soup (of death)—

Whence will thy enemy command the strength,
To fight with thee ?
Owing to thy good luck,
The enemy's head shall be trampled upon by thy feet.

1 This Rai Raian Dīwān Alamchand, the *protege* and favourite of Sarfarāz Khān's father, under the false mask of loyalty, did more damage te Sarfarāz Khān's cause, than even A'lī Vardī Khān and his brother Ḥājī Aḥmad. But it

Although astrologers descanted on the auspiciousness of that hour for fighting, and adduced arguments in proof of the incoming victory, and although his Generals insisted on continuing the battle, Sarfarāz Khān was unmoved, and forbade by use of threats further fightings that day. Then Sarfarāz Khān encamped on the banks of the Geriah river. Meanwhile, a letter from Mahābat Jang came avowing his loyalty, and explaining that he had come simply to pay his respects to Sarfarāz Khān. Sarfarāz Khān, who was quite inexperienced, on perusal of the letter, became reassured, dispensed with all precautions, foolishly released Ḥājī Aḥmad, who was the root of all the disturbance, and sent him to A'lī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang, in order to reassure the latter and to bring him over. He also sent in the Haji's company Shujā Qulī Khān and Khwājah Basant, his two special *confidantes*, with a view to ascertain exactly the prospects of peace and war, to guage correctly the dispositions of A'lī Vardī's Army, and then to apprise him accurately. The imprisonment of the Hājī with his other relatives had plunged Mahabat Jang into a whirlpool of confusion. He had apprehended that they would be slain, and had, therefore, hesitated to offer battle. Viewing the release of the Ḥājī to be auspicious, nay as the first augury of victory, Mahabat Jang (A'lī Vardi) enclosed in a casket a brick, giving out it contained the Holy Qoran, held it in his hand, and swore by it that next morning he would with folded hands present himself before Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān, and would sue for pardon for his misconduct. At the same time he presented two hundred gold coins to Khwājah Basant. These idiots (Shuj'a Qulī Khān and Khwājah Basant), not fathoming the water under the grass, returned happy and jolly, and describing to Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān the loyal disposition of A'lī Vardī Khān cooled the fire of his wrath. Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān then ordered his butler to prepare dainty dishes for a banquet, sat re-assured on the bed of comfort, nay slumbered the sleep of insecurity on the bed of sleep (which is akin to death); and his soldiers, intoxicated by the inebriation of the wine-cup of peace, let go from their hands the reins of watch and alertness.

Aye! It is sheer folly to rely on the cajolery of thy enemy:
The seeming prostration of floods undermines walls!

is due to Dīwān Alamchand's memory to add that he was only one of the faithless out of a faithless herd.

After the withdrawal of Sarfarāz Khān's emissaries, A'li Vardi Khān soothed and won over his officers by promising them two months' pay in the event of his victory, and also by promising them the booty that might be captured. He thus incited and instigated them to fight, and distributed shells, gunpowder and armaments. The Generals of Sarfarāz Khān's army who from before were in league with A'li Vardī Khān, were all ready for treachery and regicide. The only exceptions were Muḥammad Ghauṣ Khān and Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn, Commanders of the vanguard of Sarfarāz Khān's army, who were posted at the ford of the river Geriah. Ascertaining through messengers and spies the secret plot of teachery that was hatching, both the above Generals at midnight hastened to Sarfarāz Khān, apprised the latter of the fire of treachery that was fanning under a straw-covering, and offered by way of precaution to remove him that night to their own camp, and there to guard him, and next morning to sacrifice their lives by fighting gallantly round him. In that in matters of destiny, efforts are helpless, and the knot of Fate cannot be untied with the nail of Efforts, the will of Providence cast the quicksilver of heedlessness into the ear of Sarfarāz Khān. Placing no reliance on their loyal representation, Sarfarāz Khān treated those two Generals in a rude and threatening manner, and by way of censure added: "You opening a shop of self-aggrandisement desire that I should be involved in war against Mahābat Jang, who is my well-wisher." Those two Generals got up blushing with shame and humiliation, and returned to their own camps. Arming themselves, along with their forces, they passed the night in alertness; whilst Sarfarāz Khān, in the slumber of heedlessness, lay intoxicated with the wine of sleep. At the instigation of Haji Aḥmad, in the dead of night, under the pretext of visiting relations and friends, the officers and soldiers of Mahābat Jang's army, with their light baggages, by ones and twos, mingled with the army of Sarfarāz Khān, and forming rings round the Royal tent looked out for an opportunity to strike.

The officers of Shuj'ā Khān's *regime*, upon whom Sarfarāz Khān placed great reliance, from the very beginning were in intrigue with the Ḥājī, and seeing and knowing all connived at and concealed the conspiracy; whilst the loyal adherents of Sarfarāz Khān held their tongue from fear of being snubbed. Whilst one hour of the night yet remained, A'lī Vardī Khān and

Ḥājī Aḥmad divided their forces into two divisions. They detailed one division under the command of Nandlāl Jama'dār, together with the standard and the kettle-drum, and flags and elephants, to attack Ghaus Khān and Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn, whilst with another division, consisting of Afghān and Bhalīah troops, in the darkness of the night, under the guidance of the men of the Zamīndārī of Ramakant, Zamīndār of Rājshāhī, they themselves marched to deliver a night-attack against Sarfarāz Khān. And towards the day-break, whilst yet the darkness of the night continued, and friends could not be distinguished from foes, they suddenly, like death, attacked Sarfarāz Khān's troops who were inebriated with the wine of sleep, (which is akin to death), and fired their guns. The old *proteges* awoke Sarfarāz Khān from his slumber of neglect, and apprised him of the aspect of affairs. As fortune, however, had averted its face from him, even now Sarfarāz Khān refused to listen to them with the ear of credence, snubbed them, and again insisted on the quick preparation of viands for a banquet. Sarfarāz Khān [1] added, " A'lī Vardī Khān is coming to visit me." At this moment, another cannon-shell fell; and by the time of the sunrise, the troops of Mahābat Jang exhibited themselves in battle-array. Guns and rockets, arrows and muskets flashing lightning, and showering destruction poured in. The troops of Sarfarāz Khān who were intoxicated by the wine of the morning sleep, harum-scarum sprang up from their beds of slumber, and girding up their loins fled; whilst others, not commanding the nerve to gird up their loins or to arm themselves, were butchered. Sarfarāz Khān's army was panic-stricken.

You might say, from dread of that warfare,
Earth itself had fled.

Only one solitary column consisting mostly of Sarfarāz Khān's old officers, impelled by sentiments of honour, and animated by a sense of loyalty, arrayed themselves on the battle-field, gallantly re-

1 Sarfarāz Khān possessed a most guileless soul, and his guilelessness and his confidence in A'lī Vardī cost him his throne. Sarfarāz Khān lacked insight into human character, which is one of the essential attributes of a wise ruler. Whilst noting this failing in Sarfarāz Khān, it must be added there is nothing to condone or extenuate the black ingratitude and treachery of A'lī Vardī and the Triumvirate Councillors, Dewan Alamchand, Hajī Aḥmad and Jagatset, who were all *proteges* of Sarfarāz Khān's father.

solved to sacrifice their lives, and firmly stood their ground. Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān, after finishing his morning-prayer, also armed himself, seized the Holy Qoran with one hand, and mounted a swift elephant. Then letting loose the royal elephant in front of himself, he flung himself into the thick of the fight, and commenced shooting arrows. The Afghān generals of Mahābat Jang's army, covered by a squadron of *Bhalīah* infantry, charged Sarfarāz Khān's army.

When on both sides, the troops stood in battle-array,
You might say, the Day of Judgment had arrived.
Owing to the thundering of guns, muskets and rockets,
Aye, the Universe itself quaked.
The twang of bow-strings and the cracking of arrows
Resounded aloft their echo to the lofty sky.
The spear, like Death with out-stretched hands,
In the taking of life, chopped the breast into slips.
In the hands of heroes, sharp steel-made swords,
In shedding blood of the enemy, leapt warmly:
The heroes became warm in taking and in giving life;
Aye, the world became emptied of heroes.

In this sword-charge, wherein the boisterous wind of Death threw down on the plain of annihilation corpses like leaves of trees, and the flood of blood raged tumultuously on every side, Mardān A'li Khān, the Bakhshi of Shuj'ā Khān's *regime*, who was now the generalissimo of Sarfarāz Khān's army, and commanded the van, feeling himself incapable of continuing the contest any longer, fled. At the sight of this flight, Sarfarāz Khān's army was demoralised, and a general stampede ensued in its ranks.

Each one felt contented with saving himself,
No one cared for another.

Save and except his Georgian and Abyssinian slaves and a few of his old comrades, not one out of the numerous mock-heroes remained to cover Sarfarāz Khān's elephant. The elephant-driver perceiving that victory had declared itself for the enemy, said to Sarfarāz Khān :—"If it be your Highness's pleasure, I shall carry you to Bīrbhūm to the *Zamīndār*, Badi'u-z-zamān." Sarfarāz Khān, striking the elephant-driver a blow on the neck, retorted: "Tie the chain round the feet of the elephant, as I will not retreat before

these dogs."[1] The elephant-driver was obliged to drive on his elephant. The *Barqāndāzes* and the *Bhalīahs* of the enemy's Army, who had from before ranged themselves like a ring round Sarfarāz K͟hān's tent, discharged from all sides cannon-shells on his elephant; and over and above, rockets and cannon-balls, arrows and muskets were showered incessantly by the hostile army. Mīr Gadāī, who was a special favourite of Sarfarāz K͟hān, was shot down by a rocket. MīrKāmil, brother of Mīr Muhammad Bāqir surnamed Bāqir A'lī K͟hān (nephew of S͟hujā'u-d-daulah), and a young unmarried boy of Mīrzā Muḥammad Irāj K͟hān Bak͟hs͟hi, and other personal attendants, including Bahrām, Sa'id and other slaves, who had not fled from the battle-field, were hit by rockets, cannon-shells and bullets, and fell right in front of Sarfarāz K͟hān's elephant. Mīrzā Irāj K͟hān was also mortally wounded. Mīr Diler A'lī gallantly attacked the Afg͟han column of A'lī Vardī K͟hān, exhibited feats of prowess and bravery, but receiving sword-cuts gallantly fell with a number of his comrades.

At this moment, Sarfarāz K͟hān himself was hit on the forehead by the bullet of a gun shot by a traitor from his own camp, and was felled on his elephant-litter,[2] and the bird of his soul flew to Heaven. As soon as they saw this mishap, Mīr Habīb, Murs͟hid Qulī K͟hān, S͟hams͟hir K͟hān Qurāis͟hī (Faujdār of Silhaṭ) and Rājah Ghandrab Singh, who with their forces stood aloof at a distance from the battle, and were silent spectators of the scene, took to their heels. Mīr Haidar S͟hāh and K͟hwājah Basant who clung to each other, and were hiding themselves in a *Rath*,[3] fled without even casting a glance at the corpse of their master.

Not one out of his companions remained,
To guard him for an instant.

In the cover of the darkness of the night, and deceived by the *ruse* of the Royal Standard and the Elephant being displayed by the Division under Nandlāl Jama'dār, G͟haus K͟hān and Mīr

1 Though exceptionally humane and forbearing in disposition, it is refreshing to note Sarfarāz K͟hān could fight and fall bravely like a hero.

2 The word used is میکهه ڈنبر (*Mikhah Dambar*), which means a royal litter, carried on elephants. It is called *Mik Dambar* (میک ڈنبر) in the *Seiru-l-Mutak͟herin* (p. 378) which explains its significance. It is possibly a Turkish word.

3 A four-wheeled carriage; whilst *C͟hakrah* is a two-wheeled carriage.

Sharfuddin mistook the latter for Mahābatjang, and commenced fighting. By means of Rustam-like onslaughts and brave assaults, they killed Nandlāl, and cut him up with their swords. Routing those who escaped the sword, they captured the Standard, kettle-drum, elephants, camels, horses and armaments, and then they marched swiftly to enquire about Sarfarāz Khān. Though Sarfarāz Khān had fallen, on seeing those two brave Generals, Mahābat Jang did not stir from the field, but with his force which was more numerous than ants and locusts remained stationary and motionless on the battle-field. Those two Generals had yet received no tidings of the fall of Sarfarāz Khān, and, therefore, with a small force of veteran heroes comprising their sons, brothers, kinsmen and companions, they bravely spurred on their chargers, fiercely assaulted Alī Vardī Khān's army, broke through its ranks, and heroically dashed up to its centre. The army of Mahābat Jang was about to reel from the blows of those lions of the forest of warfare, when Ghaus Khān received on the breast mortal wounds from the bullets of Chidan Hazāri's musketeers, and fell. Ghaus Khān's two sons, Quṭb and Babar, who were veritable tigers of the forest of bravery, and who on hunting-grounds were wont to slay lions with swords, unsheathed their swords, and killed a large number of Afghāns and Bhalīahs.[1]

They attacked no one whom they did not finish,
They struck no head which they did not hurl down.
On whomever they struck their long-piercing daggers,
His head came down rolling from the shoulder.

Chidan Hazāri also received sword-cuts at their hands. After much slaughter and daring, being hit by the bullets of muskets, Quṭb and Babar fell like brave martyrs, and joined their gallant father in his journey to Eternity. Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn with seven brave cavaliers galloped right up to Mahābat Jang, and with great agility shot at the latter's breast a heart-piercing arrow, which, however, grazed against the bow of Mahābat Jang, and piercing through lodged itself in the latter's side-ribs. Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn had pulled another arrow towards the bow-string, when Shāikh Jahān Yār and Muḥammad Ẕulfuqār, Mahābat Jang's Generals, who were old friends of the Mīr, came forward and said: "Nawāb Safarāz Khān has fallen, what can you gain

[1] It would seem the race of heroes was not yet extinct in Moslem Bengal.

now by continuing the contest and sacrificing your life"? The Mīr bravely replied: "Hitherto I fought from a sense of loyalty for the salt [1] I had eaten, and from a sense of comradeship, but now I fight to maintain my honour." These two Generals stood sureties for the security of his honour, and pulled him back. Then the Mīr with his followers set out for Bīrbhūm. Notwithstanding that his gunners had run away, Pancho *Ferengi*, [2] Superintendent of Sarfarāz Khān's artillery, served his guns and bravely stuck to them, and kept up an incessant cannonade. After Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn's withdrawal, the Afghāns in large numbers attacked Pancho, and killed him. Bājī Singh, a Rajput General, who with the rear-guard was at Khamrah, on receiving news of his master's fall, felt his sense of honour aroused. Alone spurring on his horse and placing his spear on his horse's right ear, by brave onslaughts, he dashed through the enemy's force to a point where Mahābat Jang stood. With one stroke of his sharp spear, Bājī Singh attempted to hurl the latter down from his elephant-saddle and to despatch him to the next world, to be a companion there of his fallen master. Mahābat Jang made him out on seeing his heroism and agility, and ordered Daur Quli Khān, superintendent of the artillery, to quickly oppose him. Daur Qulī Khān encountering him shot a bullet through his breast, and Bājī Singh being mortally wounded fell on the ground.[3] Ẓālim Singh, Bājī Singh's son, aged nine years, with that inherent bravery which is characteristic of the Rājpūt race, unsheathed his sword from the scabbard, and stood up to guard his father. People from all sides surrounded him like a ring. Nawāb Mahābat Jang, on seeing the daring of that boy, applauded him, and forbade the people from killing him,

1 Such instances of isolated loyalty and heroism relieve, to some extent, the darkness of the picture of faithlessness and treachery that these events portray.

2 "The ravenous hordes thus let loose on India made the race-name of Christian (*Ferengi*) a word of terror, until the strong rule of the Mughal Empire turned it into one of contempt."—Sir W. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 184. The name 'Ferengi' was, however, more especially applied to the Portuguese settlers in India, whilst the term 'Nasara' (or Nazarene) was a generic term for all Christians.

3 It is an eloquent testimony to the goodness of Sarfarāz Khān, that even in those treacherous times, and in such a trying crisis, he could command the undying devotion and homage of his brave Rajput officers. This is another incident which relieves, in some measure, the darkness of the picture presented by these scenes.

and ordered them not to oppose the removal of his father's corpse. The artillery-men helped in the removal of Bājī Singh's corpse, and carried along with it Ẕālim Singh on their shoulders. During the fightings of Ghaus Khān, Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn, Bājī Singh and Pancho *Ferengī*, both the sons-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān, named Ghazanfar Ḥusain and Ḥasan Muḥammad, together with other *Manṣabdārs* and vanquished soldiers, had fled from the battle-field, and had in one day marched back to Murshidabād. And the Rāi Rāiān Alamchand, by way of retribution for his treachery, received an arrow-shot on the hand from a cross-bow, plunged into the river, and half-dead reached his house. Repenting of his disloyal treachery, he committed suicide [1] by swallowing diamond-filings. In short, when Sarfarāz Khān was felled on his elephant-litter, the elephant-driver carried his corpse swiftly to Murshidābād. Yāsīn Khān, Faujdār of Murshidābād, who together with Ḥāfiẓu-l-lah Khān, son of Sarfarāz Khān, had been left to guard the City, the Citadel and the Nawāb's family, buried at midnight the corpse of Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān at Naktākhalī. Ḥāfiẓu-l-lah and Ghazanfar Ḥusain hurriedly threw up entrenchments, and prepared to fight. They, however, received no encouragement from the vanquished troops, and therefore abandoned their plan of fighting, and tendered their submission to Alī Vardī Khān. This Revolution in the Government threw the City, as well as the Army and the people of Bengal, into a general and deep convulsion. Ḥājī Aḥmad first [2] entering the city of Murshidābād, proclaimed peace

[1] The Rai Raian Alamchand (the *protége* and creature of Sarfarāz Khān's father Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān) was after all a *penitent* sinner, and, therefore his character stands out in a less hideous light, than that of Ḥājī Aḥmad and Jagat Set, who do not appear to have been similarly disturbed by qualms of conscience for their black ingratitude and treachery.

[2] Alī Vardī Khān himself entered the city of Murshidabad on the third day after his victory. He was a Machiavellian diplomatist, and therefore, the first step he took on his entry into the city, was to sue for pardon for his treachery from Nafisah Begam, a daughter of Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān, and sister of Sarfarāz Khān. He next held a *Darbar* in the *Chehel Satun* palace of Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān, and though at first he was detested by the people and the officers for his black ingratitude and treachery, he soon managed to conciliate them by bestowing on them rich largesses. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p. 494). He appointed in his place as Naib Nazim of Patna (Azimabad) his son-in-law, Zainu-d-dīn Khān Haibat Jang. (See p. 499, *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*).

and security on behalf of Ali Vardi Khān. Yāsin Khān Faujdār, under the order of the Ḥāji, set guards on Sarfarāz Khān's treasury and family, officers and servants, as well as on his Seraglio, so that none could escape. This battle [1] of Gheria took place in 1153 A.H.

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NIZAMAT OF NAWĀB ALĪ VARDĪ KHĀN MAHĀBAT JANG.

After obtaining victory, Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang, in order to overlook the sacking of the City and the loot of Sarfarāz Khān's treasures at the hands of Afghāns and Bhaliahs,[2] for three days encamped outside the City, on the banks of the river Gobrah. On the fourth day, with a sense of perfect security entering the Citadel, he seated himself with extended thighs on the *masnad* of the Nizāmat of Bengal, and confiscated without any trouble Sarfarāz Khān's treasures which the past Nāzims with considerable self-denial had hoarded. In that Nawāb Mahābat Jang avoided the company of strange women, and did not care for this sort of pleasure, during his life he had only one wedded wife, and in fact, he often plumed himself on this circumstance. Ḥājī Aḥmad and his sons and relations possessed themselves of Sarfarāz Khān's fifteen hundred pretty female dependants and slaves. Mahābat Jang banished to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) the wedded Begams of Sarfarāz Khān with their children,[3] and fixed small allowances for them from the income of the Khāṣ Ta'luqah.

1 Compare the description of this battle with that given in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, pp. 492-493. The author of the *Seir*, though a strong partisan of Alī Vardī, and though anxious to gloss over his treachery and ingratitude, is forced to pay a glowing tribute to the bravery and devoted courage displayed by several officers of Sarfarāz Khān at this battle. *Riyaz's* account of this important battle seems much richer in details, as well as more graphic and more exact than that of the *Seir*. This important battle took place about 11 months after Nadīr Shāh's return to Persia after the sack of Delhi, and about 14 months after Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān's death.

2 This fact which redounds to the discredit of Alī Vardī Khān is suppressed by the author of the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, whose father was employed in a high capacity under Alī Vardī's son-in-law, Zainu-d-dīn Khān, at Patna. The author of the *Riyaz*, not being a partisan, does not suppress it.

3 It may be interesting to enquire if any descendants of these still survive in the alleys of Dacca.

And Nafisah Begam, Sarfarāz Khān's sister, who had adopted as her child Āqā Bābā Kūchak who was her nephew, entered service as a governess in the Seraglio of Nawazish Aḥmad Khān,[1] the eldest son of Ḥājī Aḥmad, and in this way supported her nephew.

When news of the fall of Sarfarāz Khān and of the succession of Alī Vardī Khān to the *Masnad* of the Niẓāmat of Bengal reached Emperor Nāsiru-d-dīn Muḥammad Shāh, the latter wept and said: "Owing to Nādir Shāh, the whole of my Empire is convulsed and shattered."[2] But to mend the state of affairs was difficult, and so the Emperor kept quiet. Mahābat Jang, through Murād Khān,[3] who was one of the associates of the Prime Minister, Nawāb Qamru-d-dīn Khān (about whom mention has been made before), intrigued with the Prime Minister and other Ministers. He remitted to the Emperor forty *laks* of rupees on account of Sarfarāz Khān's confiscated treasures and fourteen *laks* on account of tribute, over and above the usual fixed revenue. He also gave three *laks* of rupees to Qamru-d-dīn[4] Khān Vazīr, and one *lak* of rupees to Aṣaf Jāh Niẓāmu-l-Mulk. He similarly conciliated and bribed other Imperial Officers according to their ranks. Intriguing with Rājah Jugal Kishor, agent of Sarfarāz Khān, Mahābat Jang obtained in his own name the patent of the Niẓāmat of all the three Sūbahs of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, according to the usual practice. He then exacted double the usual

1 He was then Deputy Naẓim of Jahangīrnagar or Dacca.

2 Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was not quite fair to Nadir Shāh in his political diagnosis. He ought to have added, the glorious Timuride Empire in India had been shattered and undermined by the luxury and love of ease, and fatricidal jealousies and strifes of himself and his immediate predecessors, and principally by the venality and corruption, joined to clannish jealousies and personal ambitions that had seized the later Mughal ministers and proconsuls. A moral paralysis had seized the heart of the Empire at Delhi, and it quickly extended to and affected its distant limbs in outlying Provinces. The Musalmans in India had lost their Islamic virtues *first*, and *next* their Empire; whilst Nadir Shāh's terrible invasion operated only as an accelerating force towards its eventual dissolution.

3 He had been deputed by the Emperor to bring the attached treasures of Sarfarāz Khān, and the revenue of Bengal. See *Seir*, p. 496.

4 It is humiliating to observe that even ministers of the calibre and position of Qamru-d-dīn Khān and Niẓāmu-l-Mulk Asaf Jah were, at this dark period of Indo-Moslem History, not above corruption.

amount of revenue, presents and tribute from the Zamindārs of Bengal.

For the purpose of overthrowing Murshid Qulī Khān,[1] and for conquering the Sūbah of Odīsah (Orissa), Mahābat Jang now girded up his loins, mobilised troops and collected armaments, and bestowed the office of Generalissimo on Mīr Ja'far Khān Bahādur, who was Mahābat Jang's brother-in-law, and who in the war with Sarfarāz Khān had rendered Mahābat Jang good services. Mahābat Jang bestowed on Mīr Ja'far a corps of bodyguard, together with a *mansab*, a title, and a peerage. He bestowed the office of Dīwān with the title of Rāi Rāiān on Chin Rāi,[2] who was a clerk in charge of the Jāgīrs of Ja'far Khān, and who was a person of probity and honesty. And he bestowed on Muhammed Rizā Khān, the eldest son of Ḥāji Aḥmad, who had married Ghasītī Khānam, daughter of Mahābat Jang, the title of Nāsiru-l-Mulk Iḥtishāmu-d-daulah Nawāzish Muḥammed Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, together with the nominal office of Dīwān of Bengal, and the Deputy Nizāmat of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), including Chittagong, Raushanabād (Tipperah), and Silhat. And he bestowed on

[1] He was a son-in-law of Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān, and had been appointed by the latter Deputy Nazim of Orissa, on the death of Muḥammad Taqi Khān (a son of Shujā'u-d-dīn Khān). Alī Vardī and his unholy Ḥājī brother were resolved to spare no one amongst the capable male representatives of their late master and benefactor. A reign ushered in by such treachery and characterised by such vindictive posthumous courtesies was bound, under an Avenging Providence, to terminate ignominiously. The unholy Ḥājī brother quickly met with his proper deserts, by being tortured and butchered, along with his son Zainu-d-dīn Khān, by the Afghan rabble who sacked Patna. Alī Vardī himself was continually distracted and harassed by Mahratta freebooters, who swooped down again and again on his fair provinces like armies of locusts, and harried and devastated them, and Alī Vardī's energy, courage, and prowess were of no avail against this visitation of God's curse. He at length had to conclude an inglorious peace with the Mahrattas, and to practically cede to the latter the Province of Orissa. And not many months had rolled away since he had closed his eyes, when his favourite grandson, Siraju-d-daulah, was tortured to death, and Alī Vardī's ill-gotten Satrapy dissolved for ever, and was transferred to other hands. Verily, Divine retribution was not slow in overtaking Alī Vardī Khān.

[2] Chin Rai was the Peshkar under the Diwan Alam Chand. Mahābat Jang, on Alam Chand's death, appointed Chin Rai as his Diwan. (See *Seir*, p. 495). Chin Rai proved very honest, and was held in high esteem by Mahābat Jang. (See *Seir*, p. 575).

Hāshim Alī Khān, the youngest son of Ḥājī Aḥmad, who had married the younger daughter of Mahābat Jang, named Amanah Khānam, the title of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Haibat Jang, together with the Deputy Niẓāmat of the Province of Bihār and Azimābād (Patna). And he advanced to ranks, titles, and *Jagirs* his other relations [1] and connexions, according to their ranks and aspirations. But the Afghāns and the Bhaliahs, who owing to their large numbers were haughty, meddled so much in all the affairs, that they did not care for Mahābat Jang, and deviated from the usual forms of etiquette. Shelving the canons of justice on the shelf of forgetfulness, they looted treasures, and killed and slaughtered the people, together with their women and children. And the conduct of ingratitude, which had subsisted in the times of the early Musalman Independent Kings of Bengal, reasserted itself afresh from the time of Mahābat Jang.[2]

[1] The following details of the administrative arrangements made by Alī Vardī Khān on his usurpation of the Niẓāmat of Bengal, are summarized briefly from the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, p. 495. Zainu-d-din Aḥmad Khān, Alī Vardī's youngest son-in-law, was appointed Subadar of Behar and Patna. The Deputy Niẓāmat of Jahangīrnagar, including the Faujdari of Silhat, Chittagong, and Tipperah, was given to his eldest son-in-law, Nawazish Muḥammad Khān. The Deputy Niẓāmat of Orissa was bestowed on his second son-in-law, Saīd Aḥmad Khān (after Murshid Qulī Khān was defeated). The Superintendentship of the *Nawarah* or Imperial Fleet at Jahangīrnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on his grandson, Mirza Muḥammad (son of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān) surnamed Siraju-d-daulah Shāh Qulī Khān Bahadur. Siraju-d-daulah's brother was adopted as a son by Nawazish Muḥammad Khān, and surnamed "Ikramu-d-daulah Padshah Qulī Khān Bahadur" with nominal command of the Jahangīrnagar or Dacca army. Atau-l-lah Khān, a son-in-law of Ḥājī Aḥmad (Alī Vardī's brother) was appointed Faujdār of Rajmahal (Akbarnagar) and Bhagalpur. Alah Yar Khān (step-brother of Alī Vardī), Mir Jafar Khān (brother-in-law of Alī Vardī), and his other connexions like Faqiru-l-lah Beg Khān, Nural-lah Beg Khān and Mustafa Khān were given *mansabs* and peerages with titles and body-guards. Chin Rai (Peshkar under Diwan Alamchand) received the title of 'Rai Raian,' and was appointed Deputy Diwan of Bengal. Rajah Janaki Ram, who was the old household Diwan of Mahābat Jang, was appointed Diwan of Miscellaneous departments. The Seir's author's maternal uncle or *Khaloo*, Abdul Alī Khān (who was also a connexion of Alī Vardī), received a *mansab*, together with the *parganahs* of Narhat Samai and Behar.

[2] For its revival, Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang was himself responsible. He re-inaugurated an era of force and fraud, and he and his successors were paid back in the same coin by others. He taught the lesson of ingrati-

Towards the commencement of the insurrection of Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang, Nawāb Sarfarāz Khān had asked for help from Murshid Qulī Khān, the Governor of Odīsah (Orissa), who was his brother-in-law; but the latter, owing to personal spite which has been referred to before, had delayed to march to his help. Whilst Murshid Qulī was occupied with despatching a body of troops in the shape of an auxiliary force, he suddenly received news of Sarfarāz Khān's fall and of Alī Vardī Khān's mastery over the Ṣūbah of Bengal. It was then that Murshīd Qulī Khān woke up from slumber, and was plunged into shame and sorrow.

General well-being follows mutual union,[1]
General ruin follows disunion.

In short, from fear of Alī Vardī Khān, Murshīd Qulī Khān made preparations in self-defence, and exerted himself strenuously towards the mobilisation of an army, and deputed to Murshidābād Mukhāliṣ Alī Khān, son-in-law of Ḥājī Aḥmad, who from before was in his company, in order to arrange the basis of a treaty of peace. After the latter's arrival, Alī Vardī Khān and Ḥājī Aḥmad sending a reassuring and diplomatic message to Murshīd Qulī Khān, set him at ease,[2] and sent back Mukhāliṣ Khān, in order to sow treason secretly amongst the Officers of Murshīd Qulī Khān's army. Mukhāliṣ Khān presenting himself before Murshid Qulī Khān outwardly tried to humour and reassure him, but covertly by offer of allurements and temptations sowed sedition in Murshīd Qulī's army, and sent an account of his success in this direction to Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang. The latter, with a large army and an immense artillery, instantly marched towards the Province of Orissa. On receipt of this news, leaving his wife, Durdānah Begam, and his son, Yaḥyā Khān,

tude by his own treacherous conduct, and so others took their cue from him.

1 The Persian couplet is:—

دولت همه ز اتفاق خیزد
بیدولتي از نفاق خیزد ۔

2 Alī Vardī and his worthy Ḥājī brother could never lay down their favourite weapon of treachery, and well were they, through their children, repaid in the same coin by Mīr Ja'far and others.

with his treasures in the fort of Barahbāti,[1] Murshīd Qulī Khān with an efficient force and requisite war-paraphernalia, together with his two sons-in-law, named Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir[2] Khān, a Prince of Persia, and Alāu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, marched out from Katak (Cuttack) in order to fight, and advanced to the port of Balisār (Balasor). At the ferry of Phulwār, from the rock of Tilgaḍhi[3] to the river Jon,[4] he threw up an entrenchment, and remained behind it waiting for the enemy.[5] Unfortunately, Murshid Qulī Khān was ignorant of the wiles of the traitor in his own camp in the person of Mukhāliṣ Alī Khān, and had, therefore, failed to take any precautionary steps against that double-faced scoundrel, and had thus ignored the saying of Shaikh Sa'dī[6]:—

1 "The construction of Fort Barabati has been assigned to various monarchs with various dates. Sterling thinks it was built by Rājah Anang Bhem Deva in the fourteenth century. The stonework has been taken by the Public Works Department to build lighthouses and hospitals, and to pave roads. The ditch of the fort, however, still remains, and so does the gate, which is still approached by a causeway . . . Rājah Mukund Deo built a palace here with nine courts . . . The palace was in time abandoned by the Musalman Governors who preferred to live in the Lalbagh, on the south side of the city, (now Commissioner's Residence")—Wilson's Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I, p. 4, f. n.

2 There is still a *mahalla* or quarter in Katak, called 'Bakrabad,' named so, probably, after Bāqir Khān.

3 Tilgadhi in the text is apparently a mistake for the hill 'Tahirmunda' marked on the maps of Orissa, near Balasore.

4 'Jon' in the text is also obviously a mistake; I do not find any river of that name near Balasore or in Orissa. It is a mistake probably for the river near Balasore, called 'Nuniajuri,' Balasore itself being situated on the Burabalung river.

5 In *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (p. 497), it is stated Murshīd Qulī Khān passed through Balasore port, and encamped on the banks of its river, in the Mouza of Bhalwar. The encampment is described in the *Seir* as being flanked by dense forests on one side, and by deep rivulets on another. A ring with artillery was formed round this encampment. Alī Vardī Khān passing through Mednipur and Jalasore, took up a position on the north banks of the Burabalung river. The position taken up by Murshīd Qulī Khān is described as very impregnable, and he might not have been dislodged from it, but for the rash sally of his son-in-law, Mīrza Baqir Alī Khān, and the treachery of his Afghān General, 'Abid Khān, who deserted Murshīd Qulī Khān, his old master and benefactor, and joined with his Afghān contingent Mustafa Khān, the Afghān General of Alī Vardī Khān. The crafty Alī Vardī Khān had by means of bribes sown treason amongst the Afghān troops of Murshīd Qulī Khān (497 *Seir*).

6 The well-known Persian poet and moralist.

'If thy relative be thy enemy, treat him outwardly a thy friend,
But never be heedless of his treachery.
For inside his heart, wound festers from thy envy,
Whenever he thinks of the love-shackles of kinship.'

Advancing from Bengal by forced marches with a large army, which numbered more than one *lak* cavalry and infantry, Alī Vārdi Khān reached Mednipūr, secured the adhesion of the Zamīndārs of that district by bestowing on them Khila'ts and gifts, and encamped at Jalisar (Jalasore), which was an Imperial outpost. On the banks of the river Sabaurikha,[1] at the ferry of Rājghāt, Rājah Jagardhar Bhanj, Zamīndār of Morbhanj,[2] had established a garrison of his Chawārs and Khandaits, and had erected entrenchments. To cross, therefore, at the ferry of Rājghāt which was protected by dense jungles and thorny trees, was found to be a difficult operation, and therefore, Alī Vardī Khān had to ask for help from the Rājah. The Rājah, however, was haughty owing to his command of a large army, and did not care for Alī Vardī Khān. He refused to side with the latter, or to permit him to cross at the Rājghāt ferry. Alī Vardī Khān placing his artillery-waggons in front of the Rājghāt ferry, commenced bombarding it. The Rājah's army were unable to hold the ground in their entrenchment, and fled to the jungles. Alī Vardī Khān with troops and artillery crossed over at Rājghāt, and encamped at Rāmchandarpur which was at a distance of one and a half *karoh* from Murshid Qulī Khān's encampment. Emissaries and envoys were busy for some days moving to and fro with messages of peace and war, and this sort of diplomatic parley lasted for one month. All this time Murshid Qulī Khān [3] did not advance across the ferry of Phulwār. Having

1 This is an error in the text, or a misprint for 'Subarnarika' river, on which Jalesar or Jalasore is situated.

2 This forms now one of the Tributary Mahals under the Commissioner of Orissa.

3 As another interesting and remarkable illustration of the potent influence in politics and society exercised by Musalman ladies in Bengal, even towards the middle of the eighteenth century, it may be noted that Murshid Qulī Khān himself was averse to fight with Alī Vardī Khān, owing to a sense of feebleness, but that his brave wife, Durdanah Begam, encouraged and inspired him to fight, in order to avenge her brother Sarfarāz Khān's fall, and threat-

regard to the wasteful expenditure on account of a huge army thus locked up, and viewing the dearth of provisions, and apprehending the approach of the rainy season as well as the raids of Mahratta freebooters, Alī Vardī Khān thought it expedient to patch up peace, and return. But Muṣṭafā Khān, generalissimo of Alī Vardī's Afghān contingent, not acquiescing in peace, suggested entrenchments being thrown up during the rains. After a Council of War, it was decided after much deliberation to send a soothing message to Murshīd Qulī Khān through a trustworthy envoy, who was instructed to get back a reply in the following form:—"I shall not allow you authority or possession over the Ṣūbah of Odīsah," and then with this document to return to Bengal, and after the rainy season, again mobilising troops, to re-attempt Murshīd Qulī Khān's subjugation. Although 'Ābid Khān and other Afghān Generals, owing to the sedition sown amongst them by Mukhāliṣ Alī Khān, treacherously advised Mīrzā Bāqir Khān, who commanded the vanguard of Murshīd Qulī Khān's army, to give battle by advancing out of the entrenchment, Murshīd Qulī Khān remained on the defensive, and dissuaded Mirza Bāqir from attempting a sally. But as the period of stay within entrenchments was tediously protracted, Mīrzā Bāqir, carried by his youthful impulsiveness, sallied out with his contingent composed of Syeds of Barha, and arrayed himself in battle-rank. Murshīd Qulī was, therefore, obliged to array his troops in front of Alī Vardī Khān's army. On both sides, the battle opened with a cannonade, which was soon abandoned for a sword and spear-charge at close quarters. Murshīd Qulī Khān's generalissimo, Mir Abdu-l-'Azīz, who commanded the van, and his devoted contingent of three hundred knights consisting of Syeds of Barha spurred on their chargers, exhibited feats of heroism and hereditary gallantry, and with the flashing of their lightning swords ignited the life-harvests of all whose moment for death had arrived. Before this gallant charge, Alī Vardī Khān's soldiers, who had hitherto fancied themselves lions of the forest of bravery, fled like sheep from the battle-field, and met with a crushing defeat. The elephant on which Alī

ened that in case her husband failed to do so, she would supplant him from the Government of Orissa, and raise to the *gadi* her son-in-law, Mirza Bāqir Alī Khān, in his place. Thereon, Murshīd Qulī gave way to his wife's influence, and resolved to fight with Alī Vardī. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p 496).

Vardī Khān with his Begam[1] was mounted, was withdrawn half a *farsakh* away from the battle-field. At this crisis, Mukhāliṣ Alī Khān and Ābid Khān surnamed Farzand Alī Khān, upon whose loyalty Murshīd Qulī Khān reposed implicit confidence, together with Muqarrab Khān and other Afghan generals, exhibiting treachery which is the characteristic of the Afghan race, effaced from the tablets of their hearts all the alphabets of obligations that had been engraved thereon by many years of shelter and salt-eating, deserted the side of Murshīd Qulī Khān, and retired from the battle-field. At this juncture, Mānikchand,[2] Peshkār of the Rājah of Bardwān, who had arrived with an appropriate auxiliary force to serve under Alī Vardī Khān, reflecting that results of war were dubious, and speculating about the

1 This is a remarkable incident illustrating that Musalman ladies in India had not yet all taken to the existing form of seclusion, nor ceased to take an active share in their husbands' burdens, both in peace and war. Indeed, it is interesting to note that Alī Vardī's Begam played the *rôle* of Supreme Political Officer, whilst her husband fought the battles with the Mahrattas. It is stated in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Pers. text, p. 550), that one day Alī Vardī at Patna after fighting with the Mahrattas under Raghoji Bhosla, entered the Begam's *boudoir* with an anxious look. The Begam enquired what the matter was, when Alī Vardī replied that this time he feared treachery from his own soldiers and officers. Thereon, the Begam on her own initiative and her own responsibility organised a political mission, and sent it to Raghoji's camp, to arrange for a treaty of peace. Raghoji fell in with the proposal, but his Chief Adviser, Mir Habib, dissuaded him, and advised him to make a dash for Murshidabad, holding out the prospect of loot. The Begam must have been a lady of keen judgment and uncommon sagacity to have been relied upon at such a crisis by her shrewd husband.

2 Mānikchand who was afterwards left as Governor of Calcutta, when Siraju-d-daulah conquered it, was a shrewd and time-serving man, and regulated his loyalty by prudential considerations. He was a prototype of Nubokishen of later times, of whose loyal assistance to the English so much has of late been made by a recent writer, but who only followed Mānikchand in his loyal tactics, feeling his way cautiously, and keenly watching which way the tide of success turned, in order to adjust his individual position with an eye to self-aggrandisement. The *Seir* makes no mention of Mānikchand having taken any part in the battle, and ascribes Murshīd Qulī Khān's disaster to the treachery of his Afghan general 'Abid Khān, and to the rash sally of his son-in-law, Mirzā Bāqir Alī Khān. At this battle near Balasore, the Syeds of Barha fought bravely on the side of Murshīd Qulī Khān, and several of them, such as Mir Alī Akbār and Mir Mujtaha Alī fell, whilst Mirzā Bāqir Alī Khā himself was severely wounded. (See *Seir*, p. 497.)

future, covertly humoured Murshid Qulī Khān, and asked for the latter's flag of truce, in order to join him and exhibit self-sacrifice and loyalty. From a side of the forest, towards the direction whence the force of Mīrzā Bāqir Khān was marching in pursuit of Alī Vardī Khān, Mānikchand shewed himself, and displayed Murshid Qulī Khān's flag. Inasmuch as the aforesaid Mīrzā was unaware of his aim, he opposed his progress. Mānikchand was obliged to fight. Mīrzā Bāqir's efficient soldiers were already exhausted by warfare, so they fought in broken lines, and by the viccisitudes of times, the corps of Mīrzā Bāqir was defeated. Alī Vardī Khān, on being apprised of this, hurriedly collected his vanquished troops by use of persuasions, and a second time engaged in fighting. Mīr Abdu-l-'Azīz and his corps, consisting of three hundred Syed knights, dismounting from their horses, and girding up their loins of bravery, marched to the battle-field, and one by one, all of them fell, being shot down by bullets fired by the Bhalīah corps. Murshid Qulī Khān being thus defeated retired[1] to the Port of Balisar (Balasore), and there embarking on a sloop which had been kept ready from before, he sailed for the Dakhīn, and presented himself before Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh.[2] A providential victory thus fell to the good fortune of Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang. The latter pursued the vanquished army up to the Port of Balasore. From there, he detached Mīrzā Khairu-l-lah Beg, Faqīru-l-lah Beg,

1 It is stated in the *Seir* that after his defeat at the battle of Balasore, Murshid Qulī Khān together with his son-in-law, Mīrzā Bāqir Alī Khān, withdrew to the town of Balasore, with two or three thousand troops. Apprehending treachery from the latter, he gave out that he would entrench himself in the town, told them off to some distance to guard the roads leading to the town, whilst he himself with Mīrzā Bāqir Alī moved towards the sea-shore. At this time it so happened that a friend of his, Ḥājī Mohsin, a merchant of Surat, had his mercantile ship in the port, and also a pinnace. Murshid Qulī Khān got into the pinnace along with Mīrzā Bāqir Alī and Ḥājī Mohsin and some servants, embarked on board the ship, which sailed down to Masulipatam. From Masulipatam, Murshid Qulī Khān sent Mīrzā Bāqir Alī towards Sikakul and Ganjam, to bring away Durdanah Begam and her daughter from Katak (Cuttack).

2 Nizamu-l-Mulk Āṣaf Jah was Viceroy of the Dakhīn under Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, at this time. He had made himself semi-independent there, owing to the feebleness of the Central Government at Delhi. See note *ante*.

and Nūru-l-lah Beg to capture Yahyā Khān [1] and Murshid Qulī's Begam, and also to seize his treasures and chattels. Alī Vardī instructed them to proceed by forced marches, whilst he himself followed them on horse-back. When news of this affair and of Murshid Qulī Khān's retreat to the Dakhin reached Katak (Cuttack), Mūrad Khān, the generalissimo of the Rājah [2] of Parsūtam (Puri), who had been detailed for guarding Yahyā Khān and the Begam in the Fort of Barahbātī, planned to send instantly the Begam and Yahyā Khān together with all their chattels and treasures to the Dakhīn, by way of Sikākūl.[3] Baggages and equipages were kept ready, and jewelleries, gold coins, treasures, and other precious things were loaded on elephants, camels, and waggons, when all of a sudden the army of Alī Vardī Khān made its appearance. The elephant and camel-drivers, &c., leaving behind the loaded treasures and chattels with their baggages, fled, and all those treasures fell into the hands of the aforesaid Mīrzās, who divided the precious jewelleries,

1 Murshīd Qulī Khān had left his wife Durdanah Begām and his son Yahya Khān, together with his treasures, in the Fort of Barahbati at Katak, whilst advancing to Balasore.

2 The Rajah was Hafiz Qadīr, a Muḥammadan. See n. 3 below and *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p. 498.

3 Sekakul or Chicacole is a place in the Ganjam district, over 100 miles south-west of Puri. The land-route from Orissa to the Dakhīn lay in olden days *viâ* Sekakul or Chicacole across the Chilka lake. It is stated in the *Seir* that after arrival at Masulipatam, Murshīd Qulī Khān sent his son-in-law, Mīrzā Bāqir Alī Khān, towards Sekakul and Ganjam, to proceed to the relief of Durdanah Begam and her daughter. In the meantime, on hearing of Murshīd Qulī Khān's defeat, Murshīd Qulī's friend, Hafiz Qadīr, Rajah of Ratipur, Khurdāh, who was Superintendent of the temple of Jagannath, (*Note by Translator.*—This is an interesting and remarkable fact shewing that a Musalman was once at the head of this Hindu Temple. See *Seir*, Pers. text, p. 498) of his own motion had sent his general, Muḥammad Murad, with a force to guard and relieve Durdanah Begum and her daughter. Murād succeeded in bringing away the Begam and her daughter with their treasures and effects to Inchapur, which is in the Ganjam district. Anwaru-d-dīn Khān, Governor of Inchapur, treated the Begams very hospitably. At this time, Mīrzā Bāqir Alī Khān reached Inchapur, and proceeded from there with the Begams and their treasures to Masulipatam, whence Murshīd Qulī Khān, Mīrzā Bāqīr Alī Khān and the Begams, together with the treasures and effects, proceeded to the Dakhīn and took shelter with Asif Jah, its ruler. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p. 498).

treasures, and other valuable wares amongst themselves.[1] Since Ali Vardi Khān also followed up subsequently, he captured the remaining treasures, and also confiscated other treasures of the adherents of Murshid Qulī Khān. Issuing proclamations of peace and security, and employing reassurances and persuasions, Ali Vardi Khān won over to his side the Collectors, Zamīndārs and Officers of Orissa, and set about making settlement of the revenue, *nazar*, and tribute, as well as of the Jāgīrs. And in the course of one month, having finished the organisation and settlement of the Sūbah of Orissa, he entrusted the charge of that Province to Said Ahmad Khān, his nephew, who had previously served as the Faujdār of Rangpūr, procuring for him from the Emperor the title of Naṣīru-l-Mulk Said Ahmad Khān Bahādur Ṣaulat Jang. Ali Vardi Khān also left Gujar Khān, a Rohilla general, together with a contingent of three thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry, to be in attendance on Said Ahmad Khān at Katak (Cuttack). Ali Vardi Khān then returned, triumphant and victorious, to Bengal.

Ṣaulat Jang was of a churlish disposition and regulated himself by avarice. For effecting retrenchment in the military expenditure, he took into his service Salīm Khān, Darvēsh Khān, Nia'mat Khān, Mīr A'zīzu-l-lah and other generals, and sent back Gujar Khān[2] to Murshidābād, on the plea of smallness of the revenue of

[1] It would appear the account in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, as regards the fate of the Begams and their treasure is somewhat different from that in the *Riyaz*, which states that the Begams' treasures and effects were captured by Ali Vardi Khān's officers. The *Riyaz* is, however, strangely silent as to the fate of the Begams who were with the treasures. Obviously, the account in the *Riyaz* is incomplete and halting, whilst that of the *Seir* is more consistent and comprehensive and, therefore, more acceptable.

[2] The account in the *Seir* is somewhat different from that in the *Riyaz*. In the *Seir*, it is stated, in pursuance of a policy of economy, Ṣaulāt Jang wanted to reduce the pay of his soldiers. This reduction in pay was resented by the Murshidabad troops and officers who in consequence were disbanded, whilst the soldiers and officers domiciled in Orissa accepted this reduced pay, and in consequence were enlisted in the army in large numbers. Ṣaulāt Jang subsequently, at the instigation of one Shah Yahea indulged in debaucheries and ill-treated the men and women of Katak, who all in consequence were disgusted with him. This state of affairs at Katak came to the notice of Mirza Baqir Alī, who was in the Dakhin. The latter asked Murshid Qulī Khān to invade Orissa, but Murshid Qulī demurred. Thereon, Mirza Baqir Alī himself invaded Orissa, first persuading the soldiers and residents of Katak

Katak. The aforesaid generals who were anxious to avenge the fall of their old master, Murshid Quli Khān, finding now an opportunity, broke out into revolt. Ṣaulat Jang sent to them Qāsim Bēg, Superintendent of the Artillery, and Shaikh Hidāitu-l-lah, Faujdār (Magistrate) of Katak, for effecting the basis of a reconciliation. The Generals, who were seeking for an opportunity, finding the above two emissaries unescorted, slew Qāsim Bēg, whilst Hidāitu-l-lah, after receiving some wounds, made his escape. The citizens and soldiers *en masse* broke out into revolt, and under cover of the darkness of night they besieged Ṣaulat Jang, took him prisoner along with his followers and relations, and looted his treasures and effects. Then inviting over Mirza Baqir Khān, son-in-law of Murshid Quli Khān, from Sīkakūl across the Chilkah lake, they placed him on the *masnad* of the Niẓāmat of Orissa, and advancing with their forces they conquered Mednīpūr and Hījlī.

The news of the approach of the Katak army threw Bengal into commotion. Alī Vardī Khān, on the occurrence of this disaster, mobilised an immense army equipped with a battering artillery, and then set out for Katak, in order to relieve Ṣaulat Jang and re-conquer Orissa. By forced marches, scouring through Bardwān, he encamped on the outskirts of Mednīpūr. On receiving news of the approach of Mahābat Jang, the Katak army,[1] which was spread at Hijli and Mednīpūr, concentrated at Mednīpūr and Jalisar, next crossed over at the ferries of Rājghāt and Phulwar, and then encamped[2] at the Port of Balasore. The soldiers of Mirza Baqir,

to break out into revolt. The latter revolted, killed Gujar Khān, the general, when Baqir Ali marched swiftly to Katak, imprisoned Ṣaulat Jang, together with his wife and children in the Fort of Barahbati, and installed himself on the *gadī* of Orissa. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p. 502.)

1 The Editor of the printed Persian text has inserted, و after افواج کتک, though he says in his MSS. text, لا occurs. I consider و makes the text unintelligible, and لا of the MSS. text is correct. According to the latter reading, I have translated the text.

2 See the account in the *Seir* (Pers. text pp. 503–505) of Alī Vardī's expedition to Katak, to relieve Ṣaulat Jang. It is stated in the *Seir* that Alī Vardī Khān apprehending that Mirza Baqir Alī Khān was being helped by Asif Jah from the Dakhin, marched to Katak with a huge army, consisting of twenty thousand soldiers, led by picked generals and officers, such as Muṣtafa Khān, Shamshir Khān, Umar Khān, Atau-l-lah Khān, Haidar Alī Khān, Faqiru-l-lah Beg Khān, Mir Jafar, Mir Sharfu-d-dīn, Shaikh Muhammad M'aṣūm

who had previously received arrow-shots at the hands of the Bhaliahs, suddenly lost heart, and sending all their baggages to Sikākul remained unencumbered. When Mirza Baqir came to know of the disloyalty and cowardice of his soldiers, ostensibly he gave out that he contemplated advancing against the enemy, but in reality he planned to withdraw to the Dakhin. Whilst completing his arrangements for withdrawal to the Dakhin, he detached a force to Chaprah[1] *ghat*, which is the ferry of the river Mahāndi and is situate midway the town of Katak. And he himself with Ṣaulat Jang, &c., and a number of other captives together with tents, &c., crossed the river Katjurī. Mahābat Jang was encamped on the banks of the river Kamhariah,[2] at a distance of forty *Karoh* from Katak, and there at midnight messengers bought him news of Mirza Baqir's flight. Immediately summoning Mīr Muḥammad Ja'far the generalissimo, Muṣṭafā Khān, Shamshir Khān, Sardār Khān, 'Umar Khān, Buland Khān, Sirāndāz Khān, Balisar Khān and other Afghān generals, and holding a Council of War, Alī Vardī that very night with their concurrence despatched them expeditiously under the command of Mīr Ja'far Khān to pursue Mirza Baqir Khān. Soon after, Alī Vardī Khān himself with the remainder of his army set out. When the aforesaid generals with their army arrived five *karoh* from Katak, Mirza Baqir Khān being apprised placed Ṣaulat Jang in a fringed *Rath*, placed in it Ḥāji Muḥammad Amīn, brother of Murshid Qulī Khān, with a drawn dagger, to be his companion and attendant, and also set two armed horsemen on two sides of the *Rath*, with

Amanat Khān, Mīr Kazim Khān, Bahadur Alī Khān. Alī Vardī reached with his army the northern banks of the Mahanadi river opposite to Katak town, whilst Mirza Baqir Alī was encamped with his troops on the southern banks of the same river. Seeing Alī Vardī's huge army, Mirza Baqir Alī's soldiers fled, and dispersed in all directions, whilst Alī Vardī's troops plunged into the river, quickly crossed over to Katak town (at the Jobra Ghat, as would appear from the *Riyaz*), and rescued Ṣaulat Jang who was encaged in a *Rath* (a four-wheeled carriage) covered over with a white sheet tied round it with white strings. Ṣaulat Jang's escape from certain death was almost miraculous.

1 "Chaprah" of the text is known locally as 'Jobrah' ghat. It is situate midway the town of Katak, alongside the Mahanadi river. Close to the ghat, there is an old mausoleum.

2 "Kamhariah" river of the text is probably a misprint or misreading for "Dhumra" river, down Jajpur, which would be about 40 *Kroh* from Katak.

instructions that should the army of Mahābat Jang overtake them, they should instantly hack up Ṣaulat Jang with daggers and spears and on no account should let the latter escape. And Mirza Baqir himself mounted a horse, and along with the *Rath* containing Ṣaulat Jang he left the La'l Bāgh[1] Palace situate in the city of Katak, and arrived at Malisār.[2] At this time, Balisar Khān with fifteen horsemen, who were his comrades, came up. The flags carried by the cavalry were visible in the forest. By chance, at that time, from the excessive heat of summer, Ṣaulat Jang changing his seat inside the *Rath* sat in the place where Ḥājī Muḥammad Amin had hitherto sat, and gave his own seat to the Ḥājī. At the very sight of the flags of Balisar Khān's cavalry, the two armed horsemen who rode alongside the *Rath* thrust their spears through the *Rath*—screen, wounded Hājī Muḥammad Amin whom they mistook for Ṣaulat Jang, and fled. As fate would have it, as soon as the spear-thrust pierced the Hājī's hand and shoulder, the Hajī's dagger fell from his hand, and shouting out, "you have killed me; you have killed me," the Hājī[3] tumbled down inside the *Rath*. Ṣaulat Jang, the cup of whose life was not yet full to the brim, remained unscathed. When the Afghān troops were busy looting the vanquished, Mīr Muḥammad Ja'far Khān Bahādur and Muḥammad Amīn[4] Khān Bahādur, with a few men fell in with the runaways, and moved in every direction in quest of Sa'īd Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Ṣaulat Jang; but Ṣaulat Jang fearing lest some enemy might be searching for him,

[1] Lal Bagh, on the banks of the Katjuri, now forms the residence of the Commissioner of the Orissa Division. It was built by Musalman Governors of Orissa for their residence, in preference to Fort Barabati on the banks of the Mahanadi.

[2] Malisar is apparently a mistake for Mukamasar, a place across the Katjuri, about 2 miles distant from the Lal Bagh, on the Puri road.

[3] As the sequence of the story would indicate, the Hāji was to some extent shamming death, and was a sly fox, for quickly after he got up, and nimbly scampered off, mounting another man's horse.

[4] Mīr Muḥammad Amin was a step-brother of Alī Vardi Khān, surnamed Mahabat Jang, and brother-in-law of Mir Jafar, the latter having married an uterine sister of Mīr Muḥammad Amin. Neither Alī Vardī nor his father was a Syed; they were Mirzas; and therefore, Muḥammad Amin (Alī Vardī's step-brother) could not have been a Syed or Mir from his father's side, he was so probably from his mother's side. It is common amongst Muhammadans (and the usage has the sanction of authority) to call themselves Syeds, if their mothers are Syedas.

held his breath quietly. When Muḥammad Amīn Khān came up quite close, Ṣaulat Jang, recognising his voice, answered him. The aforesaid Khān, on hearing the response, immediately tearing the screen of the *Rath*, and cutting up the tent-ropes brought out Ṣaulat Jang, and dismounting from his horse embraced him. And Mīr Muḥammad Ja'far Khān also coming up, they embraced each other, and after offering thanks to Providence for the safety of Ṣaulat Jang's life, they indulged in jubilations. At the time when they were busy with embracings and hand-shakings, Ḥājī Muḥammad Āmīn, finding an opportunity, nimbly got out of the *Rath*, and mounting the horse of Muḥammad Amīn Khān fled to the jungle, and vanished. When after enquiries into the condition of Ṣaulat Jang they mounted their own horses, Muḥammad Amīn Khān was confounded at the disappearance of his own horse. On subsequently ascertaining the secret, they were all sorry.[1] When the Afghān soldiery, after finishing their work of plunder and sack, rallied round Mīr Muḥammad Ja'far Khān, they sent Ṣaulat Jang to Mahābat Jang, whilst they themselves set out in pursuit of Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir. Finding the chance of his escape to be slender, the Mīrzā bcame desperate, and opened the battle by shooting rockets and arrows and firing muskets. When the fighting was about to turn to a charge with spears and swords, Murād Khān, the generalissimo of the Rajah of Puri,[2] who with a large contingent of troops supported Mīrzā Bāqir, seizing the rein of the Mīrzā's horse, and by use of great persuasion, pulled him back from the battle-field. Becoming his guide, Murād Khān led the Mīrzā by a route across the forest towards the Dakhin. Alī Vardī Khān, after holding a thanksgiving service for meeting Ṣaulat Jang and obtaining victory, allowed Ṣaulat Jang to retire to the city of Katak for rest, whilst he himself, after resting some time and being freed from all anxiety on account of the enemy, entered Katak triumphantly. And after chastising fully the adherents and friends of Mīrzā Bāqir, Alī Vardī confiscated all the branded[3] horses of Mīrzā

[1] If Mīr Ja'far and his friends were capable of appreciating a practical joke, instead of being *sorry*, they might have enjoyed a hearty laugh.

[2] This was Ḥafiz Qadīr, Rājah of Ratipur, Khurdah, and master or Superintendent of the Jagannath Temple. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p. 498, and note *ante.*)

[3] That is, the horses which were supplied to, or had to be kept by military

Bāqir, appointed Shaikh Ma'ṣum,[1] who was an able General, to the office of Deputy Nāẕim of the Ṣūbah of Oḍisah (Orissa), and after finishing the administrative arrangements of that Province returned to Bengal.

Inasmuch as Jagat Isar, Rājah of Morbhanj, had taken sides with Mirzā Bāqir, and had not submitted to the authority of Mahābat Jang, the latter was in anxiety owing to his insolence. Therefore, on arrival at the port of Balasore, he girded up his loins in order to chastise the Rājah. The latter was at Harīharpūr which contained his mansion, and was at the time plunged in pleasures and amusements. His knowledge of the denseness of the forests that surrounded him, coupled with his command of numerous hordes of Chawars[2] and Khandaits, made him feel insolent, and so he did not pull out the cotton of heedlessness from the ear of sense, nor cared for the army of Alī Vardī Khān. Alī Vardī Khān's army stretching the hand of slaughter and rapine, set about looting and sacking the populations, swept the Rājah's dominion with the broom of spoliation, captured the women and children of the Khandatis and Chawars, and sowed dissensions amongst them. The Rājah, seeing the superiority of Alī Vardī Khān's army, with his effects, followers and dependants, fled to the top of a hill, and hid himself in a secret fastness, beyond the ken of discovery. Alī Vardī Khān then subjugated the tract of Morbhanj, shewed no quarter, and mercilessly carried fire and sword through its limits.

Mīr Ḥabīb, [3] the Generalissimo of Murshid Qulī Khān, after the

commanders for military purposes after being branded. See *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. I., p. 255, Blochmann's translation for the *Dagh* or branding regulations.

[1] The *Seir* states that his name was "Shaikh Muḥammad Maṣūm, *Pani Pati.*" He was appointed Deputy Governor of Orissa, in the place of Ṣaulat Jang, on the recommendation of Alī Vardī's Afghān general, Mustafa Khān, who now got the upper hand in all political affairs. The Shaikh is described as a veteran and brave general. (See *Seir*, Pers. text, p. 505).

[2] I am told 'Chawars' is a mistake for "Chowans" who are Khetris by caste. 'Khandaits' are also mixed Khetris; they are to be found in large numbers throughout Orissa.

[3] This story shews that one of the most prominent Musalman leaders and pillars of the State in Bengal, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, in order to avenge Alī Vardī's overthrow of his master Murshid Qulī Khān from the Orissa Government, and to gratify personal vindictiveness, ignored ties of religious obligations and national interest, and joined hands with

latter's defeat, had gone to Raghojī Bhoslah, and persuaded the latter to undertake the conquest of Bengal. At this time, Raghojī Bhoslah, nephew of the Rājah of the Dakhin, was Governor of the Ṣūbah of Berar. Taking advantage of the circumstance that Mahābat Jang was occupied with the affairs of Orissa, and finding that the whole extent of Bengal was denuded of troops, Raghojī Bhoslah detached his generalissimo, Diwan Bhāskar Paṇḍit, and Alī Qarawāl, who was an able general, with a contingent of sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry from Nāgpūr, in the company of Mīr Ḥabīb, by the route across the forest, in order to invade and pillage Bengal. On receiving news of the approach of Mahratta freebooters, Mahābat Jang abandoned the pursuit of the Morbhanj Rājah, and withdrew towards Bengal.

As yet Alī Vardī Khān had not passed through the forests of Morbhanj, when the army of Mahratta freebooters swooped down from the direction of the *chaklah* of Bardwān.[1] Mahābat Jang, with the celerity of lightning and wind, marching swiftly by night and day, reached the inn of Ujalan adjoining to Bardwān. The armies of Mahratta freebooters, concentrating from different directions, commenced looting baggages and tents. The Bengal army, which was ignorant of the tactics of Mahratta freebooters, but which had heard tales about their barbarity and ravages, stood motionless from fear like an army of statues, and were hemmed in and attacked by the freebooters. Their baggages were looted, and their food-supplies were cut off. Horses, elephants, and camels of the Bengal army were captured, and carried off by the freebooters. The army of Mahābat Jang, being tired out by the devastating onslaughts and sieges of the freebooters, broke in disorder. The Mahrattas at once hemming in attacked the

Mahratta freebooters, in order to place the Moslem Satrapy in Bengal under Mahratta heels. The story is an object-lesson, and illustrates the intellectual and moral desolation that had seized Musalmans in Bengal at the time.

[1] It is related in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Pers. text, p. 507), whose author's father, Syed Hedait Alī Khān, was at the time employed as Faujdar of Magha in Behar, and was on an expedition to the hill-passes of Ramgarh, that the Mahratta cavalry numbering 40,000 led by Bhaskar Paṇḍit, general of Raghojī Bhoslah, swooped down through the above passes, cut through Pachit and Morbhanj, and appeared near the outskirts of Mednīpūr. Raghojī Bhoslah (miscalled in the Pers. printed text of the *Riyaz*, Raghojī *Ghoslah*) was a nephew of Rajah Saho and *Makasdar* (probably Governor or Chief) of the Ṣubah of Berar, and his capital was at Nagpur in the Central Provinces.

elephant *Landāh* on which Mahābat Jang's Begam [1] was mounted, and capturing the elephant dragged it towards their own camp. Muṣāḥib Khān Mohmand, [2] son of U'mar Khān the General, having his Hindustānī courage aroused in him, attacked the freebooters, and advancing his feet of valour and gallantry, by means of valorous onslaughts and Rustam-like onsets, rescued the elephant together with its fair rider from the clutches of the freebooters. In consequence, however, of numerous mortal and ghastly wounds that they received, Muṣāḥib Khān and a large number of his comrades and kinsmen drew the red paint of martyrdom on the face, and on that very spot of slaughter were buried. And when the freebooters from impudence and insolence made onslaughts from all sides, Mahābat Jang, of necessity, opened leathern bags of coins, and scattered them on the field.[3]

[1] It is interesting to note that we saw Alī Vardī Khān's Begam moving beside her husband on an elephant at the battle of Balasore, and we find her again by the side of her husband at this battle with the Mahrattas, near Bardwān. She must have been a lady not only of nerve, but of wisdom, to have been retained by his side as a companion by Alī Vardī at such critical junctures. We saw also that that iron-man Alī Vardī in his usurpation of the Bengal Nizamat, bended himself before Nafisah Khānam and sued for pardon from her. From such incidents, the inference is not without warrant that Musalman ladies in Bengal even towards the middle of the eighteenth century occupied a different position from what they occupy now, took an active part in the wider concerns of their husbands, and exercised a powerful and beneficent influence both in the domains of politics and Society.

[2] His name would indicate he was an Afghān belonging to the Mohmand tribe.

[3] The *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Pers. text, pp. 507-513) gives a very graphic description of this first Mahratta invasion of Bengal (1155 A.H.), and of the causes which rendered it possible. The first cause was the instigation of Asif Jah (of Mīr Ḥabīb, according to the *Riyas* which seems more probable; for Asif Jah was too high-minded to set loose Mahratta freebooters on a Musalman satrapy); the second cause was the discontent of Alī Vardī Khān's Afghān troops and officers, notably of Muṣtafa Khān, as Alī Vardī Khān had disbanded many Afghān levies after the Katāk expedition to rescue Ṣaulat Jang; the third cause was the treacherous assassination by Alī Vardī of the Rājah of Morbhanj, whose cause was espoused by Muṣtafa Khān. The *Seir* further states that when Bhaskar Paṇḍit reached near Bardwān *vid* Pachit with 25,000 cavalry (given out as 40,000 cavalry), Alī Vardī Khān was on his way back from Orissa at Midnapur, with only 4 or 5,000 cavalry and 4 or 5,000 infantry, the latter having ordered back all his other troops to Murshidābād with Ṣaulat Jang. Alī Vardī reached Bardwān with this small army. Bhas-

Thus diverting the freebooters with the work of picking up coins, Mahābat Jang seized this respite, and with the celerity of lightning and wind riding out at full gallop arrived at Bardwān. The hungry troops, who for three days and nights had not seen the face of food-stuffs, quenched the fire of their hunger with the stores of Bardwān. The army of Mahratta freebooters followed up in pursuit. Sacking villages and towns of the surrounding tracts, and engaging in slaughters and captures, they set fire to granaries, and spared no vestige of fertility. And when the stores and granaries of Bardwān were exhausted, and the supply of imported grains was also completely cut off, to avert death by starvation, human beings ate plantain-roots, whilst animals were fed on the leaves of trees. Even these gradually ceased to be available. For breakfasts and suppers, nothing except the discs of the sun and the moon feasted their eyes. And for nights and days together, being constantly mounted on their high saddles, they did not even dream of sleep. The Afghān and Bhaliah troops becoming desperate, determined to die hard. Mahābat Jang, seeing signs of defeat, owing to the exhausted condition of his soldiery, held a Council of War. It was at last decided to place the artillery round the army, and to put baggages in the centre, and in this form to march out expeditiously from Bardwān to Katwāh, where food and fodder would be either procurable, or could be imported by waterways or highways from the environs of Murshidābād, to relieve the distressed soldiery. In short, in pursuance of

kar Paṇḍit having heard of Alī Vardī's bravery, proposed to the latter to give him ten *laks* of rupees by way of his entertainment expense, in which case he would return to his own country. Alī Vardī received this suggestion with disdain. For some time he was hard-pressed by the Mahrattas, especially owing to the defection of his Afghān officers and troops. Alī Vardī then with Sirāju-d-daulah waited on his Afghān General-in-Chief, Muṣtafa Khān, told him to kill him with his grand-son, or else to give him his support, in order to oppose this Mahratta invasion. Muṣtafa Khān, together with other Afghān officers now fought bravely against heavy odds with the Mahrattas, and Alī Vardī succeeded in retiring to Katwāh, where provisions with a re-inforcement came up under Ṣaulat Jang from Murshidābād. At Katwāh, Muṣtafa Khān inflicted a severe defeat on Bhaskar Paṇḍit, who now seriously thought of returning to his own country *viâ* Birbhum; but his chief adviser, Mīr Ḥabīb, dissuaded him and brought him back from Birbhum to Katwāh, holding out prospects of loot, and making himself responsible for the Mahratta conquest of Bengal.

this plan, setting out at night from Bardwān, Mahābat Jang's army marched towards Katwāh, and in a short interval by forced marches reached Katwāh. The light Mahratta cavalry, however, covered forty *karoh* a day, and thus before Mahābat Jang's arrival at Katwāh, they had already burnt down its fields, farms, and granaries, and reduced them to ashes. The army of Mahābat Jang now being in a state of utter despair, sent up to the skies wails, similar to the following :—

We never get relief from distress ;
To whatever country we roam,
We see the sky alone.

However, Ḥājī Aḥmad collecting the bakers of Murshidābād got breads prepared, and sent these together with other eatables and food-stuffs on boats to Katwāh. Other provisions and food-grains were also similarly conveyed gradually and in large quantities. At last, Mahābat Jang's army were saved from starvation, and their cattle also received a grateful supply of fodder and grass. Mahābat Jang's soldiers, whose houses were in Murshidābād, felt home-sick, and gradually drifted away towards their homes.

As Mīr Sharīf, brother of Mīr Ḥabīb, together with the family treasures, dependants and children, was at Murshidābad, Mīr Ḥabīb with seven hundred Mahratta cavalry swooped down on Murshidābād, in order to relieve his brother. Marching expeditiously, night and day, early at day-break, Mīr Ḥabīb reached Dihpārah and Ganj Muḥammad Khān,[1] to which he set fire. And opposite to the Citadel, crossing the river Bhāgiratī, Mīr Ḥabīb reached his residence, and taking out Mīr Sharīf, together with his treasures, effects, followers, and dependants, he kept them in his company. Sweeping clean the houses of numerous residents of the City with the broom of plunder, and looting as much gold and silver coins as he could from the houses of Jagat Set, and capturing Murād Alī Khān, [2] a son-in-law of Sarfarāz Khān, and Rājah Dūlabh Rām[3] and Mīr Shujāu-d-din, Superintendent of the

[1] These would seem to have been suburbs of Murshidābād.

[2] He was a son of Nafisah Begam, sister of Sarfarāz Khān, and subsequently became the latter's son-in-law, and in Sarfarāz Khān's time held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar. See n. ante.

[3] Dulāb Rām was a son of Rājah Janokiram Peshkar, and was appointed by

Bājutarah Sair duties, he encamped at Tiratkonah, which was to the west of the City, at a distance of one *farsakh*. Ḥājī Aḥmad, Nawāzish Aḥmad Khān and Ḥusain Qulī Khān, who were in the City, at the very sight of the Mahratta cavalry, firing their guns once or twice, and closing the avenues to the City as well as the gates of the Citadel, entrenched themselves, but found it impossible to fight and disperse the enemy, or to defend the City. On the next day, Mahābat Jang, with his army marching night and day, entered Murshidābād. Then the Mahrattas abandoned the idea of assaulting the City, and after desolating the surrounding tracts across the river returned to Katwāh. The rainy season now set in. In view of the tumultuousness of the river, the Mahrattas now suspended their fighting, established their quarters at Katwāh, and from there commenced making administrative arrangements. Giving Mīr Ḥabīb a free hand in all affairs, Bhaskar Paṇḍit himself remained at Katwāh, and sent out detachments in all directions for raid and plunder. Similarly, Mahābat Jang, in view of giving rest to his army, did not move out of the City.

As in his earlier years, Mīr Ḥabīb had lived at Hugli, the latter place still abounded with many of his kinsmen and friends. Their headman, Mīr Abu-l-Ḥasan Sarkhīl, now laid plans to surprise Hugli. He won over many of the Mughals to his side, and held secret correspondence with Mīr Ḥabīb. Mīr Muḥammad Riẓā, the Deputy Faujdār of Hugli,[1] used to treat Mir Abū-l-Ḥasan as his right-hand in all affairs.

Mahābat Jang Ṣubadar of Orissa, in place of Abdul Rasul Khān who was recalled. Dulāb Rām had been before Peshkar in Orissa. Dulāb Rām exhibited great cowardice when the Mahrattas invaded Orissa. The Mahrattas captured him, and he was released on payment of a heavy ransom after a year. He was very superstitious, and spent his time mostly in the company of Sanyasis, who turned out to be Mahratta spies. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, p. 545 (Pers. text).

1 In the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Pers. text, p. 514) it is stated that Muḥammad Yar Khān, a step-brother of Alī Vardī Khān, was at the time Governor of the Port of Hugli, and that Mīr Abū-l-Ḥassan and Mīr Abu-l-Qasim, who were intimate with the above Governor, conspired with Mīr Ḥabīb, and induced the Governor by their treacherous assurances to admit Mīr Ḥabīb into the Fort of Hugli. After thus treacherously seizing Hugli, Mīr Ḥabīb installed as its Governor Sis Rāo, a Mahratta, whilst he himself played the *rôle* of the Chief Administrator of Mahratta affairs in Bengal, and divided his residence between Hugli and Katwāh.

In blissful ignorance of the fact that he had a traitor in his camp, the Deputy Faujdār passed nights and days in carousals. At length, at the instigation of Mīr Abū-l-Ḥasan, Mīr Ḥabīb with a detachment of two thousand cavalry commanded by Sis Rāo advanced to Hugli, and at midnight arriving at the gate of its Fort announced his arrival to Mīr Abū-l-Ḥasan. Whilst Muḥammad Riẓā, arranging a feast of revelry, was quite absorbed in watching the dancing of some pretty women, Mīr Abū-l-Ḥasan said to the former: "Mīr Ḥabīb has come alone to visit you, and is waiting at the gate of the fort." Under the influence of liquor, the Deputy Faujdār unhesitatingly ordered the gate of the Fort to be thrown open and to admit Mīr Ḥabīb. Entering the Fort, Mīr Ḥabīb with the concurrence of Mīr Abū-l-Ḥasan placed Muḥammad Riẓā and Mīrzā Pīran under surveillance, established himself inside the Fort, and posted his own guards at its gate. The noblemen and residents of the town that very night fled to C̲h̲ūchrah (Chinsurah) and other places, and took refuge in the houses of the Dutch and French. Next morning, Sis Rāo with his detachment of cavalry entered the Fort. Many of the Mug̲h̲al residents who were Mīr Ḥabīb's acquaintances were introduced to Sis Rāo by Mīr Ḥabīb. The Rāo treated them courteously and deferentially, reassured every one of them, and issuing proclamations of peace and security forbade the Mahrattas from looting or sacking the town. He persuaded the Zamīndārs to assess and collect the revenue, and appointing as usual Qāẓīs, *Muhtasibs* and other officers to administer justice, he bestowed the office of Faujdār on Mīr Abū-l-Ḥasan. Mīr Ḥabīb, carrying off some guns and ammunitions together with a flotilla of sloops from Hugli, rejoined Bhāskar Paṇḍit at Katwāh.

As it was the rainy season, Mīr Ḥabīb deputed Mīr Mihdī with a detachment of musketeers on boats for collecting revenue from the mahals across the Ganges. But Mīr Mihdī, from fear of Mahābat Jang, did not land. The agents of the Zamīndārs proceeded to Mīr Ḥabīb, and paying him large sums obtained guards for the immunity of their tracts from the ravages and loot of Mahratta freebooters. The wealthy nobility and gentry, to save their family honour, quitted their homes, and migrated across the Ganges.[1] The whole tract from Akbarnagar (Rajmahal)

[1] That is to say, there was a general exodus of the Musalman nobility and gentry from the western side of the Ganges (that is, from Southern and West-

to Mednīpūr and Jalisār (Jalasore) came into the possession of the Mahrattas. Those murderous freebooters drowned in the rivers a large number of the people, after cutting off their ears, noses and hands. Tying sacks of dirt to the mouths of others, they mangled and burnt them with indescribable tortures. Thus they desolated and dishonoured the family and children of a whole world. Mahābat Jang, making strenuous efforts towards the chastisement and expulsion of the insolent enemy, set about collecting troops and armaments. Requisitioning to Murshidābād a large flotilla of boats from the neighbourhood of Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), from the Jilengī, from Māldah, and Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), &c., he constructed a road leading to Katwāh. From the eastern bank of the Bhagirati he detached for bridge-making twelve thousand pioneers and sappers on boats, and attended to the comforts of the army. Collecting paraphernalia, horses, elephants, and swords, and winning the hearts of his soldiery by bestowing on them gifts and increments in pay, he encouraged and incited them to fight. Finding the enemy absorbed in political affairs relating to Zamīndārs, Revenue-Collectors and Administrators, Mahābat Jang seized this op-

ern Bengal) to its Eastern and Northern sides (that is, Eastern and Northern Bengal) which were immune from Mahratta raids. Those who are at pains to account for the comparatively large Musalman population in Eastern and Northern Bengal and are ready to put forward more or less fanciful theories, might perhaps take into consideration the above circumstance, and also the following facts which I summarise from the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (a contemporary account). The *Seir* states that in this wave of Mahratta invasion of Bengal, the whole of the *Chaklahs* of Bardwān, Mednīpūr, Balasore, Katāk, Birbhum, some pargannahs of Rajshahi (probably those on the south side of the river) Akbarnagar (Rajmahal) were overwhelmed, whilst only Murshidābād and the countries on the other side (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges remained peacefully in possession of Alī Vardī Khān, that in the rainy season, even the populations of Murshidābād, apprehending Mahratta raids, migrated *en masse* on boats to the other sides (that is, Eastern and Northern sides) of the Ganges, such as Jahangirnagar or Dacca, Maldah, Rampore Beauliah, &c., and that even Nawab Shahamat Jang (Alī Vardī's son-in-law) with his family and children moved across the river to Godagari, a place close to Rampore Beauliah, on the north bank of the Ganges or Poda. These historical *facts* occurring as they did only in the middle of the eighteenth century, would sufficiently explain why the Musalman populations in Western Bengal and even near Murshidābād (the latest Musalman capital in Bengal) are numerically much less than those in Eastern or Northern Bengal (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, pp. 564 and 514).

portunity, and held a Council of War with his Afghān and Bhaliah Generals in view of delivering a night-attack. In pursuance of this plan, Mahābat Jang marched expeditiously with a large and efficient army, and by forced marches, at midnight, reached a place just opposite to Katwāh. In the cover of the night's darkness, he instantly floated a bridge of boats that had been kept ready from before, and with a large army commenced crossing the river. Whilst he with the officers and some veteran soldiers had crossed the river, the bridge suddenly gave way under the heavy weight of a large army. Some of the boats sank, whilst a large number of Afghāns and Bhaliahs were drowned in the river. Mahābat Jang, on learning about this mishap, was engulphed in a sea of confusion. His mind was racked with anxiety. He realised that the entire army from the eastern bank of the river had been unable to cross over, and that he alone with a handful of troops was on the western bank face to face with the enemy. In consequence, he apprehended that in the event of the enemy getting scent of his movement, he would meet with a terrible disaster. He, therefore, put out the torches, and gave directions for immediately repairing the broken portions of the bridge. After the bridge was repaired, he ordered the whole army to cross over and join him. As the enemy was heedless and negligent, everything ended well. Kishwar Khān, the Deputy Faujdār, and Mānkant, the commandant of the pioneers and sappers, quickly rendered the damaged boats water-tight by plastering their cracks and rends with mud and bits of wood, and thus displayed *Luqmān*-like skill. An army, waving like the sea, swiftly crossed the bridge, rallied round Mahābat Jang and his Generals, and quickly unsheathing their swords, in a solid and clamorous phalanx, like some heavenly disaster, swooped down on the enemy. Shouts rose up on every side.

True, the night was dark, but the sword flashed,
So as amidst the dusky clouds, lightning flashes.
From profuse shedding of blood on that battle-field,
Earth's face turned crimson.
Heaps of corpses crashed on heaps of corpses,
Aye, formed veritable mounds on every side.

Overwhelmed with disaster, and unable to stand their ground, Mīr Ḥabīb and Bhāskar Paṇḍit with other Mahratta officers fled

from the battle-field, leaving their army to their fate, just as a cow is left to the tender mercies of a butcher. A crushing defeat [1] was inflicted on the Mahratta army, which was triumphantly chased to some distance Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals fell back to Rāmgadh, from where with common consent they marched with celerity across jungles, to invade and ravage the Ṣūbah of Orissa.

Shaikh Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm, the Deputy Nazim of Orissa, in order to resist the enemy, advanced from Katak, and opposed the enemy's march. When the two armies encountered each other, the fire of conflict flared up once again. Although the Zamīndārs had deserted his side, with a small band numbering five thousand cavalry and infantry, Shaikh Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm stood his ground dauntlessly on the field. The Mahratta army, which was more numerous than ants and locusts, surrounded Shaikh Ma'ṣūm from all sides like a circle, and slaughtered him together with his comrades. The Ṣubāh of Oḍīsah (Orissa), together with the Fort of Barabātī and the citadel of the City of Katak, fell once again into the hands of the enemy.

Nawāb Mahābat Jang, on hearing of the above disaster, marched swiftly to Bardwān. He paid to each soldier two months' pay and also other gifts on account of the victory of Katwāh, advanced to Katak, and repeatedly assaulting the Mahratta troops drove them from Katak, and victoriously entered its citadel. Leaving General Abdu-r-Rasūl Khān, who was a second Muṣṭafā Khān, and

[1] This defeat of the Mahrattas at Katwāh took place in 1155 A.H. The *Seir* states that after his defeat at Katwāh, Bhāskar Paṇḍit, the Mahratta General, fled through the hill-passes of Pachit into a forest, but losing his way, and not succeeding in making his retreat to his own country (Nagpur), under the guidance of Mīr Ḥabīb, came back to the jungles of Bishanpur, passed through them to the jungles of Chandrakonah, emerged at Midnapur, and made for Katak, fought with and killed Shaikh Ma'ṣūm, Ṣubādar of Orissa. Mahābat Jang hotly chased Bhāskar Paṇḍit up to the confines of the Chilka Lake, but Bhāskar succeeded in effecting his retreat into the Dakhin. Then Mahābat Jang returned to Katak, where he installed Abdul Nabi Khān (nephew of Shaikh Ma'ṣūm) as Ṣubādar of Orissa, and left Dulab Ram (son of Rajāh Janaki Ram) as Peshkar under the latter, and then returned to Murshidabad (p. 519, *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text).

There is a village called Masūmpur about 11 miles north from Katak. It is a colony of respectable Muhammadans, and is probably named so after the above Shaikh Ma'ṣūm Panipati. Six miles from Masūmpur, is another colony of respectable Musalmans at Salihpur.

who was also the latter's nephew, as the Deputy Nazim of Orissa, together with a contingent of six thousand cavalry and infantry, Mahābat Jang returned to the Ṣūbah of Bengal.

On receiving news of the defeat of Bhāskar Pandit, Sis Rāo evacuating the fort of Hugli retreated to Bishanpūr. Other Mahratta officers, who were posted at different places for the collection of revenue, also fled. The Collectors and Faujdārs of Mahābat Jang entered the ravaged tracts, and again set about to re-settle them.

But Bhāskar Paṇḍit, after his defeat, sent *Bairagi* dacoits towards Akbarnagar (Rajmahal), Bhāgalpūr, and Behār. Mahābat Jang, who had not yet breathed freely, again set out from Bengal for those places. He had not yet reached the Ṣūbah of Behār, when the *Bairagis* retreating from those parts swooped down on Murshidābād. Mahābat Jang fell back from Behar, and pursued them. These *Bairagi* freebooters were busy with looting Balūchar, when the music of the drum and tambourine of Mahābat Jang's vanguard rang in the ears of those maniacs. Losing all courage, and leaving behind bags of booty, they fled from Balūchar. Mahābat Jang chased them up to Rāmgadh, from where he returned.

In short, this sort of guerilla warfare lasted three years. Victories on both sides were mingled with defeats, and it was hard to decide which side eventually came off the best. Nawāb Mahābat Jang, following the saying that "war is made up of fraud," diplomatically established friendly relations with Alī Qarawāl, who was one of the Mahratta leaders that had embraced the Muḥammadan faith, and was surnamed Alī Bhāi. From considerations of expediency, Mahābat Jang invited him over. Receiving him kindly and courteously, using dissimulation and artfulness, and professing friendship and benignity, he made him consent to arrange an interview between himself and Bhāskar Pandit with other Mahratta Generals. Heedless of the duplicity of the times, that simpleton was taken in, and arrived at Dīknagar. He induced Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals to meet Mahābat Jang, by conveying to them the assurances and avowals of Mahābat Jang with reference to the settlement of the *Chauth* and the establishment of friendly relations. And these, in accordance with the saying;— "One perceiveth according to the length[1] of his sight," placing

[1] The Arabic saying is:
اذا جاء القدر بطل البصر

the finger of acceptance on their blind eyes, summoned to their presence Rājah Jānakī Rām and Muṣṭafā Khān for fixing the basis of a treaty, and for ratifying it by protestations and oaths. These going over to Bhāskar made vows and oaths, according to the forms of their respective religions and creeds. Muṣṭafā Khān had with him, under a cover, a brick instead of the *Qoran*, and holding it he repeated oaths. Falling into the trap laid by Mahābat Jang, and reiterating the vows of peace, Alī Bhāi and Bhāskar with other Mahratta Generals promised to meet Mahābat Jang at a place called Mankarah,[1] and permitted Muṣṭafā Khān and Rājah Jānakī Rām to return. These going to Mahābat Jang assured him of the success of their mission, and related the mutual promises and vows that had taken place. Expressing his satisfaction, Mahābat Jang ostensibly set about collecting valuable *khillats* and jewelleries, together with elephants, horses, and other rare and precious presents for presentation to the aforesaid Mahratta Generals. Announcing to the general public news of the approaching peace, Mahābat Jang covertly laid a plot of treachery, and took into confidence his own Generals towards its development. He picked out veteran and brave soldiers from his army, and caused long and wide tents, capable of holding large detachments with horses and elephants, to be pitched at Mankarah. Himself going into one of the tents, he arranged a grand party of friends and comrades. He secreted in battle-array inside the tents a battalion of picked men, and sent a message to Alī Bhāi to bring over Bhāskar with all the Mahratta Generals. In short, Bhāskar, leaving all his troops in camp, came to Alī Vardī's tent, together with Alī Bhāi and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals. The tent-pitchers following the signal dropped down the screens of the pavilion, tied them strongly with tent-ropes, and cut off the ingress and egress of friends and foes. Mahābat Jang, at the very sight of Bhāskar, said to his comrades who were waiting for the signal: "Kill these heathen sinners."[2] Instantly, swords sprang up from every side on the Mahrattas.

[1] In *Seir* (p. 529) Mankara is described as lying on the banks of the Bhagirati. How the wily Alī Vardī Khān treacherously inveigled Bhāskar Paṇḍit and other Mahratta Generals into his tent, is lucidly described in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (p 529). In this game of treachery, Alī Vardī Khān's principal coadjutors were Muṣṭafā Khān and Rājah Janaki Ram, the Peshkar. It must, however, be added that the Mahrattas were well paid back in their own coin.

[2] The expression given in the *Seir* (p. 530) is: "Kill this enemy."

The clamour of assault rose up to the skies,
Breasts were pierced through by swords.

Bhāskar and twenty-one other Mahratta Generals were butchered. In the midst of this carnage, Mahābat Jang mounting an elephant ordered the music of victory to be struck up, and ordered his select battalion to charge the Mahratta army with their swords. On seeing this, one [1] of the Mahratta Generals, who was posted outside the pavilion with ten thousand cavalry, fled together with his force. Mahābat Jang's soldiers pouncing like fighting lions on this flock of sheep fiercely attacked the Mahratta troops, and slaughtered them, right and left, raising human shambles, and captured those who escaped the sword. On hearing of this disaster, other Mahratta detachments which were encamped at Bardwān and Diknagar, [2] &c., or patrolled the tracts between Mednīpūr and Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) fled to Nāgpūr.

When news of this disaster reached the ear of Raghojī Bhoslah,

He knitted his brow, from fury of rage,
And coiled, like a serpent, from anxiety of lost treasures.
He kindled such a fire of wrath in his heart,
That he scorched himself from head to foot.

After the rainy season was over, Raghojī Bhoslah [3] mobilised a large force, and marched towards Bengal, to avenge the

[1] His name was Ragho Gaekwar. (See *Seir*, p. 531). Muṣṭafā Khān tried hard to inveigle him also into Alī Vardī's tent, but this Mahratta General appears to have been an uncommonly shrewd man, and said he would wait on Alī Vardī Khān on the following day, after Bhaskar Paṇḍit and Alī Bhai had returned from their interview with Alī Vardī.

[2] In the printed Pers. text 'Diknagar,' which place I cannot locate.

[3] The *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Pers. text, pp. 545-548) gives a very lucid account of this second Mahratta invasion of Bengal by Raghojī Bhoslah. It appears that important affairs transpired in the meantime in the Bengal Satrapy, which made for this second Mahratta invasion. In the first place, Muṣṭafā Khān, the Afghān General-in-Chief and the chief pillar of the State of Alī Vardī Khān, fell out with the latter, and was locked up in fighting against Alī Vardī's son-in-law, Zain-d-dīn Khān, Ṣubādar of Azimabad (Patna). Whilst hardpressed by the well-formed battalions of Zain-d-dīn Khān, Muṣṭafā Khān, like Mīr Ḥabīb, took the unusual step to invite over to Bengal Raghojī Bhoslah, who seized the invitation with avidity and marched with Mīr Habīb (the implacable foe of Alī Vardī and the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas), towards Katak. At this time at Katak, a cowardly person ruled as Alī

slaughter of Bhāskar and other Mahratta Generals, and engaging on massacres, captures, and plunders, tortured many of his cap-

Vardī's Ṣubādar in Orissa. His name was Dulab Ram, and he was a son of Rajah Janoki Ram, Alī Vardī's Peshkar. Alī Vardī had appointed Dulab Ram as Ṣubādar, in the place of Abdul Rasul Khān (son of Abdul Nabi Khān) who had resigned his office and joined Muṣṭafā at Patna. Dulab Ram was not only cowardly, but superstitious, and most probably, also treacherous (as his subsequent conduct towards Alī Vardī's grandson indicates). He associated at Katak with the *Sanyasis*, most of whom were spies in the employ of Raghojī Bhoslah. As soon as Dulab Ram heard of the approach of the Mahrattas, he attempted to run away; but was soon after captured by the Mahrattas. At this time, a small band of Syeds, under the command of Mīr Abdul Aziz, bravely held out for over a month in the Fort of Barabati. The heroic stand against heavy odds made by this small beleaguered garrison and its unflinching loyalty, once more relieves the darkness of the moral chaos that had seized the times. When cajoled and threatened by Raghojī Bhoslah's friend, Mīr Habīb, and entreated by Dulab Ram and by his own brother to join Raghojī's side, Mīr Abdul Aziz returned the following gallant and loyal answer: "I own no brother nor any other master; I acknowledge only one master, namely, Mahābat Jang; true, some cowards have joined you; but from regard for the salt I have eaten, I will, by God, stand by this Fort, so long as there is breath in my life." (*Seir*, p. 546). As however, no reinforcements came up, though over a month had elapsed, and as all provisions had run out, this noble band of beleaguered garrison had at length to capitulate on honourable terms to Raghojī Bhoslah, who made himself master of the Fort Barabati and also of the whole of Orissa province, as well as of Mednīpūr, Hughli and Bardwān. Alī Vardī was occupied at this time in Patna in crushing out the Afghān revolt under Muṣṭafā Khān. When Muṣṭafā Khān was slain and the Afghān revolt was crushed, Alī Vardī hastened back to Bengal. At this time, Raghojī was encamped at Birbhum. Meanwhile the Afghān comrades of the late Muṣṭafā Khān, who lay in a death-trap in the Jungles of Tikari asked Raghoji to help them, and promised him their adhesion. Raghoji marched to Tikari to their rescue *viâ* the jungles of Birbhum and Kharakpur, looting *en route* the villages of Shaikpura and Tikari, &c. Mahābat Jang followed quickly in their heels and moved to Patna. From Patna, Raghojī (on the advice of Mīr Habīb, who was the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, also in this second Marhatta invasion) turned towards Murshidābād, pursued closely by Alī Vardī, whose pursuit was hot and unslacking. At Katwāh, another battle was fought, in which the Mahrattas were worsted. Finding that victory was out of the question, and hearing of some troubles in his own country, Raghojī now prudently withdrew to his own country at Nagpur, leaving in Bengal his friend, guide, and philosopher, Mīr Hābīb, with 3,000 Mahratta and 7,000 Afghan troops. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Pers. text, p. 551). It would seem a despicable moral chaos had at this time seized the country, in which neither religious ties

tives. Alī Vardī Khān with a large army again advanced to encounter the enemy. At this juncture, Balājī Rāo,[1] son of Bājī Rāo Paṇḍit, Peshwā and generalissimo of Rājah Sāhū, who was young, and had enmity with Raghojī, under orders of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, came from the Imperial Capital (Diḥlī) to Bengal with sixty thousand Mahratta cavalry, to re-inforce Alī Vardī Khān. Mahābat Jang, finding floods of disaster approaching Bengal from two sides, shewed firmness and foresight. He deputed experienced envoys with presents to Balājī Rāo, won him over to his side by display of courtesy and sincerity, met him at Bīrbhūm, established friendly relations with him, and both unitedly resolved to drive out Raghojī Bhoslah. Raghojī finding it impracticable to accomplish the object of his mission withdrew to his own country, without gaining his end. Being somewhat relieved of his anxiety by the withdrawal of Raghojī Bhoslah, Mahābat Jang presented a large amount of cash to Balāji Rāo, and thus sent him out of Bengal in a contented and thankful mood, whilst he himself returned to Bengal. Being inwardly in anxiety as to the demand of Raghojī for *Chauth*, Mahābat Jang set about mobilising troops.

At this moment, a rupture occurred between Alī Vardī Khān and

nor national sentiments were held of any account. One finds now Musalman Afghans (at the instigation of two Musalman leaders, Mīr Ḥābīb and Muṣṭafā Khān), fighting the battles of Hindu Mahratta freebooters against a Musalman power in Bengal. The event is a dark land-mark in Moslem history of Bengal, and marks the sad disintegration and moral paralysis that had now seized the Musalman race in Bengal or, for the matter of that, in India. (See *Seir*, Pers. text, pp. 556-566).

1 Balaji Rao (the generalissimo of the Imperial Army in the Dakhin) and Ṣafdar Jang, son-in-law of Burhanu-l-Mulk, the Ṣubādar of Oudh, were orderd by Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, to help Alī Vardī against the Mahrattas under Raghojī. Whilst seeking Imperial assistance, Alī Vardī wrote the following pregnant and prophetic words to the Emperor :—"Should Bengal which is the financial mainstay of the Empire fall, your Majesty's Empire will be shorn of all lustre." (See *Seir*, p. 516, Pers. text). These words had reference to the fact that Bengal had ever been the best milch-cow of the Empire. Ṣafdār Jang did not pull on with Alī Vardī, and so was recalled by the Emperor, whilst Balaji Rao (whose designs were also suspected by the shrewd Alī Vardī) who had come to Mankar by way of Patna, was courteously shewn out of Bengal by the latter. (See *Seir*, pp. 522 and 524). In this connection, the *Seir* (p. 524) gives the story of a Musalman amazon in the person of the widow of the late Muḥammad Ghaus Khān who resided at Bhagalpur, and who held out bravely against Balaji Rao.

Muṣṭafā Khān, the Afghān General, and it was so far accentuated that all the Afghāns combining with the latter, broke out into revolt, and set out with a large force for Aẕīmābād (Patna), in order to storm that City, and to capture Ḥājī Aḥmad and Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān. On reaching Mungīr (Monghyr), Muṣṭafā Khān besieged the Fort of Monghyr. The Commandant of the Fort prepared to fight. Abdu-r-rasūl Khan, [1] a cousin of Muṣṭafā Khān, advancing in the inebriation of the wine of valour and daring, wanted to storm the Fort, by battering down its gate. The guards of the Fort hurled down a huge stone on his head. From the blow of that heavy stone, his head was smashed to atoms. Muṣṭafā Khān, viewing this disaster to be a bad omen, abandoned the siege of Monghyr, marched with celerity to Aẕīmābād, (Patna), engaged in besieging the latter City, and commenced fighting with Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān. Most of the detachments of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, not being able to stand their ground in the face of the onslaughts of the Afghāns, retreated to the citadel, but Zainu-d-dīn Khān himself with a small squadron of cavalry, artillery, and *Bhalīah* musketeers remained out in the open to encounter the enemy. At this moment, the Afghāns fell to plundering and pillaging the tents of Zainu-d-dīn's troops who had retreated. Seeing Muṣṭafā Khān now left with a small force, Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān formed a van-guard of artillerymen and *Bhālīah* musketeers, and commenced an assault. [2] The shells of guns and bullets of muskets now commenced showering like hail. Most of Muṣṭafā Khān's comrades tasted the bitter potion of death; whilst one bullet, hitting Muṣṭafā Khān on the socket, blinded one of his eyes. Then Zainu-d-dīn's other troops who had retreated to the citadel also rushed out, attacked the Afghans, and put them to the sword. Muṣṭafā Khān on being defeated retreated to Jagdīshpūr. [3] Becoming victorious and triumphant, Zainu-d-dīn Khān struck up the band of victory, made his State entry into the Fort, and next engaged on chasing the enemy. Muṣṭafā Khān now sent a message to Raghojī Bhoslah, [4] and asked for help.

[1] He was Ṣubādar of Orissa before Dulab Ram. See note *ante*.

[2] The whole thing would seem to have been a well-planned tactical move on the part of Zainu-d-dīn Khān, who was a good General, strong in tactics.

[3] The printed Persian text of the Riyaz has throughout "Raghojī *Ghoslah.*" 'Ghoslah' is obviously a misreading or misprint for 'Bhoslah.'

[4] 'Jagdishpūr' or 'Jagdispur, is mentioned in the Aīn-i-Akbarī (Vol I

Raghojī, who was waiting for such an opportunity, was delighted, and prepared to despatch reinforcements. But Mahābat Jang, on being apprised of this news, swiftly marched to Aẕīmābād (Patna). The Bengal and Aẕīmābād (Patna) armies forming a junction combined to attack Muṣṭafā Khān. After much fighting, Muṣṭafā Khān, finding it impossible to hold his own, retreated in a hapless condition across the frontier of Aẕīmābad to Ghāzīpūr; whilst Mahābat Jang becoming victorious and triumphant returned to Murshidābād. Muṣṭafā Khān again collected a large force of cavalry and infantry, and again invaded Aẕīmābād. Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, according to the adage "One who is beaten once can be beaten twice," with his victorious troops encountered him, and after much efforts and countless exertions, and after much slaughters and fightings, became victorious, whilst Muṣṭafā Khān, as a retribution for his disloyalty, was slain on the battle-field. Zainu-d-dīn Khān cutting off the head of that wretch from his body tied his corpse to the feet of an elephant which was patrolled round the city to serve as a warning, and also suspended his head at the City Gate.

At this juncture, Raghojī Bhoslah despatched to Bengal a Mahratta army under the command of his son Rājah Jānojī, his adopted son, Mohan Singh, and the miscreant Mīr Ḥabīb, in order to demand the *Chauth*.[1] A large number of Muṣṭafā Khān's Afghan ad-

pp. 400 and 498, Blochmann's Tr.) It was the "stronghold in Akbar's time of Rajah 'Gajpate' or 'Kachite,' who was the greatest *Zamindar* in Behar at the time." In the 16th year of Akbar's reign, Akbar's General, Shahbaz Khān-i-Kambu, operated against this Rajah who fled, and Shahbas then conquered Jagdispūr, when the whole family of the Rajah was captured. Shahbaz then conquered Shergadh, which was held by Sri Ram, Gajpati's son, and about the same time took possession of Rohtas.

[1] This third Mahratta invasion of Bengal under Janojī, son of Raghoji Bhoslah (with him being of course the inevitable Mīr Ḥabīb as the Chief Adviser and as guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahrattas), is also lucidly narrated in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Pers. text, pp. 555-592). Janojī came to Katak, whilst Alī Vardi's newly-nominated Deputy Ṣubadar of Orissa, Mīr Jafar, was still at Mednipūr, on his way to Katak. On hearing of the Mahratta incursion, Mīr Jafar (who secretly was conspiring against Alī Vardī) retired to Bardwan. The Mahrattas then advanced to Bardwan. After some indecisive skirmishing, Janojī made for Murshidābād, and after doing some looting in its neighbourhood retreated to Mednipūr, pursued by Alī Vardī Khān. In the meantime, Janojī's principal adviser, Mīr Ḥabīb, had opened treacherous negotiations with the late Muṣṭafā Khān's Afghan adherents

herents also joined them, and the market of fight and slaughter once again became warm in the conflict between Mahābat Jang and the Marhattas. The Ṣūbah of Orissa fell into the hands of Janojī, whilst weakness set in in the Province of Bengal. Mīr Ḥabīb opened negotiations for the settlement of the Chauth of Bengal. Nawāzish Ahmad Khān, Aḥsan Qulī Khān, [1] Jagat Set, and the Raī-Rāiān [2] exerted themselves strenuously on the side of peace. But

in Darbhanga and its neighbourhood, and these had effected a sanguinary revolution by treacherously killing at a Darbar Zainu-d-dīn Khān, Ṣubādār of Patna. Now Janojī moved to Patna (with him being Mīr Ḥabīb), and Alī Vardī also proceeded to Patna. Alī Vardī now rose to the height of his generalship, and succeeded in crushing and routing his united Afghan and Marhatta foes in a great battle near Barh. (See the spirited description of this battle in the *Seir*, p. 566). Janojī, now receiving news of his mother's death, retreated to Nagpūr, leaving Mīr Ḥabīb towards Katak and Mednipūr with some Mahratta and Afghan troops (*Seir*, p. 576). Shortly after, Raghoji sent to Mīr Ḥabīb another Mahratta reinforcement under Manaji, younger brother of Janojī [Mohan Singh of the text is obviously a mistake or misprint for Manaji] Alī Vardī marched out with his army from Murshīdābad and passed through Katwah, Bardwan, Mednipūr, Bhadrak, and Jajpur; whilst Mīr Ḥabīb with his Mahratta and Afghan troops fell back from Mednipūr towards Katak. Alī Vardī triumphantly entered once more the City of Katak, and recaptured the Fort of Barabati, after killing its commandants, Serandaz Khān, Syed Nur, and Dharam Dass (p. 578, *Seir*), Pers. text. This re-conquest, however, proved abortive, for whilst Alī Vardī was still at Balasore on his way towards Murshidabād, Mīr Ḥabīb with his light Mahratta and Afghan cavalry swooped down on Katak, and killed Shaikh Abdus Subhan, who had been left there as Deputy Governor by Alī Vardī. (See pp. 579-580 of the *Seir*, which also gives a good description of the Katak City). The Mahrattas, it would seem, always moved with light and mobile cavalry, whilst Alī Vardī's army was not equally light or mobile. Alī Vardī had, therefore (despite the fact that next to Asafjah, he was the first General of the time in India) to encounter the same difficulties in encountering Mahratta troops, that the British had in encountering the Boers in the late South African War. In the end, it is true, Alī Vardī triumphed, but the price that he had to pay for his apparent victory was too much, nor did he survive it long enough to reap its benefit.

[1] In a former part of the text, he is named "Husain Qulī Khān," which appears to be correct. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 495). Husain Qulī Khān was Naib or Deputy of Nawazish Muḥammad Khan, son-in-law of Alī Vardī Khān, and Governor of Chakla Jahangirnagar (Dacca), including Silhat and Chittagong.

[2] Nawazish Muḥammad Khān was Governor of Jahangirnagar, and also held the portfolio of Supreme Diwan of Bengal under Alī Vardī Khān, the Deputy Diwanship being held by Chin Rai (who had been Peshkar under Alam-

Mahābat Jang, considering the acceptance of *Chauth* to be humiliating, refused to conclude peace, and with his army prepared to fight and drive out the Mahrattas. Mahābat Jang suspected treachery from Sham Sher Khān, Sardār Khān, Murād Sher Khān, Ḥaiāt Khān, and other Afghan Generals of Dārbhāngā, who, during the late insurrection, had sided with Muṣṭafā Khān. And, as a matter of fact, these Afghan Generals had opened at this time treasonable correspondence with Mīr Ḥabīb and his Mahrattas. These Afghan Generals, following the example of Muṣṭafā Khān, now broke out into open revolt on the pretext of demand of pay. Mahābat Jang, having lost all confidence in them, paid them up, and disbanded them. These reaching Darbhāngā, after a short time, leagued amongst themselves in pursuance of designs of treachery, and made offers of service to Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān. As Zainu-d-dīn Khān was a friend of soldiers, he conciliated them, accepted their offers of service with the approval of Nawāb Mahābat Jang, and invited them to a *Darbar*. Sham Sher Khān and Murād Sher Khān with a corps of Afghans arrived at Ḥājīpūr, and encamped on the banks of the river. According to the order of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, they left behind all their soldiers, and crossing the river came to Azīmābād (Patna) attended only by three hundred cavalry, consisting of kinsmen and comrades who were all of one heart for the purpose of waiting on Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān. On obtaining an audience, they observed all the points of etiquette, and sat in the *Chihil satūn* Palace, ranged on the right and left of Zainu-d-dīn. Zainu-d-din Aḥmad Khān reclining against pillows on a *Masnad*, made polite enquiries regarding each. Murād Sher Khān, nephew of Sham Sher Khān, finding Zainu-d-dīn off his guard, pulled out a dagger from his waist, hit the latter so hard with it on the stomach, that his intestines came out. By that single blow, Zainu-d-dīn was killed.[1] The traitors, lifting

chand, Deputy Diwan of Shujau-d-dīn Khān). (See *Seir*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 495). See also note *ante*. Chin Rai, on death, was succeeded in his office by Bhirun Dutt, who again was followed by Kiratchand (son of Alamchand) and by Umed Rai (See *Seir*).

[1] It would appear from the account given in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (p. 566), alluded to before, that the Afghan adherents of the late Muṣṭāfā Khān were in secret conspiracy with Mīr Ḥabīb, the inspiring genius, and the guide, friend and philosopher of the Mahrattas, and that in consequence of Mīr Ḥabīb's instigation, they had enacted this cruel tragedy at Patna.

A very lucid account of this tragedy is given in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*

up their swords, cut down Zainu-d-dīn's companions, looted all his treasures and effects, captured the *Begam*[1] with her daughter and also Ḥājī Aḥmad. They suspended the Ḥājī[2] to a tripod with his head downwards, and by torturing him made him give up large treasures, and slew him. They carried off the ladies of the *Harem* together with numerous treasures as booty. And similarly, they swept the houses of other nobles of the City with the broom of rapine. These Rohīlah Afghans sacked the City and its suburbs, looted treasures, dishonoured women and children, and desolated a whole world.[3] A great consternation seized those regions. "Protect me, O Lord, from the wickedness of infidels and from the wrath of Thine." Sham Sher Khān collecting one hundred thousand cavalry and infantry was not contented with the subjugation of Azīmābād, and he further cherished visions of conquering Bengal. Mahābat Jang, who was at this time encamped at Amāniganj[4] on some important business connected with the Mahratta

(Pers. text, p. 559). Zainu-d-dīn (son-in-law of Alī Vardī Khān and Ṣubādār at Patna), was holding a *Darbar* for the reception of the Darbhānga Afghan Generals who were adherents and connexions of the late Muṣṭafā Khān. The *Darbar* function was nearly over, and Zainu-d-dīn Khān was handing betels with his own hand to the Chief Afghan Generals, when one of these, Abdur Rashid Khān, whilst receiving a betel, treacherously gave Zainu-d-dīn Khān a dagger-thrust in the abdomen. This thrust, however, was not quite effective, as Abdur Rashid's hand faltered. Then another cowardly assassin, Murad Sher Khān, quickly gave another sword-cut to Zainu-d-dīn Khān, and instantly killed him. The Afghans shewed ferocious barbarities in their conduct towards the ladies and children of Zainu-d-dīn's household. The *Seir* (p. 561), notes commencement of Aḥmad Shāh Abdali's invasions of India at this time.

1 Her name was Amena Begam. She was a daughter of Alī Vardī, and wife of Zainu-d-dīn Khān.

2 The Ḥājī after all met with his desert, for his black ingratitude to his benefactor's (Shujau-d-dīn Khān's) memory, and for his dark treachery towards his benefactor's son, Nawab Sarfaraz Khān.

3 See description of this loot and carnage in the *Seir* (pp. 560-561).

Happening as it did towards the middle of the 18th century, this fact would explain in a great measure the smallness of Musalman population in Behar, compared with that in Northern Bengal and Eastern Bengal, which in modern times were never or seldom the scenes of such carnage, which were immune from Mahratta raids, and which would, therefore, naturally afford an asylum for Musalman refugees not only from the disturbed parts of Western and Southern Bengal, but also from Behar.

4 The *Seir* (Pers. text, p. 563) states that at this time, which was towards the month of winter, Alī Vardī Khān was encamped at Amaniganj, in order

freebooters, suddenly received the terrible intelligence of the slaughter of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān and Ḥājī Aḥmad, and of the hostile advance of the Afghans. In consequence, an indescribable agony seized him, and his family and kindred. From excessive depression and agony, he wanted to isolate himself from all intercourse with the world, and to abandon the City with its Bāzār to the Mahratta freebooters. His generals employing various consolations and assurances recited passages inculcating fortitude, and tied the girdle of courage in pursuit of revenge in the waist of their hearts. But when for accomplishing this avenging mission, they applied for the payment of the soldiers, Mahābat Jang pleaded he had no money. Then Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān Shahāmat Jang, standing surety for the expenses of the soldiery, paid to the soldiers eighty *laks* of rupees in cash from his own treasury, and made them agree to undertake the avenging expedition. Mahābat Jang, being somewhat now relieved from anxiety, left Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān Shahāmat Jang at Murshidābād, and himself marched to Azīmābād with a large army. [1] Mīr Ḥabīb, at the instigation of Sham Sher Khān, with hordes of Mahratta freebooters, pursued Mahābat Jang from the rear, tracking jungles and setting fire, right and left, to the villages, with their granaries. Mīr Ḥabīb looted Mahābat Jang's baggages and tents, and did not allow Mahābat Jang's army a breathing interval either for sleep or for food, nor suffered a single day to pass without skir-

to march out against the Mahrattas under Mīr Ḥabīb and Janoji. There in camp, Alī Vardī received this terrible news of the slaughter of his son-in-law, and of the imprisonment of his brother and daughter and grand-children. He summoned his officers to a *Darbar*, and broke to them the news of the great calamity in the following solemn strain:—"Gentlemen, a stone has fallen on me, and that, too, a heavy one; my son-in-law has been killed, and my brother and children are in the disgrace of capture. Life is now a trash to me; I have resolved to kill and to be killed. What is your intention, gentlemen? Who amongst you, my comrades and friends, shall join me in my avenging expedition?" All who were present cheerfully responded to Alī Vardī Khān's appeal, and resolved to fight and fall with him.

[1] The account in the *Seir* (p. 565), shews that Mīr Ḥabīb with his Mahratta friends opposed ineffectually Alī Vardī's march on the banks of the Champanagar stream, and then dispersed to the jungles, whilst Alī Vardī moved on to the Monghyr Fort, where he halted some days. Then Rājah Sundar Singh, Zamīndār of Tikārī, and Kamgar Khān Muīn, Zamīndār of Tīrhut, came to pay homage to Alī Vardī. A saint, Maulana Mīr Muḥammad Alī, also visited Alī Vardī at this time at Monghyr.

mishes with swords and spears, till they passed beyond Bārh. At Baikantpūr[1] an engagement took place with the army of Sham Sher Khān. Rājah Sundar Singh, Zamīndār of Tikarī, with a powerful corps, joined Alī Vardī. And when on both sides, the fire of slaughter flared up, the army of Mahratta freebooters, who, like the shadow, always followed Mahābat Jang's army, attacked its rear. Afghan troops from front and Mahratta freebooters from the rear attacked and hemmed in the army of Mahābat Jang. The heroes of Mahābat Jang's army, perceiving the approaching inrush of calamity towards them from both sides, prepared to die hard, and fought desperately. In that victory lies with God, by a stroke of good luck, Sham Sher Khān, Sardār Khān, Murād Sher Khān, and other Afghan Generals were hit by bullets of guns, in retribution for their disloyalty, and were killed, whilst other Afghan troops cowardly fled. The soldiers of Mahābat Jang, by brave onslaughts, routed the enemy's army, charging them with swords, spears, arrows, muskets and rockets, killed those wretches, and raised hecatombs of the slain. The Mahratta army, on seeing Alī Vardī's glorious victory, retreated, and dispersed like the constellation of the bear. Mahābat Jang after prostrating himself in thanksgiving to God, triumphantly entered Azīmābād, and rescuing the family and children of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān and Ḥājī Aḥmad from the rack of those outragers of honour, captured the wives and daughters of those treacherous wretches.

Time itself with the sword in hand is always after retribution;
What need is there for anyone to seek for retaliation?

Nawab Mahābat Jang, shewing considerateness,[2] paid travel-

[1] The *Seir* (p. 567), which gives a very lucid account of this battle, states that Alī Vardī who in generalship was next only to Asaf Jah, took up a position on an isle, in front of Barh, having on one side the river Ganges and on another the old bed of the same river. This place is called in the *Seir* "Sarai Rani," 4 *kroh* to the west of Barh, on the side of the river Ganges.

It would also appear from the *Seir* (p. 566), that Mīr Ḥabīb and the Mahrattas held a conference with the Afghan rebels, Sham Sher Khān and Sardar Khān, in order to concert measures for attacking Alī Vardī Khān. The Afghans and Mahrattas under Mīr Ḥabīb now made a common cause against Alī Vardī who, however, crushingly defeated both, owing to his superior generalship (See *Seir* p. 568).

[2] It reflects credit on Alī Vardī that he treated honourably the women and children of Sham Sher Khān and other Afghans. He not only generously

ling expenses to the Afghan ladies, and allowed them to depart honourably to Dārbhāngā, and followed the adage "Turn Evil by Good." Appointing Sirāju-d-daulah, son of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, to be Ṣūbadār of Aẓīmābād, in succession to his father, and leaving Rājah Janakī Rām as Sirāju-d-daulah's Deputy there, and finishing the administrative arrangements of that Ṣūbah, Mahābat Jang returned to Bengal, in order to drive out the Mahratta freebooters.

About this time, the office of Faujdār of the tract of Purnīah was vacant, owing to the flight to the Imperial Capital of the Khān Bahādur,[1] son of Nawāb Saif Khān. Alī Vardī Khān conferred the above Faujdārship on Saīd Aḥmad Khān Ṣaulat Jang, in whose heart ambition for the Niẓāmat of Bengal lurked, and in whose head visions of ruling over Bengal existed. At the time when Mahābat Jang was engaged in fighting with Sham Sher Khān, Sirāju-d-daulah shewed his temper to Nawāb Izazu-d-daulah Aṭāu-l-lah Khān Sābit Jang, a son-in-law of Ḥājī Aḥmad, who held the office of Faujdār of Akbarnagar (Rajmahal). Knowing Aṭāu-l-lah Khān[2] to be brave and popular with the army, and ambitious and sound-headed, Sirāju-d-daulah set to work his ruin, and plying Alī Vardī Khān with his suspicions gained over the latter, and induced him to send a message to Aṭāu-l-lah to quit the country, or else to prepare for death. The aforesaid Khān, after

forgave them, and set them at liberty, but bestowed properties at Darbhāngā for their maintenance. (See p. 570, *Seir*). He never addressed the Afghan ladies except as 'Madams' or 'Bibis.' He studiously maintained the sanctity of their seclusion, and this, too, after the gross provocation he had received at the hands of Sham Sher Khān and other Afghans. Alī Vardī's chivalry towards women seems to have been remarkable, and his forbearance after victory is also commendable. A vaulting ambition that faltered not to break all ties of gratitude, nor scrupled to use all weapons of treachery in the realisation of that ambition—casts a dark and sombre hue on his otherwise great and remarkable personality.

1 His name was Fakhru-d-dīn Husain Khān. He succeeded his father, Nawab Saif Khān, in the Faujdārship of Purnīah. Alī Vardī Khān got him dismissed, and kept him under surveillance for some time at Murshidābād. Through the help of Mīr Ḥabīb and his Mahrattas, Fakhru-d-dīn managed to make good his escape to Delhi, where he died after a short time. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 582, Pers. text).

2 He was a son-in-law of Ḥajī Aḥmad, brother of Alī Vardī Khān. He was Faujdar of Rajmahal or Akbarnagar during Alī Vardī's *regime*.

fighting some time in self-defence, set out at length for the Imperial Capital, remained in the company of Nawab Vaziru-l-mulk Ṣafdar Jang,[1] and then joining Rājah Nul Rāi [2]in the Rohilla Afghan war was killed at Farrukhābād.

As in consequence of the insurrection at Aẓīmābād, the Mahratta freebooters had taken possession of the Ṣūbah of Orissa, Mahābat Jang, not halting in Bengal, set out for that Ṣūbah. Expelling the Mahratta freebooters from that Ṣūbah, Mahābat Jang put to death Syēd Nūr, Sarāndāz Khān, and other officers, who were adherents of the Mahratta freebooters, and who were entrenched in the fort of Barahbātī, by drawing them out of their entrenched position by use of diplomatic assurances.[3] And capturing the horses and armaments of their comrades, and expelling them all from Katak, Mahābat Jang returned to Bengal.

As Mīr Ḥabīb was the root of all the mischiefs and troubles, Mahābat Jang hatched a plan for his destruction. He sent to his name a letter, purporting falsely to be a reply to his message, to the following effect: "The letter sent by you has been received; what you have written in respect of your plan to extirpate the Mahratta freebooters, has met with my approval. It is a very good idea: you from that side, and I from this side, will be on the alert and wait. By every means possible, try and induce them to come this side, and then what is now in the minds of us both will come to pass." Mahābat Jang sent this message through a courier, in-

1 Ṣafdar Jang was appointed Ṣubādār of Oude by Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and in the reign of Emperor Aḥmad Shāh became Chief Vizier of the Empire, on the death of Qamru-d-din Khān. At this time, Aḥmad Shāh Abdali invaded India several times, and the Rohilla Afghans of Farrukhābād and Moradābād became a power in the land. Ṣafdar Jang appointed as his Deputy in Oude a Kyet, named Rājah Nul Rai. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, Pers. text, pp. 874-875).

2 Rājah Nul Rai was a Kyesth. At first he was an obscure servant of Nawab-Vizier Ṣafdar Jang, but subsequently rose to the office of Deputy Ṣubadar of Oude under the latter. He resided at Kanauj, twenty *kroh* from Farrukhābād, the Rohilla stronghold. Nul Rai ill-treated the Rohillas of Farrukhābād, who combined and attacked Nul Rai who was killed. Aṭau-l-lah Khān (son-in-law of Ḥājī Aḥmad) who fought in this war on the side of Nul Rai, was also killed. The reinforcements sent by Nawab-Vizier Ṣafdar Jang to support his Deputy in Oude, Nul Rai, were also routed by the Rohillas. (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 876, Pers. text).

3 See the account of the capture of the Fort of Barabati in *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 578, Pers. text.

structing the latter to proceed by such a route, that he might be intercepted by the Mahrattas and the letter might fall into their hands. This *ruse* proved a complete success, and the Mahrattas suspecting Mīr Ḥabīb slew him.[1]

To sum up, for twelve long years the fires of war and slaughter kindled between the Mahrattas and Mahābat Jang, and the Mahrattas did not retire without levying the *Chauth*. And owing to Ḥājī Aḥmad and Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān having fallen, the power of Mahābat Jang was weakened, whilst old age and infirmity told on his physical vigour. Of necessity, in view of expediency, and in compliance with the entreaties of Nawāzish Muḥammad Khān Shahāmat Jang, Mahābat Jang at last concluded a peace with the Mahratta freebooters, agreeing to pay the latter *Chauth* for the three Ṣūbahs, and through the medium of Maṣliḥu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, nephew of Mīr Ḥabīb, and Ṣadru-l-Ḥaq Khān, fixed the basis for the terms of peace and the settlement of the *Chauth*. In lieu of the payment of the *Chauth*, he assigned the revenue of Ṣūbah of Orissa to the Mahrattas, and appointed Ṣadru-l-Ḥaq to be its Administrator and Governor.[2] After settling this important affair with the Mahrattas, Mahābat Jang regained peace

1 Mīr Ḥabīb, the inspiring genius of the Mahrattas, and their 'guide, friend, and philosopher' for over a decade,—was at last butchered by Janoji, son of Raghoji Bhosla. But after all, however blameless his initial motive might be, it cannot be denied that he met with his desert for his narrow-minded imprudence in fraternising with the Mahratta freebooters, regardless of all religious and national ties. The account as to how Mīr Ḥabīb was inveigled into a house by Janoji, and there treacherously murdered in 1166 A.H., is detailed in the *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 593, Pers. text. The *Seir* (p. 592), also states that after a treaty of peace was concluded between Mahābat Jang and the Mahrattas, Mīr Ḥabīb ruled over Orissa as Governor, on behalf of Mahābat Jang, whilst a Mahratta contingent of troops under a Mahratta officer was stationed at Katak. Mīr Ḥabīb was succeeded in the office of Governor by Maslihu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, who, however, enjoyed less prestige, and regarded himself as a servant of the Mahrattas (*Seir*, p. 593, Vol. II, Pers. text.

2 There is some difference between the account here and the account in the *Seir*. From *Seir's* account (p. 592), it would appear Mīr Ḥabīb was the first person who held the office that is assigned to Ṣadru-l-Ḥaq in the text, after the conclusion of the peace. The details of this treaty of peace in 1165 A.H. are given in the *Seir* (pp. 590-591). The *Seir* states that overtures for peace came from the side of the Mahrattas (represented by Mīr Ḥabīb) who had first been defeated again in 1164 A.H. at Mednipūr. As Mahābat Jang was

of mind, and took to travelling and hunting. After ruling for sixteen years, he died of dropsy on Saturday, 9th Rajab, 1169 A.H., corresponding to the second year of the accession of Emperor Alamgīr II, and was buried in the Khush Bāgh.[1] Sirāju-d-daulah, who was his heir, then mounted the *masnad* of Nizāmat.



now 75 years old, and physical ailment and infirmity had seized him, and as the war between him and Mahrattas had been protracted to ten years, and as the chief Afghan pillars of his State had revolted against him, and as the people had suffered indescribable miseries during this long struggle, Mahābat Jang accepted the overtures of peace, which was concluded through the intervention of Mirza Ṣalih (on behalf of Mīr Ḥabīb and the Mahrattas) and Mīr Jāfar (on behalf of Mahābat Jang). The terms of peace were: (1). Mīr Ḥabīb becoming a servant of Mahābat Jang should on behalf of the latter rule as Deputy Governor over Orissa. (2). The revenue of Orissa should be assigned by Mīr Ḥabīb for the pay of Raghoji Bhosla's Mahratta army of occupation. (3). That over and above the revenues of Orissa, twelve laks of rupees should be annually paid by Mīr Ḥabīb to Raghoji Bhoslah (presumably from the revenues of other provinces), on condition that Raghoji's troops should not raid the dominions of Mahābat Jang. (4). The river Sunamukhia (or Subarnarikha) near Jalisar (Jalasore), was to form the demarcation-line of the boundaries of Orissa and Bengal; Mednipūr at this time being separated from Orissa and annexed to Bengal.

[1] The author of the *Seir* (who was a connexion of Mahābat Jang) praises up the memory of Mahābat Jang. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 609-611). He states that Mahābat Jang abstained from pleasures, was regular in his prayers, abstemious in habits, and methodic in business. He slept little, and passed most of his time in attending to State affairs, or in the company of scholars and *savants* whom he held in high esteem. He had only one wife, to whom he was greatly devoted. He was a splendid general and a far-sighted statesman. When Muṣṭafā Khān, his Afghan General, and his relatives, Shahamat Jang and Ṣaulat Jang used to press Mahābat Jang to fight and drive out the English from Calcutta, Mahābat Jang used to reply: "Muṣṭafā Khān is a military man, and therefore he is always eager for war, that I may be constantly in need of his services. What evil have the English done to me, that I should wish evil to them? The (Mahratta) fire on land is not yet extinguished; and if the fire is extended to the sea, who will quench it?" (*Seir*, p. 611, Vol. II, Pers. text). Despite the *Seir's* panegyric, it seems to me that Alī Vardī must forfeit his claim to be regarded as a far-sighted statesman, in view of the fact that his treacherous and violent conduct towards his past masters and benefactors inaugurated in Bengal an era of violent treachery and serious disintegration, and that his example quickly reacted on others who paid him and his grandson back in the same coin. In this connection, one may read an interesting old little work in Persian, called *Ibrat-i-Arbab Baṣr* (meaning 'a Moral for people with eyes') each sentence of which contains

NIẒĀMAT OF NAWĀB SIRĀJU-D-DAULAH.

When Nawāb Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang passed to the regions of eternity, Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah, son of Zainu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Haibat Jang, and maternal grandson of Alī Vardī, who from before had been declared heir-apparent by Alī Vardī Khān, and whom Alī Vardī Khān had in his life-time placed on the cushion of the Niẓāmat, and to whom Alī Vardī with all the grandees of the court had paid homage and offered presents—ascended the *masnad* of the rulership over Bengal, Behār, and Orissa Sirāju-d-daulah exhibited insolence and arrogance, which are the worst of attributes, and are displeasing to God. At that time, owing to certain reasons, Ghasitī Begam, widow of Nawāzish Aḥmad Khān Shahāmat Jang, who resided at Mutījhīl, resolving to oppose Sirāju-d-daulah, appointed Mīr Naẓar Alī, who was her servant and was bound to her by ties of various favours and obligations, to be the commander of her vanguard, and Nawāb Bairām Khān to be generalissimo of her army. Then the Begam of Mahābat Jang, and Jagat Set, as an emissary of Sirāju-d-daulah, went to Ghasitī Begam and gave her assurances; and so the latter refrained from hostility, whilst Naẓar Alī fled, and Bairām Khān taking refuge with one of the generals fell into disgrace. Sirāju-d-daulah's army arriving captured Ghasitī Begam, together with all her effects. The Begam saw what she had never seen, and heard what she had never heard. Sirāju-d-daulah's army rased to the ground her buildings and her palace, and unearthing her buried treasures carried them to Mansūrganj. Owing to Sirāju-d-daulah's harshness of temper and indulgence in violent language, fear and terror had settled on the hearts of everyone to such an extent, that no one amongst the generals of the army or the noblemen of the City was free from anxiety. Amongst his officers, whoever went to wait on Sirāju-d-daulah despaired of life and honour, and whoever returned without being disgraced and ill-treated offered thanks to God. Sirāju-d-daulah treated all the noblemen and generals of Mahābat Jang with ridicule and drollery, and bestowed on each some contemptuous nick-name that ill-suited any of them.[1] And whatever harsh expressions and abusive

letters which added give 1170! (the date of Sirāju-d-daulah's murder by Mīr Jāfar and his son Miran). The *Ibrat* seems to have been written by some adherent of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan.

1 The *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 621), mentions that Sirāju-d-daulah, on accession, ap-

epithets came to his lips, Sirāju-d-daulah uttered them unhesitatingly in the face of everyone, and no one had the boldness to breathe freely in his presence. Appointing a Kyeth, named Mohanlal, to be the minister and controller of all affairs, Sirāju-d-daulah bestowed on him the title of Mahārajah Mohanlal[1] Bahādur, gave him a large bodyguard of cavalry and infantry, and ordered all his generals and nobles to pay respect to him. All did so, except Mīr Muḥammad Jāfar Khān, a brother-in-law of Nawāb Mahābat Jang, and the generalissimo of the army, who refused to pay respect to Mohanlal, and for some time ceased to pay respect even to Sirāju-d-daulah. But Rājah Mohanlal, coiling himself round the brain and skin of Sirāju-d-daulah, forgot himself so far that he fancied nobody else existed, appointed his own kith and kin to posts connected with the Crown-Domains and also to other revenue offices, and dismissed the old officers. For instance, Rājah Mohanlal sent a message to Nawāb Ghulām Husain Khān Bahādur[2] that if he accepted a pay of Rs. 200 a month, he might stay on, otherwise he should quit the country. The latter, of necessity, on the plea of visiting the *Kabah*, set out for Hūglī.

Inasmuch as before Mahābat Jang's death, in the beginning of that year, on the 13th of Rabīu-l-Awāl, Nawāb Nawāzish Aḥmmad Khān Shahāmat Jang, [3]who held the office of Dīwān of Ben-

pointed a Kyeth named Mohanlal as his Supreme Diwan. This elevation of an obscure Hindu to the highest civil appointment naturally caused great offence to the old nobility, and especially to Mīr Jāfar, who conspired with other officers of the late Mahābat Jang in order to bring about a Revolution to destroy Sirāju-d-daulah's power, and to place himself on the *masnad* of Bengal.

1 The *Seir*, the *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr*, and the *Riyaz* all condemn Sirāju-d-daulah for appointing this obscure and insolent Hindu, Mohanlal, as his Supreme Minister, and mention the disgust it caused amongst the old nobility, who chafed under this indignity, and were therefore anxious to throw off Sirāju-d-daulah's yoke. (See *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr*, p. 26, *Seiru-i-Mutakherin* p. 621, Vol. II.)

2 He was author of the splendid Persian History of India entitled *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*. He was a partisan of Mīr Jafar and the English East India Company. Sirāju-d-daulah had ordered his banishment from the country.

3 He held the office of Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) under Alī Vardī Khān, whose son-in-law he was. He also held nominally the office of Diwan of Bengal, though the practical work of Diwan was actually performed by Hindu Deputy Diwans. Shahāmat Jang had also at Jahangirnagar

gal, had died, Sirāju-d-daulah arrested Rājah Rājballab, Peshkār of Shahāmat Jang, on the plea that he should render up his accounts. Although Rājballab tried hard to pay up some cash and to compromise the demands, Sirāju-d-daulah did not consent, and kept him under surveillance.[1] Rājballab sent his family and children to Calcutta, to take shelter with the English. Sirāju-d-daulah desired to arrest Rājballab's family also, and ordered Rājah Rām, head of his spies, to proceed to Calcutta, arrest Rājballab's family, and bring them over. Mahābat Jang, whilst on sick-bed, had dissuaded Sirāju-d-daulah, and directed him to postpone the matter, and urged that after recovery he (Mahābat

a Deputy Diwan in the person of Rājballab, in respect of the Chakla of Jahangirnagar or Dacca, of which he (Shahāmat Jang) was Deputy Governor.

1 The *Seir*, the *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr* and the *Riyaz* mention that the new Nawab, Sirāju-d-daulah, inaugurated his *regime* by (1) the plunder of Ghasiti Begam, (2) the dismissal of Mīr Jafar and the appointment of a Hindu, Mohanlal, as the Supreme Minister, &c., (3) imprisonment of Rājballab, (4) the conquest of Calcutta, and (5) conquest of Purnīah. When dispassionately viewed, the particular measures noted above (excepting one, namely the appointment of Mohanlal) do not appear to have been unjustified, though they were impolitic. Ghasiti Begam had no right to take away and appropriate the State treasures held in trust by her late husband, Shahāmat Jang, Alī Vardī's Diwan, and Sirāju-d-daulah who had lawfully succeeded Alī Vardī was, therefore, justified in recovering them from her. Mīr Jafar had proved unfaithful and treacherous even in the lifetime of Alī Vardī Khān in the struggle with the Mahrattas (See the *Seir*); and Sirāju-d-daulah was, therefore, not unjustified in suspecting him and dismissing him from the responsible office of generalissimo of the army. Rājballab's surveillance was a necessary political measure, as this crafty man, the Deputy Diwan or Peshkār of Jahangirnagar or Dacca under the late Shahāmat Jang (Deputy Governor of Dacca) had failed to render his accounts, and as Sirāju-d-daulah had reasons to believe he (Rājballab) had misappropriated a large part of the Public Funds in his charge. And when Rājballab's son, Kishan Das, fled with the State treasures to Calcutta, the Nawāb was obliged to advance against Calcutta, to recover the State treasures and chastise his rebel subject, Kishan Das, though had Sirāju-d-dualah been less impulsive and more prudent, it is possible he might have effected his object by opening diplomatic correspondence with the English. But it must be remembered the Nawāb was yet quite a boy, and had no good or reliable advisers about him. As for the conquest of Purnīah, it was a necessary political measure in self-defence, as Shaukāt Jang, at Mīr Jafar's instigation, had publicly avowed his pretensions to the *gadi* of Bengal. The only unwise measure was the elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohanlal, to the highest civil State office. This measure caused great disgust to the old nobility, who chafed under the insolence of this upstart.

Jang) would himself summon them. At this time, Sirāju-d-daulah ordered Rājah Rām, head of his spies, to proceed to Calcutta and arrest and bring over Rājballab's family and children, and himself in the month of Shābān, on the plea of touring, proceeded towards Akbarnagar (Rājmahal). Whilst Siraju-d-daulah reaching Dūnahpūr had encamped on the bank of the river Kālāpānī, he received news that the English Chiefs in Calcutta had offered opposition, and prevented the arrest of Rājballab's family and children. On the very receipt of this news, the fire of Sirāju-d-daulah's rage kindled, and he summoned the officers of his army, and said: "I intend proceeding on an expedition against Calcutta. It is necessary that none of you should go back to Murshidābād, but that all should proceed straight from here to Chunakhalī and encamp there." Next morning, setting out, Sirāju-d-daulah reached Chunakhalī, and from there proceeding by forced marches invaded Calcutta. In the month of Ramzān, fighting with the English, Sirāju-d-daulah became victorious and triumphant, and the English Chief[1] embarking on a boat fled. Sweeping the town of Calcutta with the broom of plunder[2], and naming it Alinagar, Sirāju-d-daulah left Rājah Manikchand with a large detachment as Governor of Calcutta. Posting strong garrisons at Makhūah and Bajbajīa (Budge-Budge) and other fords for the crossing and passage of English ships, Sirāju-d-dualah at the end of the above month returned to Murshidābād.

Ṣaulat Jang, Faujdār of Purnīah, that year, previous to Mahābat Jang's death, in the month of Jamādi-l-Awal, had died, and

1 Both the *Seir* and the *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Baṣr* give his name as Mr. Drake.

2 That Sirāju-d-daulah plundered Calcutta, is also mentioned in the *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Baṣr*, (p. 29), as well as in the *Seir* (p. 622, Vol. II); but none of these more or less contemporary Musalman accounts make any mention of the 'Black Hole' incident, generally associated with Siraju-d-daulah's conquest of Calcutta.

The *Seir* states that Mr. Drake, the English Chief in Calcutta, with a small number of English officers fled on a ship, whilst other English residents remained behind in Calcutta, and fought to the last, so long as their powder and shot were not exhausted.' Many of the English fell in this fight, whilst a number of their comrades were captured. In this connection, the *Seir* also mentions the fact that some English ladies who were captured in this fight were well-treated by a Muhammadan nobleman, Mirza Amīr Beg, who escorted them honourably to Mr. Drake's ship and received Mr. Drake's and other English officers' thanks for his humane and chivalrous conduct. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 622, Pers. text).

his son, Shaukāt Jang, who was a cousin of Sirāju-d-daulah, had succeeded his father. At this time, Sirāju-d-daulah desiring to displace Shaukāt Jang demanded the revenue of Purniah.[1] Shaukāt Jang replied: "You are lord of three Ṣūbahs (Provinces), whilst I am fallen in this corner, and am content with a bit of bread. Now it does not become your high aspiration to set the teeth of your avarice on this bit of bread." Sirāju-d-daulah, on receipt of

[1] The account in the *Seir* (Pers. text, Vol. II, pp. 624-632), is quite different, and is more reliable, as its author was attached at the time as a Chief Adviser to Shaukāt Jang. It would appear from the *Seir* that Mīr Jafar, in pursuance of his conspiracy to effect a Revolution, had written a letter to Shaukāt Jang requesting the latter to place himself at the head of the revolutionary party in view of the prospect of succeeding to the *Nawābi* of Bengal. Shaukāt Jang was a vain fool, and on receipt of Mīr Jafar's letter he openly talked in *Darbar* of his wild ambition to extend his empire to Ghazni and Kandahar, and to conquer Bengal. Sirāju-d-daulah hearing of the disloyalty that was brewing in the Purniah Court, deputed Rai Ras Behary (a son of Rājah Janoki Ram and brother of Dulab Ram) to Purniah, with a letter to Shaukāt Jang, calling upon the latter to make over the *Jagirs* of Gondwarah and Birnagar (which pertained to the Bengal Nizamat) to Rai Ras Behary. When this letter was received, the author of the *Seir* (who was then Shaukāt Jang's principal adviser) being consulted advised Shaukāt Jang to temporise, to treat Rai Ras Behary with outward courtesy, to mobilise troops, and to pass in this wise till the rainy season was over, when it was expected by the author of the *Seir* (who appears to have been in the confidence of the English) the English would also fight against Sirāju-d-daulah and that then Shaukāt Jang's turn would come to join the winning party. However that may be, Shaukāt did not adopt the above advice, and sent an insolent reply to Sirāju-d-daulah, adding that he (Shaukāt Jang) had received *sanad* of the *Subādārī* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, that Sirāju-d-daulah had forfeited his head by his disloyalty, but that as an act of grace he would be permitted to settle down quietly in some corner of Jahangirnāgār or Dacca. Sirāju-d-daulah answered the above insolent reply by at once advancing with his army to Manihari, together with his Diwan Mohanlal. Ramnarain from Patna was also ordered to join Sirāju-d-daulah with the Patna army. In this battle which took place between Manihari and Nawabganj, Shaukāt Jang was killed, through his folly in leaving his entrenched position and marching through marshy swamps. Sirāju-d-daulah appointed Mohanlal to the office of Faujdar of Purniah, and the latter left his son as Deputy Faujdar there.

I have given the above details from the *Seir*, in order to shew that the war with Shaukāt Jang was not of Sirāju-d-daulah's seeking, that it formed a part of the conspiracy hatched by Mīr Jafar, in order to bring about a revolution to destroy Sirāju-d-daulah's authority, and that Sirāju-d-daulah had no alternative but to fight in self-defence.

this reply, which did not satisfy his designs, despatched Dīwān Mohanlal, together with other Generals such as Dost Muḥammad Khān, Shaikh Dīn Muḥammad, Mīr Muḥammad, and Jafar Khān, &c., with a large army, to fight with Shaukāt Jang; and he also wrote to Rāmnarāin, the Ṣūbahdār of Aẓīmābād, to march quickly to Purnīah. From the other side, Shaukāt Jang detailed for fighting Shaikh Jahān Yār and Kārguzār Khān, the generalissimo, and Mīr Murād Alī and others, and subsequently he himself set out and assaulting and sacking and burning Haiātpūrgolah returned to Purnīah. On arrival at Manihari, Sirāju-d-daulah's army encamped, whilst Shaukāt Jang's army at a distance of one *Karoh* at Nawābganj entrenched itself. On the next day, Shaukāt Jang also arrived and joined his army; and on the same day, Rājah Rāmnarāin, the Ṣūbahdār of Aẓīmābād, with his contingent of troops, joined Sirāju-d-daulah's army. On the morning of the following day, Rājah Mohanlal advanced with his force in order to fight, and unfurled his flag carrying the ensignia of the *Māhī* Order which he held. Shaukāt Jang, on seeing the ensignia of the *Māhī* Order, fancied that Sirāju-d-daulah himself had joined his army, and was marching up for fight, and so Shaukāt Jang advanced also with his army. Shaikh Jahān Yār dissuaded Shaukat Jang, saying:—"To-day the moment for fighting is not auspicious, if it pleases God, to-morrow early in the morning we shall fight, and whatever is decreed by Providence shall take place." Shaukāt Jang, paying no heed to this dissuasion, marched up to the battle-field. Shaikh Jahān Yār was also obliged to advance with his corps, and whilst fighting bravely he received a gun-shot. Shaikh Abdu-r Rashīd, his brother, and Shaikh Qudratu-l-lah, his son-in-law, together with Shaikh Jhahan Yār, his nephew, as well as his other kinsmen were slain on the battle-field, and earned present and future glory. At this time of strife, a sword fell on the neck of the horse of Shaikh JahānYār, and cut asunder its rein, and the horse furiously gallopped away with its rider from the field. As he had already received several mortal wounds, by the time of his arrival at Bīrnagar, he expired. At that crisis, Shaukāt Jang, himself joining in the fight, advanced, discharging arrows, and came in front of Dost Muḥammad Khān. The aforesaid Khān said, "Come on my elephant, as you will find security then." Shaukāt Jang not consenting fixed a sharp arrow in his teeth, and shattered his front-

tooth. At this time, besides two horsemen, one of whom was Ḥabīb Bēg, no one else was with Shaukāt Jang. Ḥabīb Bēg dismounting from his horse stood in front of his elephant on the field. As decreed by fate, a bullet from the gun of a servant of Dost Muḥammad Khān hit Shaukāt Jang on the forehead, and the bird of his soul flew away, and nestled on the branches of annihilation. And Kārguzār Khān, the generalissimo Shaikh Bahādur Narnuti, Abū Turāb Khān, Murād Sher Khān, nephew of Shaikh Jahān Yār, Shaikh Murād Ali, disciple of Nawāb Saif Khān, Mīr Sulṭān Khalīl, the archer, Lohā Singh *Hāzārī*, and Mīr Jafaru-l-jo, &c., displayed gallant bravery, and tasted the potion of death on the battle-field. Sirāju-d-daulah had advanced to Akbarnagar (Rājmahal), when the tidings of victory arrived; and he ordered the music of victory to strike up. He also caused the adherents of Shaukāt Jang, such as were captured, to be punished in various forms. Rājah Mohanlal confiscating fifty-one elephants, and horses, and camels, and other treasures of Shaukāt Jang, and leaving his own son as Deputy Governor of the Faujdārī of Purnīah, returned.

When Sirāju-d-daulah, after the fall of his cousin, arrived in Murshidābād, the chess-board of time presented a new game. Of the English, who had been routed by Sirāju-d-daulah in Calcutta, and whose treasures worth several *laks* had been plundered, some escaped and fled to an island.[1] Thence they sent messages to Eng-

[1] The *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 6331, Pers. text), states that after his flight, Mr. Drake, the Chief of the English factory in Calcutta, together with a number of other English officers, proceeded to Madras, in Arcot Province of the Dakhin. Then Clive had just retired after fighting against the French on behalf of Salabāt Jang (son of the late Asīf Jah), Nazim of the Dakhin, who had bestowed on him many favours and also the title of Ṣabat Jang. Then Mr. Drake, with other Englishmen, who had fled from Calcutta held a conference with the Englishmen in Madras factory, and it was decided that Clive, together with the English refugees from Bengal, "should proceed to Calcutta and by *every means that they thought desirable*, should try to renew the foundation of the Factory in Calcutta. If by *negociations and by payment of money* this object *could be attained, well and good; if not, force might be resorted to.* Then Clive, together with other Englishmen, embarked on a ship from Madras, and reached at the mouth of the river Hūglī. As the English Chiefs were very wise, brave, well-informed, and experienced, they *made overtures of peace* to Sirāju-d-daulah, *begged that Mr. Drake's offence might be pardoned by the Nawab, and offered to pay the Nawab several laks of rupees*, in case the latter granted them permission to re-build their Factory as before in Calcutta. Sirā-

land and other ports, and in a short time obtained reinforcements. After some months, the English chiefs, under the command of Ṣābit Jang (Clive), with thirty thousand men, arrived on ships of war, obliged the garrisons of the Nawab's outposts to take to their heels, and fought with Rājah Mānikchand. The Rājah suffered a heavy defeat. The English advancing to Hūglī, rased its fortifications with the cannonade of their artillery, and the Faujdār of that Fort fled. Sirāju-d-daulah, on getting news of the English victory, set out for Calcutta from Murshidābād, and encamped in the garden of Karhatī, in the suburbs of Calcutta. The English made a night-attack. The next day, Sirāju-d-daulah not having the boldness to advance, and outwardly proclaiming the conclusion of peace, marched back anxiously to Murshidābād. After arrival in Murshidābād, Sirāju-d-daulah found that all the Nobles and Generals were disaffected. Foremost amongst them was Mīr Muḥammad Jafar Khān Bahādur, from whom the office of generalissimo had been transferred to Khwājah Hādī Alī Khān, and who had shut himself up in his house. Sirāju-d-daulah placing large batteries in front of Mīr Jafar's palace was ready to blow him up, and ordered him to quit the City. Mīr Jafar tendering excuses and apologies, secretly set about making warlike preparations in self-defence, and tampering with the Bhalīah Generals and Commanders and with Jagat Set.[1] Ratifying their conspiracy by mutual oaths and promises, Mīr Jafar sent secretly Amīr Bēg, who was one of his confidential adherents, with letters

ju-d-daulah who was very foolish, and whose courtiers were still more foolish, was unaware of the bravery and wisdom of the English race; so that no one from fear of incurring the Nawab's displeasure, communicated to the Nawab the English message containing overtures of peace. *Matters being thus delayed, and being in the meantime apprised of the discontent amongst the Bengal nobles*, Clive resolved to fight, and fought against Manikchand, Nawab's Governor of Calcutta, who fled."

1 Besides Mīr Jafar who was the soul of this conspiracy, some other prominent persons, like Dulab Ram (son of Janoki Ram) Jagat Set and Ghasītī Begam (widow of Nawasish Muhammad Khān, son-in-law of Alī Vardī Khān), were active colleagues of Mīr Jafar in this conspiracy. Ghasītī Begam helped Mīr Jafar with the State treasures that she had secreted. One may understand the resentment of Mīr Jafar (who had been disgraced and dismissed from the office of generalissimo) and of Ghasītī Begam (who had been obliged to disgorge a portion of the State treasures that she had hidden); but the disloyal conduct of Dulab Ram, Jagat Set, Ram Narain, Rajabllab and other Hindus

to Calcutta, asking the English troops to be sent. Amir Beg,[1] by indulging in various assurances, induced the English Chiefs to

seems to be a riddle, in view of the fact that in the distribution of State Patronage, Sirāju-d-daulah had adopted an extremely pro-Hindu policy, and that it was Sirāju-d-daulah's elevation of an obscure Hindu, named Mohanlal, to the highest civil State office that to a great extent alienated from the Nawab the sympathies of his Musalman adherents, who would have perhaps otherwise stood by him in this crisis. (See *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr*, p. 28.)

1 This Amir Beg is mentioned in the *Seir* as having conducted some English ladies honourably to Mr. Drake's ship, after Sirāju-d-daulah's capture of Calcutta. Amir Beg, in consequence, enjoyed the confidence of the English. See note *ante*. On Mons. Las's departure, Mīr Jafar worked more vigorously in pursuance of his conspiracy, and induced the English to give Mīr Jafar their support, and to fight on his side. To instigate the English to join his conspiracy, Mīr Jafar sent to Calcutta to Clive his agent, Mirza Amir Beg. Mīr Jafar also sent to Clive through the above Mirza a Manifesto, purporting to bear the seals of some noblemen and officers of Bengal, recounting their grievances, real or fancied, against Sirāju-d-daulah, and inviting the English to deliver them from the Nawab. Jaget Set instructed his Calcutta Agent, Amin (known popularly as Omichand), to work in the same direction, whilst Dulab Ram also instructed his agent to influence the English in the same direction. Mīr Jafar wrote to Clive that the latter had only to make a move with his English troops, when all the fighting would be done by Mīr Jafar and his fellow-conspirators, whilst three *crores* of rupees would be presented to Clive for this service. Clive yielded to Mīr Jafar's importunities and advanced towards Palāsī (Plassey). (See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 687). In regard to these events, *Tarikh-i-Mansuri* may also be referred to. Professor Blochmann gives some notes from the *Tarikh-i-Mansuri* in Journal of the Asiatic Society, Part I, No. II, of 1867. These notes mention that "Chandernagore fell into the hands of Clive and Watson through the treachery of a French officer, named Tarraneau, who harboured a grudge against the French Governor of Chandernagore, named M. Renault (p. 88, J.A.S. referred to above) and that after the fall of Chandernagore, Mons. Las, a French officer, became an attendant at the Court of the Nawab Sirāju-d-daulah, for whom he fitted out a detachment by the name of Telinga. To this the English objected, saying that according to the recent treaty of peace, the friends and enemies of the English were to be regarded as friends and enemies of the Nawab, and the friends and enemies of the Nawab were to be regarded as friends and enemies of the English. After some correspondence, the Nawab sent away from Murshidābād Mons. Las to humour Clive. At this time (1757), Clive built the present Fort William and a Mint in Calcutta, without waiting for permission of the Nawab. A few letters written by Sirāju-d-daulah to M. Bussy, in the Dakhin, had been intercepted by the English, and Sirāju-d-daulah was accused of breach of faith. The wrath of the Nawab at the crooked dealings and slow but steady advance of these foreigners increased daily. Mr.

set out from Calcutta and to march to Palāsī (Plassey). When the moment for action had passed, Sirāju-d-daulah on hearing the

Watts, the English Resident at Murshidābād, was threatened. The Nawab went so far as to tear up a letter which Col. Clive had written to him. Soon after, however, from fear of his false courtiers and want of confidence in his own army, he tried to pacify Mr. Watts by a *Khilat*, and wrote an excuse to Clive. But Clive had *already* flung himself into the conspiracy headed by Mīr Jafar, to dethrone Sirāju-d-daulah. According to the *Tarikh-i-Mansuri*, the conspiracy was planned by Mīr Muḥammad Jafar, Aminchand Baura (generally called Omichand) and Khwajah Vizier, but according to the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, by Mīr Muḥammad Jafar, Rajah Dulab Ram and Jagat Set, who had each their agents in Calcutta. (See quotation from *Seir* given by me already in this note). Clive treated with the conspirators through Mr. Watts. The author then gives a description of Clive's double dealings with Aminchand (Omichand) as given in all histories of Bengal."

"Early in June 1757, Clive left Calcutta, reached on the 17th the small town of Katwah, south of Plassey, and took possession of the fort of that place.

On the 21st June, 4 P.M., Clive left Katwah, crossed the Hugli, and pitched his tents on the morning of the 23rd, in the fields of Plassey. The Nawab's army was now in sight. A cannonade commenced. The English attacked the tents of Sirāju-d-daulah, but were vigorously opposed by Mīr Madan (called Moodum Khān in Thornton, Vol. I, p. 240), one of the Nawab's faithful *amirs*. About 12 o'clock Mīr Madan was struck by a cannon-ball and carried to Sirāju-d-daulah's tent, where he died. The fighting was, however, continued, Mohanlal having taken Mīr Madan's place. But nothing decisive was done. Afraid of a conspiracy Sirāju-d-daulah sent for Mīr Jafar, who had taken no part in the fight. After most earnest solicitations on the part of the Nawab, Mīr Jafar promised to fight the next day, on condition that Mohanlal should be at once ordered to withdraw from the fight. Sirāju-d-daulah agreed, and Mohanlal returned to his tents. But no sooner did the troops see their General had left the field than they became hopeless and began to flee. Before evening, the army of the Nawab had dispersed. This is the battle in which India was lost for Islam." See Blochmann's notes from the *Tarikh-i-Mansuri* referred to above.

The *Seiru-l-Mutakherin's* explanation regarding (p. 637, Vol. II), Clive's breach of the treaty with Sirāju-d-daulah is apologetic in tone. The *Seir* states that the English had joined Mīr Jafar's conspiracy, but as this wise race do not, without some substantial reason, engage in hostilities, or break treaties, they must have entered into some correspondence with the Nawab, and advanced some good reason (of which the author was not aware) for breaking the treaty of peace. Possibly the reason was found in the delay in the payment of the Nawab's indemnity on account of the losses sustained by the English during the capture of Calcutta by Sirāju-d-daulah.

I will now summarise the description of the battle of Plassey from the

news of the advance of the English troops, marched out of the City. Now taking out the cotton of recklessness from the ear,

Seiru-l-Mutakherin (Vol. II, p. 638). On hearing of Clive's movement, Sirāju-d-daulah tried to conciliate his disaffected officers, who outwardly professed loyalty to him, but inwardly plotted his ruin. Sirāju-d-daulah sent Rajah Dulab Ram (the traitor) ahead to Plassey, to supervise the construction of redoubts and entrenchments, and shortly after moved up there himself, with his faithful officers, Mīr Madan and Mohanlal and with the traitor, Mīr Jafar. Clive also moved to Plassey with a small number of English Telengi troops, numbering about 2,000 in all. Clive commenced the battle with a brisk cannonade, whilst Mīr Jafar stood by at a distance and watched the game. Mīr Madan fought bravely till about 3 P.M., and steadily advanced with Mohanlal close to Clive's position. Seeing Mīr Madan's gallantry, Clive, it is said, was dispirited and reproached Omichand for having falsely assured him that everyone was disaffected against the Nawab, and that no one would fight for the latter. As luck would however have it, at this time Mīr Madan was hit by a cannon-ball and was removed to Sirāju-d-daulah's tent, where he died. Sirāju-d-daulah now becoming anxious sent for Mīr Jafar, beseeched the latter to fight on his behalf, and even placed his turban before the latter, and addressed this arch-traitor as follows: "I now repent of my deeds, and in the name of relationship that you bear to me, and in the name of the bounties that you received from my grandfather, Mahābat Jang, I entreat you to defend my life and honour." The pathetic appeal did not move the heart of this arch-traitor who still harboured his treacherous designs under the mask of friendship and who returned the following false answer: "To-day is at its close, and the time for further fighting to-day is over. To-day, order the battle to cease; to-morrow I will fight for you with the whole army." Sirāju-d-daulah fell into Mīr Jafar's trap, and sent a message to his Diwan, Mohanlal, who was continuing the fight after Mīr Madan's fall, to return. Mohanlal said there was no time to return now, as he was in the thick of the fight, which would finally decide the fate. Sirāju-d-daulah consulted Mīr Jafar, who cunningly repeated his former treacherous advice, and in consequence Mohanlal was summoned back. Mohanlal's return had a disastrous effect on Sirāju-d-daulah's army, who dispersed in all directions. Sirāju-d-daulah then returned swiftly to Murshidābād, halted for some time at Mansurganj, but found he was surrounded on all sides by false courtiers and traitors. So he left with his Begams and gold for Bhagwangolah, whence on boats he sailed for Azimabad sending at the same time a letter to Mons. Las to join him. Before Las's arrival, Sirāju-d-daulah was on his way to Patna. Owing to his Begams and children having had no food for some days, Sirāju-d-daulah, whom misfortune was dogging, landed at Rājmahal, went to the house of a *fakeer* named Dana Shah, who undertook ostensibly to prepare *Khichri* for him, but who inwardly harboured resentment against the Nawab, owing to previous ill-treatment. This *fakeer* promptly sent news of Sirāju-d-daulah's arrival to Mīr Dāūd (brother of Mīr Jafar), who was at Rājmahal. Mīr Dāūd and Mīr Qasim Khān

he displayed towards the aforesaid Khān (Mīr Jafar) flattery and endearment, and sending the Begam of Mahābat Jang to Mīr Jafar opened the gates of apology for his past shortcomings. Mīr Jafar did not listen to them, as he had no reliance on Sirāju-d-daulah's assurances and actions. After this, when Sirāju-d-daulah advanced from Chunahkhali, the aforesaid Khān (Mīr Jafar) also marching encamped at a distance of half a *farsakh* from the army of Sirāju-d-daulah. Mīr Madan, Superintendent of the Artillery, told Sirāju-d-daulah that the English were coming at the instigation of Mīr Muḥammad Jafar, and that it was, therefore, expedient to finish first Mīr Muḥammad Jafar, and that after the latter was killed, the English would not have the daring to approach this side. In that the arrow of Fate cannot be parried by the shield of Effort, and in that God's decree had already been passed another way,

> To the advice of that wise sage,
> That light-hearted man (Sirāju-d-daulah) was deaf.

When next day, Sirāju-d-daulah reached Dāūdpūr, tidings came

(son-in-law of Mīr Jafar), came and captured Sirāju-d-daulah, carried him to Murshidābād where he was murdered by Mīr Jafar and his son Mīran. Sirāju-d-daulah's corpse was placed on an elephant and paraded. The *Seir* winds up its account of this tragic murder of Sirāju-d-daulah with the following pathetic lines :—

چنین بود گردیدن روزگار * بر مرد هشیار دنیا خس است
سبک سیر و بد عهد و نا پایدار * که هر مدتی جای دیگر کس است
منه بر جهان دل که بیگانه ایست * نکوئی کن امروز چون ده تراست
چو مطرب هر روز در خانه ایست * که سال دگر دیگرے ده خداست
نه لایق بود عیش با دلبری * اگر گنج قارون بدست آوری
که هر بامدادش بود شوهری * نماند مگر آنچه بخشی خوری

I have already quoted the moral which the author of the *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Baṣr* draws from this tragic event. See n. *ante*.

This account compiled from *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Baṣr*, and Professor Blochmann's notes from *Tarikh-i-Mansuri* may profitably be compared with the accounts in Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the English, Mill's British India, and Thornton's British India (as suggested by Professor Blochmann in J.A.S., Part I, No. 2, 1867, p. 86).

to the effect that the English had set fire to Katwāh. At that time Mohanlal reproached Sirāju-d-daulah, and said: "You have ruined me, and rendered my children orphans. If you had not removed Mīr Muḥammad Jafar Khān and Dullab Ram from the Katwāh outpost, things would not have taken this turn." In short, on the morning following that day, which was 5th Shawāl of the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Alamgīr II, the English army from Palāsī (Plassey) on one side, and Sirāju-d-daulah from Dāūdpūr on the other encountered each other, and opened the battle with a cannonade. Mīr Muḥammad Jafar Khān, with his detachment, stood at a distance towards the left from the main army; and although Sirāju-d-daulah summoned him to his side, Mīr Jafar did not move from his position. In the thick of the fighting, and in the heat of the work of carnage, whilst victory and triumph were visible on the side of the army of Sirāju-d-daulah, all of a sudden Mīr Madan, commander of the Artillery, fell on being hit with a cannon-ball. At the sight of this, the aspect of Sirāju-d-daulah's army changed, and the artillerymen with the corpse of Mīr Madan moved into tents. It was now midday, when the people of the tents fled. As yet Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah was busy fighting and slaughtering, when the camp-followers decamping from Dāūdpūr went the other side, and gradually the soldiers also took to their heels. Two hours before sun-set, flight occurred in Sirāju-d-daulah's army, and Sirāju-d-daulah also being unable to stand his ground any longer fled. On arrival at Manṣūrganj, which had been founded by him, he opened the Treasury gates and distributed money to the army. But owing to grave anxieties, being unable to halt there, the Nawāb abandoning his treasures and effects, at nightfall, with his wives and children, got into a boat, carrying with himself a lot of precious jewelleries and gold coins, and sailed towards Purnīah and Aẓīmābād. After Sirāju-d-daulah's defeat, Mīr Muḥammad Jafar entered his camp, in the night held a conference with the English Chiefs, and early next morning marched in pursuit of Sirāju-d-daulah, and arrived in Murshidābād. Finding the sky propitious towards his views, Mīr Jafar entered the citadel, struck up the music announcing his accession to the *masnad* of Bengal, issued proclamations of peace and security in the City, and unfurled the standard of *Ṣūbahdārī*. Mīr Jafar then detailed his son-in-law, Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim with a corps to capture Sirāju-d-daulah, and quartered the Eng-

-ish army at Babniah.[1] But Sirāju-d-daulah, travelling in the night, had sailed swiftly from below Māldah, and reached Babiāl. When news reached him that the mouth of Nāzirpūr was unnavigable and boats could not pass by that way, he was obliged to disembark, and went to the house of Dān Shāh Pīrzādah, whose house was at that place. Dān Shāh who previous to this had suffered some injury at the hands of Sirāju-d-daulah, finding the latter in his power, and seeing the times favourable, by giving assurances and consolations, detained Sirāju-d-daulah in his house, and ostensibly engaging on preparing food, sent information to Mīr Dāūd Alī Khān, Faujdār of Akbārnāgar (Rājmahal), who was brother of Mīr Muḥammad Jafar Khān. The spies of Dāūd Alī Khān who were searching for Sirāju-d-daulah, fancying it to be a grand victory, swiftly arrived, and capturing Sirāju-d-daulah carried him from the house of Dān Shāh[2] to Akbārnāgar, from whence the spies of Dāūd Alī Khān and Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim Khān carried him in their company to Murshidābād. Mīr Muḥammad Jafar Khān threw Sirāju-d-daulah into prison that day. On the next day, with the advice of the English Chiefs, and on the importunity and insistance of Jagat Set, he slew him, and suspending the corpse of that victim of oppression to a *howdah* on an elephant's back, sent it round the City, and then buried it in Khosh Bāgh in the Mausoleum of Nawāb Mahabat Jang. After some days, Mīr Jafar killed also Mīrzā Mihdī Alī Khān, the younger brother of Sirāju-d-daulah, by stretching him on an instrument of torture, and buried his body by the side of his brother's grave. The Nizāmat of Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah[3] lasted

1 I am not sure if this word is correctly printed in the Pers. text.

2 In *Seir*, Dāna Shāh.

3 I have noticed in a previous note the principal measures of Sirāju-d-daulah's administration.

The *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr* (p. 26) characterises Sirāju-d-daulah as 'light-hearted, unsparing, self-willed, petulant, short-tempered and sharp-tongued.' The *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (vol. II, p. 621) states in condemnation of Sirāju-d-daulah that Sirāju-d-daulah's 'harsh and uncouth utterances, his derision and jesting in respect of the officers of his Government caused resentment in their hearts.' If this be what constituted the head and front of his offending, —if this be what exhausts the catalogue of his sins, then one has to materially modify the generally current view of Sirāju-d-daulah.

The explanation accounting for the tragic fate of Sirāju-d-daulah is, however, attempted by the author of the *Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basr* (p. 32). This author

one year and four months, and he was slain at the end of the month of Shawāl 1170 A.H.

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NIẒĀMAT OF SHUJĀU-L-MULK JAFAR ALĪ KHĀN.

When Jafar Alī Khān ascended [1] the *masnad* of the Niẓāmat of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, he set himself to the conciliation of the

states, in effect, that Sirāju-d-daulah was a victim of intrigues and misfortunes left as a legacy by his grandfather, Alī Vardī Khān, who had inaugurated in Bengal an era of violent intrigues and dark treachery, by killing his own master, Nawab Sarfarāz Khān (son of Alī Vardī's benefactor, Nawab Shujau-d-dīn Khān), and who was, therefore, now punished by an Avenging Providence in the person of his grandson Sirāju-d-daulah, whom Alī Vardī had regarded as dearer than his own life. That Sirāju-d-daulah did not bring on the misfortunes on himself by his own incapacity, is proved by what the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin* (Vol. II, p. 633), states, namely, that 'Sirāju-d-daulah had attained the zenith of power and opulence, and that, therefore, a declension was inevitable according to the laws of nature.'

This Revolution in the history of Bengal which in effect supplanted Moslem Rule and made the English virtually supreme in this country, may also be viewed in another aspect as a wise Dispensation of Providence for the ultimate good of the people. At the time, it is abundantly clear, the people in Bengal were sunk in the abyss of moral debasement, and the cankers of dark ingratitude and treachery, untruthfulness and venality had crept deep into the vitals of their hearts. In the pursuit of the phantoms of individual self-aggrandisement and of personal ambitions, they had taken advantage of the youthful failings of their sovereign and of the internecine jealousies that distracted his family, forgotten and forsaken all sentiments of gratitude and honour, and yielded to their instinct of intrigue by fraternising with the Nawab's disloyal relation, Mīr Jafar. These, therefore, verily needed a Chastener—a Moses—to save them from further moral dissolution; and so Providence in His inscrutable wisdom sent to them One from across the seas in the person of the English, to scourge the vices of the land, to chasten the people, to purify and re-form them, and to once more, if possible, to rescue them from the sea of moral annihilation.

[1] See the account in the *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 640). After the battle of Plassey, Mīr Jafar and Clive had a conference on the battlefield, and they together entered Murshidābad. Mīr Jafar occupied the palace of Manṣurganj, which was the residence of Sirāju-d-daulah, and then visited the Niẓamat Treasury, in order to distribute the treasures between himself, Dulab Ram, and Clive, as had been agreed to mutually. Dulab Ram now became Mīr Jafar's most influential colleague in the administration. Their friendship, however, did not last long, and shortly after Dulab Ram contemplated placing Sirāju-d-daulah's brother, Mirzā Mahdi, on the *masnad*. See *Seir*, Vol. II, Pers. text, p. 644).

army and the nobility, who had joined him in his conspiracy to destroy Sirāju-d-daulah. He appointed his nephew, Khādim Ḥusain Khān,[1] to the office of Faujdār of Purnīah, and conferred on Rāmnarāin a robe of honour, confirming him in the Deputy-Governorship of the Ṣūbah of Aẕīmābād (Patna).[2]

At this time Shāh Ālam[3] invaded the Ṣūbah of Aẕīmābād.

1 See *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 645), for an account of Khadem Husain Khān. Khadem Husain Khān's father, Syed Khadem Alī Khān, was husband of Mīr Jafar's sister, but Khadem Husain was not from this sister, but born of another wife of Khadem. Khadem Husain was a boon companion of Mīr Jafar, who was fond of pleasures and carousals (p. 645, Vol. II, *Seir*).

2 Mīr Jafar was quite incompetent for the office of Ṣubadar of Bengal. As soon as he ascended the *masnad* of the Niẕamat, he flung himself into pleasures, neglected State affairs, and left them in the hands of his son, Miran, and others. Jahangir Nagar or Dacca fell into the hands of Rājballab, Diwan of Miran; this Rājballab in the time of the late Shahamat Jang was peshkar of Shahamat Jang's Diwan, Husain Quli Khān. Bardwān and some other districts were ceded to the English, in lieu of cash payment of a part of the Bengal revenue. Hugli was assigned to Mīr Beg Khān, who had rendered good services to the English. Rajāh Rāmnarāin became supreme administrator of Bihār, whilst Purniah was bestowed on Khadem Husain Khān. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 651). It is stated in the *Seir* that shortly after Mīr Jafar's accession, people got tired of him and his son Miran, and sighed back for the old days of Sirāju-d-daulah, whom they regarded now as better in all respects than Mīr Jafar (*Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 656).

3 A detailed account of this will be found in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 656. It appears that many of the noblemen in Bihār and Bengal soon got into thorough disgust with Mīr Jafar and his son, Miran, and opened correspondence with Muḥammad Quli Khān, Ṣubadar of Allahabad (a cousin of Shujau-d-daulah, and a nephew of Safdar Jang). Muḥammad Quli Khān took counsel with his cousin, Shujau-d-daulah, Ṣubadar of Oudh, who inwardly harboured ill-feeling towards his cousin and aimed at his ruin, gave him false advice, and encourged him to invade Bihār and to carry with him Prince Alī Gauhar, surnamed Shāh Ālam (who was heir of Emperor Alamgir II). Alī Gauhar was harassed at this time by Imadu-l-Mulk, and was staying with Najibu-d-daulah Najib Khān Afghan at Miranpur, Ghaturah. At first Rāmnarāin, Deputy-Governor of Bihār, took counsel with Mr. Amytt, the Chief of the English Factory at Patna, enquired what course of action he should adopt, and suggested that the English should help him in opposing Prince Alī Gauhar's invasion. Mr. Amytt said he could give no decisive answer. Finding that no help was coming from the Nazim of Bengal, Mīr Jafar, nor from the English, Rāmnarāin became anxious, opened political courtesies with Prince Gauhar and Muḥammad Quli Khān, waited on them in *Durbar*, and professed allegiance to the Prince. Both the Prince and Muḥammad Quli

Khān being thus re-assured, let Rāmnarāin return to the fort of Aẓimābād. Shortly after, on getting news of the approach of Miran and the English, Rāmnarāin threw off his mask of loyalty to the Prince and Muḥammad Quli Khān. The latter pressed the siege of Patna, assaulted the Fort, and Rāmnarāin being hardpressed was about to surrender and run away. Then news arriving that Shujau-d-daulah by a foul trick had made himself master of the Fort of Allahabad, which was held by his cousin Muḥammad Quli Khān, the latter together with Prince Alī Gauhar abandoned the siege of Patna, and withdrew towards Allahabād. (See p. 669, *Seir*, Vol. II). At this time, Mons. Las met the Prince, persuaded the latter to attack again Patna, but the latter acknowledged his inability to do so, owing to want of funds. If, at this time, Shujau-d-daulah, instead of being meanly treacherous to his cousin, had supported him, the fate of Bihar might have been different. See Mons. Las's observations on the point quoted in the *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 670). At Benares, Muḥammad Quli Khān's march was opposed under orders of Shujau-d-daulah, whilst Prince Alī Gauhar with Mons. Las was allowed to pass on *viâ* Mirzapur to Chattarpur towards Bundelkund. Muḥammad Quli Khān was carried to Shujau-d-daulah who had the meanness to imprison him. In the meantime, Miran with Col. Clive came to Patna, and Rāmnarāin waited on them, whilst apparently amicable relations were opened between them and Prince Alī Gauhar, through the diplomatic correspondence of Ghulam Husain Khān, author of the *Seir*. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 674).

Shortly after, on the invitation of Diler Khān and Kamgar Khān, Zamindar of Tirhut Samai, Prince Alī Gauhar again invaded Patna. At this time, the English army under Captain Cookrane supported Rāmnarāin. Mr. Amytt was still the Chief of the English Factory at Patna, whilst Dr. Fullerton was attached to the Factory as the medical officer. The author of the *Seir* (Ghulam Husain Khān) was a friend of Dr. Fullerton, and was the latter's guest at the time. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 676). At this time Emperor Alamgir II was treacherously murdered under orders of Imadu-l-Mulk (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 676), and Alī Gauhar consulted Ghulam Husam Khān's father, who resided at the time in Husainabad in Bihār Province and proclaimed himself Emperor under the title of Shāh Alam in 1173, A.H., appointed Shujau-d-daulah as his Vizier, and Najibu-d-daulah as his General. Then Kamgar Khān Muin and Aṣalat Khān and Diler Khān met the Emperor, and induced the latter to invade Bihār. At this time, Rāmnarāin was encamped on the banks of the river Dhanah. At this battle, Shāh Alam defeated Rāmnarāin, who was wounded. The English army who supported Rāmnarāin and were led by Captain Cockrane and Mr. Barwal, were also defeated and dispersed; and Patna fell into the hands of the Emperor. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 678). At this battle, Diler Khān and Aṣalat Khān, sons of Umar Khān, fought and fell heroically on the side of the Emperor. Shortly after, Miran, with the English troops under Colonel Clive arrived. On the side of the Emperor, Kam-

of Sirāju-d-daulah, whom Jafar Alī Khān had previously from policy shifted to the province of Bihār, now joined the Imperial Army. At Fatūhah, a battle took place between the Imperialists and Rāmnarāin. Rāmnarāin was wounded, and fled to the fort, and the Imperial troops laid siege to the fort. Nawāb Jafar Alī Khān, on getting this news, despatched to Bihār his son, Nawāb Naṣīru-l-Mulk Ṣadīq Alī Khān Shahāmat Jang, surnamed Mīran, with a detachment of English troops. On the banks of the river Adhūah, adjoining Bārh, a battle ensued with the Imperialists. On the side of the Imperialists, Qādirdād Khān and Kāmgār Khān displayed feats of bravery. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was wounded, whilst Rājballab fell back, and both contemplated flight. Qādirdād Khān, with others, by brave onslaughts, attacked the lines of artillery. A heavy gun, which required to be drawn by 400 bullocks, happened to lie in front of these. Those men got entangled amidst the bullocks, and failed to cut through as the bullocks hemmed them on all sides. At this juncture, the elephant-driver of Qādirdād Khān was shot by a bullet. Qādirdād

gar Khān, Qadirdad Khān, Ghulam Shāh were the Generals. Qadirdad Khān made a bold movement to the rear of Miran, heroically fought, killed Muḥammad Amīn Khān (maternal uncle of Miran), wounded Miran, and worked havoc in Miran's army. Miran fled. Then the English opened a brisk cannonade, and one cannon-ball hit Qadirdad Khān who was killed. Then the tide of victory turned in favour of Miran, whilst Kamgar Khān, with the Emperor, proceeded towards Bihār. (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 680). Now Kamgar Khān, with the Emperor, contemplated surprising Murshidabad, and proceeded to Bardwān. Mīr Jafar, with the English army and his own troops, proceeded to Bardwān. Kamgar Khān with the Emperor now turned back towards Azimabad, while Mons. Las also arrived. (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 680). At this time Khadim Hasain Khān and Dulab Ram (who had got sick of his old fellow-conspirator, Mīr Jafar) sent help secretly to the Emperor. The Emperor and Kamgar Khān with Mons. Las and Zainu-d-dīn Khān now assaulted the fort of Patna. The assaults were vigorously repeated, and the fort was about to fall, when a company of English troops under Captain Knox brought timely reinforcement, and raised the siege. The Emperor with Kamgar Khān now went some distance from Patna, and was busy collecting revenue. In the meantime, Khadim Husain, who bore an old grudge to Miran, moved to Hajipur with a large number of troops to attack Patna, but was defeated by Captain Knox who was supported by Shitab Rai (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 685). Shortly after Miran, with Colonel Clive and another English army, arrived, and pursued Khadim Husain Khān, who felt himself too weak to oppose their united forces, and retired towards Bitiah, where of a night Miran was killed by lightning, whilst sleeping in his tent. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 686).

Khān spurred on his elephant with his feet, and shot arrows. Nawāb Ṣadīq Alī Khān received a wound, being hit by an arrow. At this moment, a big cannon-ball hit Qādirdād Khān on the left side of the chest, and finished him up. On seeing this mishap, Kāmgār Khān and others reining back their horses fell back to their own lines. The army of Ṣadīq Alī Khān, on ascertaining this, made a fresh onslaught, attacked the Imperialists, and struck up the music of victory. The Imperialists were defeated. Rahīm Khān and Zainu-l-Abidīn Khān, who had made a detour towards the rear of Ṣadīq Alī Khān's army, on hearing the music of victory, made a flank movement towards the right wing, and attacked it. But owing to the cannonade of the English artillery, they were unable to stand their ground, and were defeated. After defeat, the Imperialists retired towards Bardwān, and Ṣadīq Alī Khān, pursuing them, followed them up to Bardwān *viā* Chakai,[1] Khanti,[2] and Bīrbhūm. From this side, Jafar Alī Khān also marched expeditiously to Bardwān, and on the banks of the river[3] below the town of Bardwān, a battle commenced with a cannonade. The Imperialists not being able to hold their own there, marched back to Azīmābād.

Jafar Alī Khān and Ṣadīq Alī Khān now set themselves to confiscate the treasures and effects of Nawāb Sirāju-d-daulah and the Begams of Mahābat Jang, &c. Rendering the latter hard up for even a night's sustenance, they had already sent to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca), the Begam of Mahābat Jang with her two daughters, one named Āmanah Begam,[4] mother of Sirāju-d-daulah, and the other named Ghasitī Begam, widow of Shahāmat Jang, together with other ladies of Mahābat Jang's *harem*. Jafar Alī Khān and Ṣadīq Alī Khān now sent Bāqir Khān, the General, to Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca) with a corps of one hundred cavalry, and wrote to Jasārat Khān, Faujdar of Jahāngīrnagar, peremptorily directing the latter to capture and make over Ghasitī Begam and

1 In the printed Persian text 'Jakai,' which would apparently seem to be a misreading or misprint for Chakai, in Monghyr district, which would be on the line of route.

2 'Khanti' or Contai is in Midnapur district. I think this must be a misprint or misreading in the Pers. printed text, as Khanti does not appear to lie on the line of route from Bihār to Bardwān; probably Kandi is meant.

3 That is to say, Damudar river.

4 In *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, 'Amanah Begam.'

Aminah Begam to Bāqir Khān, as soon as the latter arrived. On the arrival of Bāqir Khān at Jahāngīrnagar, Jasārat Khān[1] was obliged to pass the necessary orders. The Begams were placed on a boat, which was taken out some *karoh* from Jahāngīrnagar and there sunk in the river. It is said that when the Begams were taken out to the boat, and became aware of their fate, they repeated their prayers, held the Holy *Qorān* in their armpits, embraced each other, and then plunged into the river. O, Gracious God, what inhuman barbarity was this! But at length, Ṣadīq Alī Khān also suffered retribution for it in his own life-time.[2]

At this time a misunderstanding had set in between Ṣadīq Alī Khān and Khādim Husain Khān, on account of levy of revenue and also of other matters. Ṣadīq Alī Khān, resolving to expel and extinguish Khādim Husain Khān, planned an expedition to Purniah. Khādim Husain Khān advancing with his troops from Purniah, entrenched himself at Gandahgolah (Caragola) for fighting. Then, all of a sudden, news arrived that the Imperialists had besieged the fort of Aẕīmābād (Patna), and were fighting with Rāmnarāin. Consequently, Ṣadīq Alī Khān, abandoning his contemplated expedition to Purniah, set out for Aẕīmābād. Khādim Husain Khān, not considering himself a match for him, set out for the Imperial Capital. From this (*i.e.*, the southern) side of the Ganges, the army of Ṣadīq Alī Khān, and from that (*i.e.*, the northern) side of the Ganges, Khādim Husain Khān

1 To the credit of Jasārat Khān, Faujdar of Dacca or Jahāngīrnagar, it is related in the *Seir* that he had declined to be a party to such a diabolical murder, and had offered to resign his post. It appears from the *Seir* Mīr Jafar subsequently hoaxed Jasārat Khān, and induced the latter to make over to Bāqir Khān the two Begams, on the plea that they would be safely lodged at Murshidābād, now that Miran had left that place for Bihār.

2 That Mīr Jafar and his son, Miran, were despicable tyrants, is sufficiently attested by this diabolical murder. There is nothing to match such inhuman barbarity in the record of the much-abused Sirāju-d-daulah. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 689. It appears Aminah Begam, before plunging into the river, prayed to God that Miran might meet with retribution and be killed by lightning for his barbarous inhumanity in causing her and her sister's death. It is further stated in the *Seir* that Miran was killed by lightning in his tent the same night that Ghasitī Begam and Aminah Begam (daughters of Alī Vardī Khān Mahābat Jang, and wives of Shahamat Jang and Haibat Jang respectively) met with a watery grave in the river below Dacca.

marched up. And when news of the approach of Ṣadīq Alī Khān spread at Azīmābād, the Imperialists raising the siege of the fort of Patna retired by the highway towards Munīr. Ṣadīq Alī Khān, thus finding himself at leisure, crossed the river, and marched in pursuit of Khādim Husain Khān. Khādim Husain Khān marched forward with the swiftness of lightning and wind, whilst Ṣadīq Alī Khān hotly pursued him from behind, making forced marches. At this juncture, a storm of wind and rain came on and disabled both the horsemen and the horses from action. Khādim Husain Khān reached the bank of a river,[1] to ford which was difficult, and to cross which without a ferry boat was impossible. The army of Khādim Husain Khān, like the Israelites of old, finding the river in front and the enemy in the rear, despaired of life. Finding all ways of escape cut off, Khādim Husain Khān of necessity flung his treasures and heavy baggages amongst his soldiers, and placing his trust in his God and looking up to the Infallible Artist, looked out for supernatural help. The army of Ṣadīq Alī Khān, having had to march through mud and clay and being drenched through by a heavy shower of rain, were rendered unfit for fighting, and halted that day at a distance of 2 *karoh* from Khādim Husain Khān. In that the cup of the life of Khādim Husain Khān and his companions was yet not full to the brim, at midnight a lightning fell on Ṣadīq Alī Khān, and killed him and his personal attendant. This mishap occurred in 1173 A.H. Khādim Husain Khān, thus getting providentially rescued from the claws of certain death, marched away with the speed of lightning and wind, and went to the Ṣūbah of Audh (Oudh). Rājballab[2] and other comrades of Ṣadīq Alī Khān rubbed the ashes of sorrow and anguish on their heads, and together with the English army retired to Azīmābād. There they directed their attention towards the Imperial army, including the Emperor's Mahratta Contingent, who were encamped at Hilsah, and commenced warfare. The Imperialists were again defeated, and the French General[3] who was in the company of

1 This was the river Gandak, as would appear from the description in the *Seir*.

2 Rājballab, a native of Dacca, was Peshkar of Husain Quli Khān, whilst the latter was Dīwān of Shahamat Jang in Dacca. After Husain Quli Khān's death, Rājballab rose to be Dīwān of Shahamat Jang. He was continued in the same office under Miran.

3 This was Mons. Las, as would appear from the *Seir*.

the Emperor was captured, whilst Rājballab followed up to Bihār. When the Imperialists marched towards Gya-Manpūr and Kāmgār Khān fled to the hills, Rājballab thought of returning. But at this moment, news arrived to the effect that Nawāb Jafar Alī Khān was a prisoner, and that Nawāb Qāsim Alī Khān [1] had acquired the Ṣūbah of Bengal, as will be related hereafter. The period of the Niẕāmat of Nawab Mīr Muḥammad Jafar Alī Khān lasted about three years.

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NIẔĀMAT OF ĀLĪJĀH NAṢĪRU-L-MULK IMTIĀZU-D-DAULAH QĀSIM ALĪ KHĀN BAHADUR NAṢRAT JANG.

Nāwab Jafar Alī Khān had sent to Calcutta his kinsman, Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim,[2] who was a son of Nawab Imtiāz Khān, surnamed Khāliṣ, to represent him at the Conference regarding the Administration and settlement of the apportionment of 10 annas of the revenue to Jafar Alī Khān and six annas to the English, and regarding the enjoyment of the office of Dīwān by Jafar Alī Khān. On the death of Ṣadīq Alī Khān, the Army demanding their pay which had fallen into arrear for some years mutinied in a body, besieged the Nawāb in the *Chihil Satūn* Palace, and cut off supplies of food and water. In consequence, the Nawāb wrote to Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim Khān to the effect that the army had reduced him to straits for demand of arrear pay. Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, in concert with Jagat Set, conspired with the English Chiefs, and induced the latter to write to Nawāb Jafar Alī Khān to the effect that the mutiny of the army for

1 Mīr Qāsim was a son-in-law of Mīr Jafar, who had conferred on the former the Faujdari of Purniah in addition to that of Rangpur. Mīr Qāsim went on some State business to Calcutta, and there made an impression on Mr. Vansittart, who had now succeeded Clive as Governor of Calcutta. At this time, the pay of the army being in arrear, the latter besieged Mīr Jafar in his palace. With the help of the English Council in Calcutta, Mīr Qāsim now became Nazim of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa, in supercession of Mīr Jafar, who had proved himself an incapable ruler. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 695). Mīr Qāsim owed his installation chiefly to Mr. Vansittart, the Governor of Calcutta, and his colleague in the Council, Mr. Hastings, both of whom went for the purpose to Murshidābād. Mīr Jafar came to Calcutta and remained there under surveillance.

2 In the *Seir*, it is stated Mīr Qāsim was a son of Syed Murtaza, who was a son of Imtiaz Khān, surnamed Khaliṣ.

demand of pay was a very serious matter, and that it was advisable that the Nawāb abandoning the Fort should come down to Calcutta, entrusting the Fort and the Ṣūbah to Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim K͟hān.[1] Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim with full self-confidence, on attaining his aim, returned to Murs͟hidābād. The English Chiefs leaguing with Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim K͟hān brought out Nawāb Jafar K͟hān from the Fort, placed him on a boat, and sent him down to Calcutta. Mīr Qāsim K͟hān entered the Fort, mounted the *masnad* of Niẕāmat, and issued proclamations of peace and security in his own name. He sent a message to Rāj-ballab[2] to bring back the Emperor to Aẕīmābād, whilst he himself afterwards set out for Aẕīmābad, in order to wait on the Emperor, after attending to and reassuring his army, and making some settlement in regard to their arrears of pay. Leaving his uncle, Mīr Turāb Alī K͟hān, as Deputy Nāẕim in Murs͟hidābād, Mīr Qāsim carried with himself all his effects, requisites, elephants, horses, and treasures comprising cash and jewelleries of the *harem*, and even gold and silver decorations of the Imāmbāra, amounting to several *laks* in value, and bade farewell to the country of Bengal. After arriving at Monghyr, and attending to the work of strengthening its fortifications,[3] he marched to

1 Mīr Jafar proved himself thoroughly incapable. In whatever light his character is viewed, he appears to have been much worse than the much-abused Sirāju-d-daulah. Though much older than the latter, Mīr Jafar was unquestionably inferior to the latter in qualities both of head and heart, As a general or an administrator, Sirāju-d-daulah was superior to him, whilst as a man, Sirāju-d-daulah was much better than Mīr Jafar or his infamous son, Miran. The *Seir* states that shortly after the Revolution, even Mīr Jafar's old adherents sighed back for the days of Sirāju-d-daulah. Mīr Jafar was even incapable of retaining the friendships or attachments of his fellow-conspirators, Dulab Ram and Jagat Set. After ascending the *masnad* of Nizamat, Mīr Jafar gave himself up to pleasures and debaucheries, though he was an elderly man, and neglected State affairs which fell into confusion. Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings contemplated at first that Mīr Jafar should be allowed to retain his titles and privileges as the Nazim of Bengal, whilst Mīr Qāsim should act as Administrator-General or Regent on his behalf. In this arrangement, Mīr Jafar refused to acquiesce, and so he was brought down a prisoner to Calcutta, whilst Mīr Qāsim was proclaimed Nawāb Nazim of Bengal, Bīhār, and Orissa. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 695.)

2 Rājballab was at this time in Patna in charge of Miran's army, as Miran had been killed by lightning.

3 From the *Seir*, Vol. II, Pers, text, p. 711, it appears that Mīr Qāsim went

Azīmābād (Patna), in order to wait on the Emperor. Before Mīr Qāsim's arrival at Azīmābād, the Emperor had returned to that place, and the English going forward to receive him had accommodated His Majesty in their own Factory.[1] Subsequently, Qāsim Alī Khān also arrived, had the honour of an audience with the Emperor, and received from the latter the title of Nawāb Alī Jāh Naṣiru-l-mulk Imtiāzu-d-daulah Qāsim Alī Khān Naṣrat Jang. But the officers of the Emperor marking some change in the conduct of Qāsim Alī Khān marched back with the Emperor to Banāras, without giving any intimation thereof to the aforesaid Khān.[2] Nawāb Qāsim Alī Khān followed

to Monghyr and resided there in 1175 A.H., after having finished his expeditions to Tirhut, Shahābad, and Azīmābād, and after having left Rājah Naubat Rai as Deputy Ṣubadar of Patna, in place of Rāmnarāin and Rājballab who were imprisoned. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 711). Two days every week, the Nawāb dispensed justice, attended personally to every State affair, and listened patiently to the complaints and grievances of everyone, however humble his position, and did not permit corruption or bribery to thwart the course of justice. He paid assiduous attention to the happiness of his people and to the comfort of his army, which he placed in a highly efficient state. He was, however, a terror to enemies and wrong-doers, and his vigorous personality pervaded all affairs of the State. Friends and foes alike respected him, and even the English regarded him as a real power in the land, and not as a shadow like Mīr Jafar. He respected learning and the learned, and appreciated the company of scholars, savants, and saints. The one fatal mistake that he made was that he trusted implicitly the Armenian cut-throat, Gurgan Khān, who was the generalissimo of his Army and who was secretly bent on ruining him, and this one fatal mistake which embroiled him in a quarrel with the English subsequently proved disastrous to his power. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 712.

[1] It appears the English General, Major Carnac, concluded a truce with the Emperor, established amicable relations with him, and induced the latter to come to Patna. At this time, the moves of the pawns on the political chessboard of India were quick and strange and inconsistent. Everyone was after his game of self-interest, regardless of traditions and of sentiments. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 700, 703-704). At this time Ahmad Shah Abdali had again invaded India, defeated the Mahrattas, and instructed Shujau-d-daulah, Najibu-d-daulah and other Afghans to show allegiance to Emperor Shāh Alam who was his brother-in-law. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p 706).

[2] There does not appear to be any authority for this statement. It would appear that agreeably to the instruction left by Ahmad Shāh Abdali who had inflicted a crushing defeat on the Mahrattas, Shujau-d-daulah, Ṣubadar of Oudh, had come at the time to the borders of Oudh, to receive the Emperor

them up to the confines of Baksār and Jagadishpūr, and after pillaging those places returned to Azīmābād, halted at the residence of Rāmnarāin, and set himself to the work of administration of the affairs of that place.[1]

When Qāsim Alī Khān demanded from the English duties on their trade-goods, the latter refused to pay the same, and carried on their trade duty-free.[2] Nawāb Qāsim Alī Khān

Shāh Alam and to escort him to Delhi, to instal him on his ancestral throne. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, pp. 705-706.

1 Important administrative changes transpired at this time. Nawāb Mīr Qāsim called for accounts from Rāmnarāin, who was Deputy Ṣubadar of Behar. Finding that Rāmnarāin had been guilty of malversation in respect of large amounts of the public revenues, the Nawāb dismissed him from office and threw him into prison, at the same time confiscating all his treasures. Shitab Rai, who was Rāmnarāin's colleague, was also suspected, and dismissed by the Nawāb, who took into his own hands the direct administration of Behar, retaining, however, Rājballab as his Deputy there. See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 707. Subsequently Rājballab was thrown into prison, his office being given to Rājah Naubat Rai, who was replaced shortly after by Mīr Mehdi Khān. Gurgan Khān, an Armenian, was placed at the head of the Artillery, and the Nawāb placed implicit confidence in him. But as later events would shew, this Armenian proved a traitor. The Nawāb employed a large number of spies, and thus kept himself well informed of everything that transpired. He also appointed Mīr Mehdi Khān as Faujdar of Tirhut, and Muḥammad Taqi Khān as Faujdar of Birbhum.

2 This was the beginning and ostensible cause of the rupture between Nawāb Qāsim Alī and the English. The *Seir* (Vol. II, p. 715), details these important events. In 1176 A.H., Mr. Henry Vansittart, then acting as Governor of the English East India Company in Calcutta, visited the Nawāb at Monghyr, and held a conference with him on various matters. The Nawāb then told Mr. Vansittart that much trade passed through the country duty-free, as it was given out that it was on behalf of the English, that in consequence the State suffered a heavy loss, and that it was proper that duty should be levied on all such goods, except those particularly belonging to the English East India Company. Mr. Vansittart informed the Nawāb not to do anything in the matter in haste, but to wait till his return to Calcutta, when proper orders on the subject would be passed by him and communicated to the Nawāb. The Nawāb on the strength of this felt sanguine that his request would be complied with, and in the meantime wrote to his Collectors (Amils), directing them to be vigilant in regard to permitting goods to pass duty-free, and adding that full orders would be communicated to them hereafter. These Amils in some cases exceeded their authority by stopping goods, with the result that several of them were imprisoned by Mr. Ellison, of the Patna Factory, and by Mr. Batteson, of the Dacca Factory, and sent to Calcutta. The Nawāb, on hearing this, directed reprisals, and ordered the arrest of the *gomash-*

remitted thereupon the duties leviable from all the traders of Bengal and Behār, and declared that so long as he failed to levy duties from the rich, he would hold back his hand from doing so, in the case of the poor. Owing to this cause, and owing to some other matters, a misunderstanding set in between him and the English chiefs. The Nawāb now hatched plans for exterminating them.[1] At length, he formed the resolution of putting them all to the sword on one day. In pursuance of this plan, he sent despatches to his Deputies and Faujdārs in Bengal to the effect that on a certain fixed date everywhere, they should by means of treachery or violence massacre all the English residents. And after personally giving peremptory injunctions to the Generals of his army to kill and capture and pillage and plunder the English, he returned to Monghyr. And when on the day fixed, the army of Qāsim Alī Khān prepared to discharge their commissioned task, a battle

tas of the English, and remitted duties on all goods, explaining that when the goods of richer traders were to be exempt from duties, it would be inequitable to levy duties on goods of poorer traders who contributed only a fraction to the State revenue. The Council in Calcutta sent Mr. Amytt as their envoy to the Nawāb to Monghyr to settle matters (p. 720, *Seir*, Vol. II). Mr. Vansittart also sent a friendly letter to the Nawāb requesting the latter to concede the demand of the Council. The Nawāb consulted his general, the Armenian Gurgan Khān, who advised the Nawāb not to listen to Mr. Vansittart's advice (p. 760, *Seir*, Vol. II). In the meantime, Gurgan Khān had caused the flower of the Nawāb's Army to perish in a fruitless expedition for the conquest of Nepal (p. 717, Vol. II, *Seir*.) The Nawāb now solicited aid from Nawāb Vizier Shujau-d-daulah and the Emperor, in order to repel the encroachments of the English (p. 718, *Seir*, Vol. II). The Nawāb also wrote to his capable and loyal Faujdar of Birbhum, Muḥammad Taqi Khān, to send Jagat Set Mahtab Rai and his brother, Maharaja Surupchand, grandsons of Jagat Set Fatehchand, from Murshidābād to Monghyr under proper escort, and Muḥammad Taqi Khān accordingly sent them to Monghyr, where they were ordered to reside under surveillance (p. 721, *Seir*, Vol. II). On hearing that Mr. Amytt was coming to Monghyr, the Nawāb sent Mīr Abdullah and Ghulam Husain Khān (author of the *Seir*), who were intimate with Mr. Amytt, to go and receive him, and to enquire into the object of his mission. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 712). Mr. Amytt's mission proved a failure (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 742).

[1] The *Riyaz's* account is not quite accurate. What actually happened is detailed in the *Seir*, the author of which was an actor in these scenes. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 725). It appears that before the Council in Calcutta had decided anything, on Mr. Amytt's return, Mr. Amytt on his own responsibility had written from Monghyr to Mr. Ellison, Chief of the Patna Factory, to

ensued with the English army[1]. At length after successive onslaughts, Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān's army triumphed,[2] and engaging

prepare for war, and the latter, without waiting for any declaration of war by the Council, quietly concentrated all the available English regiments in his Factory, and suddenly attacked the Fort at Patna. The Nawāb's garrison who were quite unprepared for such an attack, were surprised, and the Fort fell partially into the hands of the English, whose troops plundered the houses in the Fort. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 726). From Monghyr, reinforcements were hurried up by the Nawāb, and with these reinforcements Mīr Mehdi Khān, Nawāb's Deputy Ṣubadar of Patna, vigorously assaulted the Fort, recaptured it, also captured the English Factory, when Mr. Ellison with Dr. Fullerton and other Englishmen and their troops fled to Chapra and thence to the Sarju, when they were taken prisoners by the Bengalee Ram Nidhi, Faujdar of Saran, and Sumroo the Frenchman, and brought to Monghyr, where they were thrown into prison. It was then (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 727), that the Nawāb sent despatches to all his Faujdars and generals, apprising them of the outbreak of hostilities between him and the English, and directing them to put to the sword the English, wherever found. Mr. Amytt was killed at Murshidābād, in pursuance of the above order (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 727). The *Riyaz's* statement that the Nawāb fixed a 'particular day' for the massacre of the English, or that he instructed his officers to kill Englishmen by treachery—does not accord with the *Seir's* version, which is more authentic and reliable.

1 It is not clear to which battle the *Rīyaz* refers here. As would appear from the note *ante*, the first battle in which the Nawāb's army triumphed was fought, in order to re-capture the Fort of Patna after the English had suddenly surprised it. It does not appear from the *Seir's* account that on this victory, the Nawāb slew "all the Englishmen," but what he did was that he apprised his officers of the outbreak of hostilities between him and the English, and directed the former to put the English to the sword wherever found. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 727). In pursuance of the above general order, Mr. Amytt was put to the sword at Murshidābād, and the Qasimbazar factory was looted. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 727-728). Then the English Council assembled in Calcutta, and decided on war against the Nawāb, and also proclaimed Mīr Jafar (who was in surveillance in Calcutta) as the Nawāb Nazim of Bengal (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 768-769). In the meantime, the Nawāb had directed his Faujdar of Birbhum (Muḥammad Taqi Khān) to prepare for fighting with the English, and had sent his officers, Jafar Khān, Alam Khān and Shaikh Haibatu-l-lah with others to re-inforce Muḥammad Taqi Khān. The above three officers proceeded to Murshidabad, took ammunitions and armaments from Syed Muḥammad Khān, who was Deputy Nazim of Murshidabad at the time, and encamped at Plassey and Katwah, whilst Muḥammad Taqi Khān, with his army, proceeded from Birbhum to Katwah. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 728).

2 The only real victory that Mīr Qāsim appears to have achieved over the English, was in his re-capture of the Fort of Patna. The *Riyaz's*

in capturing and killing slew all the English, and plundered their factories. But Ṣadru-l-Ḥaq Khān, Faujdār of Dinājpūr, and the Rājah of Bardwān held back their hands from this wretched work.

account of these events is neither so detailed nor so lucid as that of the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin,* whose author Ghulam Husain Khān was an actor in, or actual spectator of, most of these scenes. From the *Seir*, it appears that after the re-capture of Patna, the next battle between the English and the Nawāb's troops was fought at Katwah. The Nawāb's Faujdar of Birbhum, Muḥammad Taqi Khān, fought at this battle most gallantly, but his gallantry was of no avail, as Syed Muḥammad Khān, Deputy Nazim of Murshidābād, failed, owing to jealousy that he bore, to support him, and prevented Jafar Khān, Alam Khān, and Shaikh Haibatu-l-lah also from re-inforcing him. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 729 to 731). After this, the English with Mīr Jafar entered Murshidābād (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 731). The news of the fall of his brave officer, Muḥammad Taqi Khān, disconcerted the Nawāb, who hurried up re-inforcements under Sumroo, Malkar Armenian, and Asadullah, and directed them to concentrate at Suti with the vanquished troops of Katwah. Major Adams commanded the English army. At the battle of Suti, the Nawāb's troops were defeated, and the English won the victory (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 732-733).

On hearing of the defeat at Suti, the Nawāb sent his Begams and children to the fort of Rohtas, whilst he himself set out with his general, the Armenian Gurgin Khān, to re-inforce his army that was now concentrated on the banks of the Adhua *nalla*, a stream taking its rise from the hills north of Rajmahal and flowing to the Ganges. This position was considered to be of strategic importance and impregnable, as it was accessible by only one secret passage. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 734). On 24th Muharram in 1177 A.H., in the night, the Nawāb marched out from the Monghyr Fort. Suspecting treachery from his officers as well as from his prisoners, and his suspicion being fanned by the Armenian Gurgin Khān, the Nawāb before leaving Monghyr killed his prisoners, namely, Rājah Rāmnārain, the *quondam* Naib Ṣubadar of Behar, Rājah Rājballab, the *quondam* Dīwan of Nawāb Shahamat Jang, Rai Raian Umed Ram, Rājah Fateh Singh, Rājah Buniad Singh (zamindar of Tīkari), Shaikh Abdullah, as well as others. The Nawāb caused Rāmnārain to be thrown into the river below Monghyr fort with a pitcher filled with sand tied to his neck. Gurgin Khān, not satisfied with this work of butchery, incited the Nawāb to kill also his English prisoners, consisting of Mr. Elison and Dr. Fullerton and others of the Patna Factory. The Nawāb, however, refused to kill them and placed extra guard on them. Kamgar Khān Muin also joined the Nawāb, who was encamped at the Champanagar *nalla*, but was sent away to Birbhum by the traitor, Gurgin Khān. (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 735). At this time, Mīr Ruju-d-din, son of the late Nawāb Saif Khān of Purniah, deserted Mīr Qāsim's army, proceeded to Purniah, and made himself its master, and opened correspondence with Mīr Jafar Khān and the English (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 736). At Adhua, the Nawāb's troops

When Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān made his entry into Monghyr, he summoned to his presence all the officers of the Nizāmat of

were wont for some time to sally out in the night by the secret passage, and to do havoc amongst English troops. Once they went so far as to attack Mīr Jafar Khān's Camp, Mīr Jafar Khān having come to Adhua with the English army. Mīr Jafar was about to run away, when the English army re-inforced him. The English were thrown into consternation by these destructive night-attacks, and were at a loss to find out the passage by which the Nawāb's troops approached the English entrenchments. At this time, an English soldier who had long ago left the English army and taken service under the Nawāb, informed the English army of the secret passage (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 737), and undertook to guide them to the Nawāb's entrenchments at Adhua. With the help of this man, Colonel Goddard, with an English regiment, moved to the Nawāb's entrenchment in the night. The Nawāb's army were in a false sense of security, fancying the position impregnable, and thinking that the secret passage to it was unknown to the English. The Nawāb's army under Asadullah Khān, the Frenchman Sumroo, the Armenians, Malkar and Antony, were surprised by this night-attack of the English and defeated (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 738), and dispersed on 26th Ṣafar, 1177 A.H. On the second or third day, the news of this disaster reached the Nawāb, who now moved to the Monghyr Fort. After halting there two or three days, he left that place with Gurgin Khān and others, placing the Fort in charge of one Arab Alī Khān, a *protege* and creature of Gurgin Khān, and reached the Rohua *nalla*. At this time, a leading nobleman named Alī Ibrahim Khān counselled the Nawāb to release the English prisoners, named Messrs. Elison, Jee, and Lushington and others, or at least to send their wives by boat to Major Adams. The Nawāb referred Alī Ibrahim Khān to Gurgin Khān, the Armenian evil genius of the Nawāb. The Armenian said no boats were available, and refused to listen to the humane counsel of Alī Ibrahim Khān. On the way, Gurgin Khān was hacked to pieces with the sword by some horseman, whose pay was in arrear. The Nawāb moved from Rohua *nalla* to Barh, where Jagat Set and his brother Sarupchand were put to the sword under Nawāb's orders. From there the Nawāb moved to Patna, where he received news that Arab Alī Khān, commandant of the Monghyr Fort, and a creature of Gurgin Khān, had accepted a bribe from the English, and treacherously made over the Fort to the latter. (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 741). The Nawāb was exasperated; he was filled with suspicion, and his annoyance knew no bounds. He ordered the Frenchman, Sumroo, to kill the English prisoners. This Sumroo, though of one religion with the English prisoners, willingly accepted this murderous errand, and on the night of the last day of Rabi-al-Awal, 1177 A.H., he shot down the English prisoners, who were lodged at the time in the house of the late Ḥājī Ahmad, brother of Mahabat Jang. That house has since become the English burial-ground in Patna, (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 739). None escaped except Dr. Fullerton (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 740). The Nawāb accused Dr. Fullerton of treachery, which the latter

Bengal, and set himself to the work of administering the several

disavowed. The Nawāb then spared his life. Dr. Fullerton subsequently escaped to Hajipur and joined the English army there (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 741). The English next invaded Patna, and stormed the fort there (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 742). The Nawāb now crossed the Karamnassa river, and entered the territory of Nawāb-Vizier Shujau-d-daulah. (*Seir*, p. 743). The Nawāb (Mīr Qāsim) now met the Nawāb-Vizier Shujau-d-daulah and the Emperor near Allahabad, and induced them to help him in driving out the English from the Ṣubahs of Behar and Bengal (*Seir*, Vol. II, p. 745). The Emperor, the Nawāb-Vizier and the Nawāb now marched to Benares where they encamped for some time, in order to invade Behar (p. 746 *Seir*). Dreading the approach of the Nawāb-Vizier Shujau-d-daulah, the English with Mīr Jafar, who had gone in pursuit of Mīr Qāsim, now retired from Baksar towards Patna. Shujau-d-daulah with his huge army and with Mīr Qāsim now overtook the English near Phulwari (p. 749, *Seir*, Vol. II). There were skirmishes, followed by a battle in which the English army reeled, but the result was indecisive, owing to absence of concerted action between Mīr Qāsim and Shujau-d-daulah (pp. 749-750, *Seir*, Vol. II). At the same time, Mīr Mehdi Khān, who had before fought so bravely for Mīr Qāsim and re-captured the Patna Fort from the English, now deserted his old master, Mīr Qāsim, and joined the English (p. 750, *Seir*, Vol. II).

The Nawāb-Vizier with Mīr Qāsim now retired to Baksar (*Seir* pp. 751). At this time, from the English side, Dr. Fullerton used Ghulam Husain Khān, the author of the *Seir*, as a spy, and wrote to him to induce the Emperor to give his support to the English, and to withhold his support of the Nawāb-Vizier (p. 751, *Seir*, Vol. II). Ghulam Husain Khān and his father Hedait Alī Khān, who held *jagirs* at Husainabad in Monghyr district, held a peculiar position at the time. They professed friendship both for Dr. Fullerton and the English, and also for Mīr Qāsim and the Nawāb-Vizier. They were all things to all men, and enjoyed friendship and influence amongst both the hostile parties. They opened secret correspondence with the Emperor, and induced the latter to give his moral support to the English (p. 751, *Seir*, Vol. II). A conference was now held between Ghulam Husain Khān who now played the *role* of an English spy and between Major Carnac, Dr. Fullerton and Mīr Jafar, and a reply was sent through Ghulam Hosain Khān and other spies to the Emperor. In the meantime, Shujau-d-daulah fell out with Mīr Qāsim (p. 752). Mīr Qāsim now assumed the garb of a *faqir*, but was shortly after induced to give it up, at the entreaties of Shujau-d-daulah who found his honour was at stake. Shortly after, Mīr Qāsim's French officer, Sumroo, the infamous perpetrator of the Patna massacre, mutinied against Mīr Qāsim, and was paid up and discharged by the latter. Then this infamous Frenchman took service under Shujau-d-daulah with all the guns and ammunition of his old master, Mīr Qāsim (p. 755, Vol. II, *Seir*). The Nawāb-Vizier shamelessly imprisoned his refugee Mīr Qāsim; all people deserted the latter, except his one old brave and loyal officer, Alī Ibrahim Khān, who clung to his old master with a fidelity uncommon in those treacherous days. When Shujau-

Provinces. And summoning to Monghyr, one by one, the Rāi d-daulah spoke ill of Mīr Qāsim, and wondered why Alī Ibrahim Khān clung to Mīr Qāsim, in spite of the latter speaking ill of Alī Ibrahim, the latter returned a manly and dignified answer which brought tears even to the eyes of the mean Nawāb-Vizier. Alī Ibrahim said: 'To my knowledge, I have not been guilty of any dereliction in duty to my master (Mīr Qāsim), except that after the events at Patna, whilst his other officers counselled him to go to the Dakhin, and secure support of the Mahrattas, I alone insisted on Mīr Qāsim to seek shelter with you, the Nawāb-Vizier, and with the Emperor!" (p. 757, Vol. II, *Seir.*) At this time, Major Munro, commander of the English army in Patna, wrote through Dr. Fullerton to Ghulam Husain Khān, the author of the *Seir*, to use his influence in acquiring the Fort of Rohtas for the English. Ghulam Husain Khān tampered with Mīr Qāsim's commandant Rājah Sahmel, and induced the latter to make over the Fort of Rohtas to Captain Goddard of the English army (p. 758, *Seir*, Vol. II). Mīr Jafar now returned to Murshidābād, where he died (*Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 758 759), on 14th Shaban, 1178. Mīr Jafar before setting out for Calcutta had left his brother, Mīr Muḥammad Kazim Khān, as Deputy Nazim of Patna, with Dhiraj Narain (Rāmnarāin's brother) as Diwan under the latter. Mīr Jafar appointed Nando Kumar as his Diwan (p. 759, *Seir*, Vol. II), and imprisoned Muḥammad Riza Khān, Deputy Nazim of Dacca (Jahangirnagar), who was son-in-law of Rabia Begam and Ataullah Khān Sabat Jang. From fear of the prestige and power of Shujau-d-daulah and from fear of the odium they would incur by engaging in a war with the Emperor, both Mīr Jafar and the English seriously contemplated patching up a peace with the Nawāb-Vizier and the Emperor, leaving to them the Behar Provinces, and stipulating to pay them a fixed revenue for Bengal (p. 760, Vol. II, *Seir*). This was, however, not to be, owing to the Nawāb-Vizier's ambition which would accept of no compromise, but aimed at an exclusive domination over the whole Empire. Whilst Mīr Jafar was yet alive in Calcutta, Major Munro succeeded Major Carnac in the command of the English army, and was ordered in Ṣafar 1178 A.H., to proceed to Baksar to fight with the Nawāb-Vizier Shujau-d-daulah, who was offensive in his correspondence with the English Council in Calcutta.

The Nawāb-Vizier and his army were in a sense of false security and were immersed in pleasures, frivolities and amusements, as if they had come for a picnic. On Major Munro's arrival, the Nawāb-Vizier with his army hurriedly took up a position on the north-west of a *jhil* or marshy sheet of water. The English army rested on the south-east of the *jhil*. The Nawāb-Vizier posted Sumroo and Madak with eight guns and eight regiments of Mīr Qāsim to cover his front. The Nawāb-Vizier's army was composed of three wings. The right wing was commanded by the Nawāb-Vizier himself, his centre was commanded by Shuja Quli Khān with six thousand Mughal troops, and his left wing was under the command of Rājah Beni Bahadur, Nawāb-Vizier's Deputy Ṣubadar in Oudh and Allahabad. The left flank of the left wing rested on the banks of the Ganges. The battle opened with a cannonade, which was briskly kept up on both sides, and which did its destructive work

Râiân Umid Rāi, his son, Kali Parshād, Rāmkishor, Rājballab, on both sides. Then the Nawāb-Vizier with his Mughal and Duranian troops made a flanking sally from towards the right of his own artillery, assaulted Major Munro's cavalry and camp, and worked havoc in the English army. From the brisk cannonade kept up by Madak and Sumroo, and from the repeated assaults of the Nawāb-Vizier, the English army was hard-pressed. Major Munro grasping the crisis and finding a frontal attack impossible, owing to the muddy *jhil* lying in front of him, quickly detached a corps under Captain Nan to make a flanking movement from the side of the river, in order to attack the Nawāb-Vizier's left wing, commanded by Rājah Beni Bahadur. This corps approached slowly, and reached the plain of the ruins amidst which Rājah Beni Bahadur's troops lay. Shaikh Ghulam Qadir and other Shaikh Zadas of Lucknow who formed the van of Rājah Beni Bahadur's army, stood with guns behind a wall amidst those ruins. The English regiments slowly and circumspectly, without disclosing themselves, crept up to the summit of the wall, and it was only when they rolled down stones on the heads of the Rājah's troops that rested behind the wall at its foot, that these woke up from their slumber. It was only then that Shaikh Ghulam Qadir and his kinsmen and followers came to know of the arrival of the English regiment, and rose up to fight. Before, however, these Shaikhs could arrange their force in fighting array, the English regiment commenced firing their muskets, and killed Ghulam Qadir and his kinsmen, whilst others fled. At this time, Rājah Beni Bahadur asked Ghalib Khān, a notable of Delhi, what course he was to follow. Ghalib Khān answered that if the Rājah cared for his honour, he must die fighting, or else must run away. Then for a time the Rājah engaged in fighting, but shortly after changing his mind, and preferring not to die, ran away. In the meantime, hearing the booming of cannons by the English regiment on the heads of Shaikh Ghulam Qadir and Rājah Beni Bahadur, Shuja Quli Khān's jealousy was aroused, and fancying that the booming proceeded from the Rājah's army, and that the Rājah would soon achieve the honour of a victory, without stopping to enquire into the matter, he forthwith sallied out of his position, advanced across Sumroo and Madak, who in consequence had to suspend their cannonade, and waded across the *jhil* full of mud. The English artillery from front now quickend their cannonade, and Shuja Quli Khān and his soldiers uselessly sacrificed their lives, having lost the cover of their own artillery. The British regiment now penetrated through the entrenchments of Rājah Beni Bahadur who had fled, and attacked the wing of the Nawāb-Vizier, as the ground between was already cleared by the foolish and disastrous forward movement of Shuja Quli Khān. Then the Nawab-Vizier's army reeled and broke, the Nawab-Vizier himself stood the ground for some time, but seeing himself deserted by his troops, retreated to Allahabad, whilst his Mughal and Duranian troops as well as English troops, commenced plundering his tents. Mīr Qāsim who was a prisoner in the hands of the Nawāb-Vizier had been released one day before this battle, and after the battle fled to Benares. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 761-763).

Jagat Set Mahtāb Rāi, Rājah Sarūp Chānd (Jagat Set's brother), the Zamindars of Dinājpūr, Nadiah, Khirahpūr,[1] Bīrbhūm, and Rājshāhī, &c., and Dulāl Rāi, Dīwān of Bhujpūr, Fatih Singh, the Rājah of Tikari, son of Rājah Sundar, and Rāmnarāin, Deputy Governor of the Ṣūbah of Azīmābād, Muḥammad Maṣūm, and Munshī Jagat Rāi and others, the Nawāb threw them into prison. And after strengthening the Fort of Monghyr, the Nawāb sent a large army to Bengal. In the vicinity of Rājmahal, on the banks of the river Adhūah, he reviewed his army, and sent despatches to the Faujdārs and the Deputy Nāẓim of Bengal, directing and instructing them peremptorily to fight with the English. Amongst them, Shaikh Hidāyitu-l-lah,[2] Deputy Faujdār of Nadiah, with a large army, Jafar Khān, and Ālam Khān, Commandant of the Turkish bodyguard of the Nawāb, swiftly advanced to Katwāh, to fight. From the other side, the English army proclaiming Nawāb Jafar Ali Khān as Ṣubadar of Bengal, and taking him in their company advanced to fight, and at a distance of two *karoh* entrenched itself at Dainhāt.[3] On the 3rd of the month of Muharram, both the armies arraying themselves for battle kindled the fire of warfare. The army of Qāsim Alī Khān, after the fall of a number of men whose moment for death had arrived, being defeated, fled to Palāsī (Plassey) to Muḥammad Taqī Khān, Faujdār of Bīrbhūm. After two or three days, when the army of Bengal had collected together, the English Generals arrived pursuing them.

This decisive victory at Baksar in 1764 (more than the battle of Plassey) gave the English a firm foothold in Bengal, as a Ruling Power. It was soon followed by the Emperor Shāh Alam's grant of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa to the English in 1765. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 773).

The English stipulated to pay annually twenty-four *lakhs* to the Emperor on account of the Revenue of the above three Subahs.

In this note, I have thought fit to summarise the events as narrated in the *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, a contemporary record, the author whereof was either an actor in, or a spectator of, the many scenes enacted in those times. The note is long, but I have thought fit to give it, in order to follow the development of the many important and stirring events that at length culminated in the transfer of the Ruling Power in Bengal from Moslem into English hands.

1 Probably a misreading or misprint in the printed Persian text for Kharakpur.

2 In the *Seir*, his name is mentioned as Shaikh Haibatu-l-lah. (See *Seir*, Vol. II, p. 728, and n. *ante*).

3 This must be the name of a market-place in Katwah itself.

Muḥammad Taqī Khān, with a large army, advanced to fight, but fell on being wounded with a gun-shot. His army being defeated, retired to Murshidābād. Syed Muḥammad Khān, who held the office of Deputy Nāẓim of Bengal after the departure of Mīr Turab Alī Khān for Monghyr, came out of the City of Murshidābād with the troops at hand, and entrenched himself at Chuna-Khālī. But when the news of the approach of the English army arrived, his troops (many of whom had already received wounds in their fightings with the English) without engaging in battle and without firing their guns and muskets abandoned their entrenchments, and fled to Sūtī. The army of Qāsim Alī Khān arrived at Sūtī, where Sumroo the Frenchman, with other Generals and troops, was already from before. But the English not abandoning their pursuit followed them up, and a great battle ensued at Sūtī. In that the star of Nawab Qāsim Alī Khān's luck was waning, and the fortune of the English was in the ascendant, after severe fighting, in this battle also the English triumphed. The army of Nawab Qāsim Alī Khān, unable to stand the cannonade of the English artillery, were defeated, and retired to the banks of the Adhūah *nalla*, which was their camping ground from before. There all the troops of the Nawāb collected together, and renewed fighting. At length, many of the Generals of Nawab Qāsim Alī Khān's army, including Gurgīn Khān, Commander of the Nawāb's Artillery corps, as well as others, conspired with the English. The English, thus freed from anxiety, made a night-attack, and broke the Nawāb's army, which fled. A severe defeat was thus sustained by the Nawāb. The defeated army in a worsted condition retreated to Monghyr. Nawab Qāsim Ali Khān, on receiving news of this defeat, lost heart, and was thrown into consternation. In view of the disloyalty and treachery of the traitors who had eaten his salt, the Nawāb felt himself unequal for a contest, and abandoning all ideas of warfare he set out in an anxious mood for Aẓimābād. The Nawab now killed Gurgīn Khān on account of his treachery, and also slew Jagat Set and his brother, who were the plotters of this treacherous conspiracy, and who had sent out secret messages inviting Jafar Alī Khān and the Christian English, and whose treasonable correspondence had been intercepted. The Nawāb also killed other Zamindars, &c., who from before were in prison, and each of whom was unrivalled in his day for hatching plots and intrigues. After arrival at

Azīmābād, there, too, not finding himself secure, the Nawab sent his Begams to the Fort of Rohtas, whilst he himself proceeded to the Sūbah of Oudh to the Vaziru l-Mulk Nawāb Shujāu-d-daulah Bahādur. There also he fell out with the Nawāb-Vizier, who confiscated much of his treasures. From thence departing, the Nawab retired to the hills, and in those tracts he lingered some years in various mishaps, and at length died.[1]



NIZĀMAT FOR THE SECOND TIME OF JAFAR ALĪ KHAN BAHADUR.

After Qāsim Alī Khān's defeat, the English Chiefs again placed Nawāb Jafar Alī Khān on the *masnad* of the Nizāmat of Bengal. Ten annas of the revenue of the Provinces were allotted to the English for their service as Diwān, whilst six annas of the same were held by Nawāb Jafar Alī Khān. This time also for a period of three years, after displaying great feebleness in his Nizāmat, in the year 1178 A.H., Nawāb Jafar Alī Khān died. The English Chiefs placed on the *masnad* of Nizāmat his son, Najmu-d-daulah,[2] and appointed Nawāb Muhammad Rizā Khān Bahādur Muzaffar Jang to the office of Nāib Nāzim (Deputy Nāzim). Najmu-d-daulah, after sitting on the *masnad* of Nizāmat for two years, passed to the regions of eternity. After Najmu-d-daulah's death, his younger brother, Saifu-d-daulah[3] succeeded to the *masnad* of Nizāmat, whilst Nawāb Muzaffar Jang continued to hold the office of Nāib Nāzim. Saifu-d-daulah after holding the Nizāmat for two years died of small-pox; and another brother of his, Mubāriku-d-daulah, succeeded to the *masnad* of Nizāmat. The English Chiefs removing Nawāb Muhammad Rizā Khān Muzaffar Jang from the office of Deputy Nāzim, have fixed sixteen *laks*[4] of rupees as an annual allowance for the Nāzim. This amount the English pay each year. The English have now acquired domination over the

1 For some time, Mīr Qāsim stayed in the Rohilla country, subsequently left Uterghanaidi (the Afghan tract) and proceeded to the country of the Rana Gahad; thence he proceeded to Rājputana, whence again he moved to the tract between Agra and Delhi, where he died in distress. See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. III, p. 933.

2 See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 771.

3 See *Seiru-l-Mutakherin*, Vol. II, p. 775.

4 In the *Seir*, "twenty-four lakhs," *Seir* Vol, II, p. 781.

three Ṣubahs, and have appointed Ẓilādārs[1] (District Officers) at various places. They have established in Calcutta the *Khāliṣah Kachari* (the Court for Crown-lands), make assessments and collections of revenue, administer justice, appoint and dismiss Amils (Collectors of revenue), and also perform other functions of the Niẓāmat. And up to the date of the completion of this History, namely 1202[2] A.H., corresponding to the thirty-first year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Ālam, the sway and authority of the English prevail over all the three Ṣubahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

[1] The English divided the country into six *Zillahs*, viz.: (1) Zillah Calcutta; (2) Zillah Bardwan; (3) Zillah Rajshahye-Murshidabād; (4) Zillah Jahangirnagar (or Dacca); (5) Zillah Dinajpur; (6) Zillah Azimabad (or Patna); and appointed English Zillahdars to each Zillah with a Council. See *Seir*, Vol. II, pp. 782-783.

[2] That is, 1788 A.C.

CHAPTER IV.

DESCRIBING THE DOMINATION OF THE ENGLISH CHRISTIANS IN THE PROVINCES OF THE DAKHIN AND BENGAL, AND CONTAINING TWO SECTIONS.

SECTION I.—DESCRIPTIVE OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE AND FRENCH CHRISTIANS, &c., IN THE DAKHIN AND IN BENGAL.

Be it not hidden from the bright hearts of the bankers of the treasure of History and the appraisers of the jewel of Chronicles, that the Jewish and Christian communities, before the advent of Islām, used to come to many ports of the Dakhin, like Malabar, &c., for trading purpose by the sea-route, and after acquiring familiarity with the people of that country, they settled down in some of the towns, erected houses with gardens, and in this manner dwelt there several long years. When the planet of the Muslim faith rose, and the bright effulgence of the Muslim sun shone on the East and the West, gradually, the countries of Hindustān and the Dakhin were recipient of the rays of the moon of the Muhammadan faith, and Muslims commenced visiting those countries. Many of the kings and rulers of those parts embraced the Islamic religion, whilst the Rājahs of the ports of Goa, Dābil, and Jabūl, &c., like Muhammadan rulers, gave Musalman emigrants from Arabia quarters on the sea-shores, and treated them with honour and respect.[1] In consequence, the Jews and the

[1] See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 29. Writes Dr. Hunter: "The Saracen Arabs who under the conquering impulse of Islām next seized the countries of the Indo-Syrian route (632-651 A.D.) soon realised its value. They were a trading not less than a fighting race, and Bussorah and Baghdad under the Caliphs became the opulent headquarters of the Indian trade." The Saracens conquered Egypt, Syria, and Persia, 632-651 A.D. In a footnote to p. 28 of the above History, Dr. Hunter refers the reader for

Christians burnt in the fire of envy and malice. And when the Kingdoms of the Dakhin and Gujrāt became subject to the Musalman Emperors of Dehli,[1] and Islām became powerful in the kingdom of the Dakhin, the Jews and the Christians placed the seal of silence on the door of their tongues, and ceased to utter words of enmity and hatred. Subsequently in the year 900 A.H., weakness[2] and decay set in in the kingdom of the Dakhin. At that time, the Portuguese Christians, on behalf of the king of their own country, were directed to build forts on the sea-shores of India.

an account of the Jewish trade with the East to an article on 'The Jews under Rome' by Lieut.-Col. Conder. Again says Dr. Hunter (p. 45): "The trading colony of Arabs at Canton included at the beginning of the 7th century A.D., an uncle of Muḥammad the Prophet." Again in p. 46, says Dr. Hunter: "It was a commercial dispute that brought about the first Musalmān conquest of an Indian Province. In 711 A.D., Kasim led a naval expedition against Sindh, to claim damages for the ill-treatment of Arab merchantmen and pilgrims near the mouth of the Indus in their voyage from Ceylon. During the following centuries the Indian Ocean became an outlying domain of Islām. The Arab geographers mapped the course from the Persian Gulf to China into 'seven seas,' each having a name of its own, and with the Arab-Chinese harbour of Gampua on their eastern limit. Abul Feda, the princely geographer of the fourteenth century (1273-1331) mentions Malacca as the most important trading place between Arabia and China, the common resort of Moslems, Persians, Hindus, and the Chinese. Colonies of Arabs and Jews settled in an early century of our era on the southern Bombay coast, where their descendants form distinct communities at the present day. The voyages of Sinbad the Sailor are a popular romance of the Indian trade under the Caliphs of Baghdad, probably in the ninth century A.D." From the above it is clear that India, including Bengal, was within the sphere of the commercial influence of the Saracen Arabs, from about the very dawn of Islām.

1 The first Musalmān conquests in the Dakhin were made in the reign of Jallalu-d-din Khilji, Emperor of Delhī, through the military genius of his nephew, Alau-d-din Khilji. See Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi, p. 170, and n. 2, *ante*, p. 90.

2 "In 1564, Vijayanagar finally went down before the Moslems in the field of Talikot after an existence of 4½ centuries. The Bahmani dynasty formed from the coalition of the Musalmān adventurers in the fourteenth century, began to break up in 1489, and by 1525, its disintegration was complete. The Portuguese arrived just as this once powerful kingdom was evolving itself through internecine war into the Five Musalmān states of Southern India. At the time (1498, when Vasco da Gama landed in India) the Afghan sovereignty in Northern India was dwindling to a vanishing point." See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 101-102.

In the year 904 A.H., four ships of the Portuguese Christians[1] came to the ports of Qandrīnah[2] and Kālikot, and the Portuguese after ascertaining thoroughly the state of affairs[3] of the sea-board sailed back. And the next year, six Portuguese ships arrived at Kālikot,[4] and the Portuguese disembarked, and made a prayer to the ruler of that place, who was called Samrī, to prevent the Musalmans from trading with Arabia, urging that they (the Portuguese) would yield him more profit than the Musalmans. The Samrī did not listen to their prayer. But the Christians commenced molesting the Musalmans in mercantile business, so that the Samrī[5] becoming enraged ordered the former's slaughter and massacre. Seventy leading Christians were slain; whilst the rest getting into sloops sailed out to save themselves, and alighted near the town of Kuchin,[6] the ruler whereof was on terms of hostility with the

1 Covilham, the first Portuguese explorer in India, stayed some time on the Malabar coast (having come there from Aden on an Arab ship), in 1487. Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on May 20th, 1498. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. 1, pp. 87-88.

2 The European form of Qandrinah is, I guess, Conlon or Calicoulan. For Conlon, Calicoulan, Cochin, Calicut, see the map at p. 96, of the above History. Ibn-i-Batutah (1304-1377) mentions Quilon and Calicut amongst the five chief ports that he had seen. See p. 48, n. 2 of the above History.

3 Dr. Hunter states that at the time the Malabar chiefs were tolerant of the religions of the many nations who traded at their ports. Abu Zaid when mentioning the foreign colonies records that the king allows each sect to follow its own religion (Abu Zaidu-l-Hasan of Sīraf translated in Sir Henry Elliot's History of India). Manichaeans, Musalmāns, Jews, and Christians were alike welcome at the Malabar ports. Not only Jews from the earlier times (from 6th century B.C.) and 'St. Thomas Christians,' from 68 A.D., but also Arab traders (Moplahs) both in pre-Islamic and Islamic times were settled on the Malabar coasts. (See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 98-100).

4 The Zamorin of Calicut received the Portuguese graciously. But the foreign Arab merchants, then the most powerful community at his port, perceived that the new ocean-route must imperil their ancient monopoly by way of the Red Sea. They accordingly instigated the court officials to intrigues which nearly ended in a treacherous massacre, p. 103, Hunter's History, Vol. I. The Riyaz's account would however shew that the provocation came from the side of the Portuguese, who came with a crusading spirit. (See p. 101, *ibid*).

5 In English histories, he is called the 'Zamorin,' which is the European form of the Tamil *Samuri*, meaning 'son of the Sea.' See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 95, n. 1.

6 Or Cochin. From Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 103, it would appear Da Gama departed from Calicut, and for some time stopped at Cannanore.

Samrī. There they obtained permission to build a fort, and within a short time they erected quickly a small fort, and dismantling a mosque which stood on the sea-shore they built on its site a church.[1] And this was the first fort which the Christians erected in India. In the meanwhile, the inhabitants of the port of Kanor also leagued with them. The Christians erected a fort also there. Being freed from anxiety, the Christians commenced a trade in pepper and ginger, and obstructed[2] others from trading therein. Consequently, the Samrī advancing with his forces slew the son of the king of Kuchin, and ravaging that province returned. The successors of the slain ruler collecting again a force raised the standard of sovereignty, re-populated the province, and under the advice of the Ferengis [3] placed a flotilla of galleys in the sea. And the ruler of Kanor also similarly fitted out a flotilla of boats. The Samrī, getting enraged at this, bestowing all his treasures on the army, twice or thrice advanced with his forces against Kuchīn.[4] At every time, the Portuguese helped Kuchin,

[1] In 1500 King Emmanuel of Portugal sent a fleet of thirteen ships under Pedro Alvarez Caleral, who was well received by the Zamorin, and established a factory on shore at Calicut for purchase of spices. He captured an Arab vessel and a Moslem vessel. The Arab merchants were roused to indignation, and sacked the Portuguese factory at Calicut, slaying the chief agent and fifty-three of his men. Caleral retaliated by burning ten Arab ships, and sailed down to Cochin, burning two more Calicut vessels on his way. Caleral concluded a friendly treaty with the Rājah of Cochin, promising to make him some day Zamorin of Calicut, and established a factory at Cochin. Friendly overtures were also received by him from the Rājah of Quilon and Cannanor. See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 107. The fanatical vandalism of the Portuguese Christians in demolishing a Moslem Mosque, is in sad contrast to the toleration and scrupulous regard for the sanctity of the Christian Church shewn by the early Moslem Arabs under Omar, after the latter had conquered Palestine and visited Jerusalem.—See Sir William Muir's 'Annals of the Early Caliphate,' p. 210.

[2] Animated by a crusading spirit the aim of the Portuguese Government was to destroy the Arab commerce, and to establish an armed monopoly. See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 108.

[3] *I.e.*, the Portuguese Christians. For the origin and significance of the term *Ferengis*, see Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 184. Says Dr. Hunter: "The ravenous hordes thus let loose in India, made the race-name of Christian (Ferengi) a word of terror until the strong rule of the Mughal Empire turned it into one of contempt." See also n. 2, *ibid.*

[4] 'In 1502 Vasco da Gama as Portuguese Admiral of the Indian Seas came to India for the second time, with a fleet of twenty vessels. He bombarded Calicut

so that the Samrī did not succeed in subduing it, and without attaining his object retired. Becoming powerless, he sent envoys to the rulers of Egypt, Jiddah, the Dakhin and Gujrāt. Complaining of the malpractices of the Christians, he asked for help, and sending out narratives of the oppressions practised by the Christians over the Musalmāns, he stirred up the veins of their zeal and rage. At length, Sultān Qabṣūr Ghūrī[1] despatched to the

and destroyed its Arab merchant-fleet. At Cochin, Cannanore, Quilon, and Baticala, he established factories. Da Gama's successes were stained by revolting cruelties never to be forgotten. For a gruesome detail of those barbarous cruelties, see Hunter's History, Vol, I, pp. 109, 139, 140 and 141. Da Gama now (1503) returned to Lisbon. The Zamorin and the Arab merchants burned to avenge the tortures and outrages inflicted by this Christian fanatic. They attacked the Cochin Raja, seized his capital, and demanded surrender of the Portuguese factors left under his protection. The Cochin chief bravely held out until relieved by arrival of the next Portuguese fleet in September, 1503. Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 110. This fleet operated against India under Alfonso de Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque. In India, the two Albuquerques built a fort at Cochin, established a factory at Quilon, and severely punished the Zamorin. Alfonso returned to Lisbon in 1504, whilst his cousin was lost on his way home together with his squadron.' See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 111.

The next expedition was sent in 1504 under Lopo Soarez de Albergaria. 'He continued the policy of unsparing destruction against the ports in which Arab influence prevailed; laid part of Calicut in ruins, and burned Cranganor. Soarez broke the Arab supremacy on the Malabar coast. In 1505, King Emmanuel of Portugal sent Don Francisco da Almeida as the Portuguese Viceroy in India. His principal duty was to coerce the Malabar sea-coast chiefs who might be friendly to the Arab merchants, to strengthen the Portuguese factorites on shore, and thirdly, to break the Moslem Naval supremacy, including the armed Arab merchantmen of Calicut and the regular Navy of the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, who menaced the existence of Portugal in the East. This was the third and last act in the long conflict between Mediæval Christendom and Islam. In four years (1505-1509), Almeida overthrew the power of the Moslem Arabs at the Malabar ports, defeated the Zamorin and destroyed his fleet of 84 ships and 120 galleys, and slew 3,000 Musalmāns.' See Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 116.

1 "The Mameluke Sultān of Egypt sent forth in 1508 a great expedition under Admiral Amīr Ḥusain, who effected a coalition with the Moslem fleet of the northern Bombay coast, and was aiming to effect also a junction with the southern Calicut squadron. Lourenco Almeida, son of the Portuguese Viceroy, attempted to oppose this junction, but was shot down. The Moslem victors chivalrously gave him honourable burial, and respectfully congratulated Almeida on a son who at the age of twenty-two had covered himself with

Indian coasts a General, named Amīr Ḥusain, with a fleet of thirteen war-vessels, containing a naval force with armaments. Sulṯān Mahmūd of Gujrāt and Sulṯān Mahmūd Bahmanī of the Dakhin also fitted out numerous ships from the ports of Deo, Sūrat, Kolah, Dabil and Jabūl, in order to fight with the Portuguese. First, the ships from Egypt arrived in the port of Deo, and uniting with the ships of Gujrāt set out for Jabūl, which was the rendezvous of the Portuguese. And some ships of the Samrī and some ships of Goa and Dabil having also joined them, they kindled the fire of war; but suddenly, one warship full of the Portuguese quietly sailed up from the rear. The Portuguese commenced a cannonade, and converted the sea into a zone of fire. Malik Ayāz, ruler of Deo, and Amīr Ḥusain were obliged to fight with them, but failed to effect anything. Some Egyptian galleys were captured, and the Musalmāns drank the potion of martyrdom, whilst the Portuguese triumphantly steered back to their own ports. Inasmuch as at that period, Sulṯān Salīm, *Khaqan*[1] of Rūm (Turkey), defeated the Ghoriah Sulṯān[2] of Egypt, and the empire of the latter came to an end, the Samrī who was the promoter of this war lost heart, and the Portuguese acquired complete domination. In the month of Ramẕān, 915 A.H., the Portuguese proceeded to Kālīkot, set fire to the Cathedral Mosque, and swept the town with the broom of plunder. But on the following day, the Malabarese collecting together attacked

imperishable glory. In 1509, Almeida, the senior, defeated the combined Moslem fleets off Diu, and slew 3,000 of their men. The aggressions of the Turks upon Egypt gave the Mameluke Sulṯān, of Cairo, work nearer home, and disabled him from sending further expeditions to India.

[The Turks wrested Egypt from the Mameluke Sulṯān in 1517].

Almeida's victory over Moslems off Diu on February 2nd, 1509, secured to Christendom the Naval supremacy in Asia, and turned the Indian Ocean for the next century into a Portuguese sea." See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 117-118.

"The first five years of annual expeditions from 1500 to 1505 had given the Portuguese the upper hand in the armed commerce of the Malabar coast. The following four years under Almeida (1505-1509) left them masters of the Indian Ocean. The next six years (1509-1515) were under Alfonso de Albuquerque to see them grow into a territorial power on the Indian continent." See *ibid.*, p. 119.

1 In the printed Persian text, *Khankan* is obviously a misprint or misreading for *Khaqan*, which is a title held by Sulṯāns of Turkey.

2 *I.e.*, the Mameluke Sulṯāns of Egypt.

the Christians, killed five hundred leading Portuguese, and drowned many of them in the sea. Those who escaped the sword fled to the port of Kolam,[1] and intriguing with the Chief of that place, at a distance of half a *farsakh* from that town, erected a small fort, and entrenched themselves there. And in the same year, they [2]wrested the fort of Goah from the possession of Yusaf Adil Shāh;[3] but the latter shortly after amicably got it back from their hands. But after a short period, the Portuguese offering a large sum of money to the ruler of that place re-acquired possession of it, and establishing their Capital at that port, which was very strong, fortified it further. And the Samrī, from the humiliation and sorrow consequent on this, died in the year 921 A.H., and his brother succeeding him ceased hostility, and establishing peaceful relations with the Portuguese, gave the latter permission to erect a fort near the town of Kālīkot, obtaining from them a stipulation to the effect that he would send yearly four ships of pepper and ginger to the ports of Arabia. For a short while, the Portuguese kept their promise and word, but when the fort was completed, they prevented his trading in the aforesaid articles, and commenced various malpratices and oppressions on the Musalmāns. And similarly, the Jews who were at Kadatklor,[4] being informed of the weakness of the Samrī, transgressed the limits of propriety, and caused many Musalmāns to drink the syrup of martyrdom. The Samrī, repenting of his past policy, first proceeded to Kadatklor, and completely extinguished

1 Perhaps 'Coulan.'

2 Albuquerque (1509-1515) succeeded Almeida as the Portuguese Viceroy in India.

3 Yusaf Adil Shāh was king of Bijapur, which was one of the five Musalmān States formed in Southern India out of the old Bahmanī kingdom.

The fort of Goa was seized by the Portuguese in 1510.

"The pirate chief Timoju proposed to Albuquerque that as the lord of Goa was dead (in reality absent) they should seize the place. This they easily did in March, 1510. But the rightful sovereign, a son of the Ottoman Sultān Amurad II, whose romantic adventures had ended with his carving for himself the kingdom of Bijapur in southern India, hurried back to Goa, and drove out the Portuguese in May. The king being again called away by disturbances in the interior, the Portuguese recaptured Goa with the help of the pirate Timoju in November, 1510. Its rightful sovereign, Yusaf Adil Shāh the king of Bijapur, died in the following month (December.) His son was a minor." See Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 152-153.

4 That is, 'Cranganor.' (See map in Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 96).]

the Jews, so that no trace of them remained there. After this, with the support of all the Musalmāns of Malabar, he advanced to Kālīkot, besieged the fort of the Portuguese, and fighting bravely defeated the latter, and stormed their fort. In consequence, the power and prestige of the Malabarese Musalmans grew, and without any pass from the Portuguese they despatched on their own behalf vessels loaded with pepper and ginger to the ports of Arabia. In the year 938 A.H., the Portuguese erected a fort at Jaliat, which is six *karoh* from Kālīkot; and the passage of ships from Malabar was thereby rendered difficult. Similarly, the Christians[1] in those years, during the reign of Burhān Niẕām Shāh, erecting a fort at Raikūndah close to the port of Jabūl, settled down there. In the year 943 A.H., erecting a fort also at Kadatklor, the Christians acquired much power. At this time, Sulṭān Sulaimān, son of Sulṭān Salīm of Turkey,[2] planned

[1] The word ترسا means both 'a Christian,' as well as a 'fire-worshipper.' In the latter sense, it would imply the 'Parsees.'

[2] In 1538, Solyman the Magnificent, Emperor of Turkey, captured Aden (Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 147).. Constantinople, the capital of the old Eastern Roman Empire, is still known amongst Musalmāns in India as 'Rūm.'

"To the 'martyr's blood' of the Portuguese, the Moslems opposed their Holy Fleet. First the Arabs of the Indian ports supplied the fighters for the faith. Then the Mameluke Sulṭān of Cairo sent armaments. Finally entered on the scene the mighty power of the Turkish Empire, which deemed its subjugation of Egypt incomplete as long as the Portuguese threatened the Red Sea. The Arabs of the Indian ports quickly succumbed to the cavaliers of the Cross. The Mameluke Sulṭān of Egypt, hard-pushed by the Ottommas from the north, could make no headway against the Portuguese in the east. But the Turks or 'Rumis' turned back the tide of Christian conquest in Asia. 'The cry, the Rumis are coming' which afflicted Albuquerque, for ever resounded in the ears of his successors. When the Portuguese closed the Malabar shore route to the Moslem world, the Arab ships struck boldly across the Indian Ocean for Aden to south of Ceylon, passing through the Maldive Island or far out at sea. When the Portuguese secured the strong position of Diu at the north entrance to Indian waters, the Turks constantly harassed that station and tried to outflank it by menacing the Portuguese factories westward on the Persian Gulf. When the Portuguese sought the enemy in the Red Sea, they were often repulsed, and their momentary successes at Aden ended in lasting faliure. In vain the Lisbon Court tried to make a few years' arrangement with the Turks, offering in 1541 to supply pepper in exchange for wheat, and passes for Moslem ships in Indian waters in return for free entrance to Aden and the Arabian ports of the Red Sea. The unholy project came to nought. Four years later, in 1545, the Turks boldly attacked

to turn out the Portuguese from the ports of India, and to take possession thereof himself. Accordingly, in the year 944 A.H., he sent his Vazīr, Sulaimān Pā<u>sh</u>ā, with a fleet of one hundred war-ships to the port of Aden, in order to take it first, as it formed the key to the maritime position of India, and then to proceed to the ports of India. Sulaimān Pā<u>sh</u>ā in that year wresting the port of Aden from <u>Sh</u>ai<u>kh</u> Dāud, and slaying the latter, sailed out for the port of Deo, and commenced warfare. He had nearly stormed it, when his provisions and treasures ran short. Therefore, without accomplishing his mission, he sailed back to Turkey. And in the year 963 A.H., the Portuguese became dominant over the ports of Harmūz[1] and Muscat, over Sumatra, Malacca,[2] Milāfor, Nāk, Fatan, Na<u>sh</u>kūr, Ceylon, and over Bengal to the confines of China, and laid the foundations of forts at many places. But Sulṯān Alī A<u>kh</u>ī stormed the fort of Sumatra; and the ruler of Ceylon also defeating the Portuguese, put a stop to their molestation over his country. And the Samrī, ruler of Kālīkot, being hard-pressed, sent envoys to Alī Adil <u>Sh</u>āh, and persuaded the latter to fight with the Portuguese, and to expel them from his kingdom. And in the year 979 A.H., the Samrī besieged and stormed the fort of Jalīat, whilst Nāẕim <u>Sh</u>āh and Adil <u>Sh</u>āh pushed on to Rāikandāh and Goah.[3] The Samrī, by the prowess of his men of bravery and heroism, captured the fort of Jalīat, but Nāẕim <u>Sh</u>āh and Adil <u>Sh</u>āh, owing to the venality of their disloyal officers who suffered themselves to be taken in by the bribes offered them by the Portuguese, had to retire without achieving their objects. From that time forward, the Portuguese

the Portuguese Diu; in 1547, their janissaries appeared before Portuguese Malacca; in 1551, and again in 1581, their galleys sacked Portuguese Muscat. My present object is merely to bring into view the struggle between Islam and Christendom for the Indian Ocean in the century preceding the appearance of the English on the scene. I dare not expand these preliminary chapters by the deeds of heroism and chivalrous devotion on both sides." See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, pp. 130-132.

1 *I.e.*, Ormuz.

2 Malacca was taken by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1511. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. I, p. 127.

3 On the Portuguese seizing Goa in 1510, the Portuguese naval supremacy along the South-Western Indian coast was thoroughly established, and no Musalmān ship could safely trade in Malabar waters without a pass from the Christians. See Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. I, p. 126.

Christians, adopting a settled policy[1] of molesting and oppressing the Musalmāns, perpetrated much highhandedness. Whilst some ships of Emperor Jalālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar, which without a pass from the Portuguese had proceeded to Makkah, were returning from the port of Jiddah, they looted them, and inflicted various molestations and humiliations on the Musalmāns, and set fire to the ports of Adilābād and Farabīn which belonged to Adil Shāh, and ravaged them completely. And coming under the guise of traders to the port of Dabil, the Portuguese schemed by means of fraud and treachery to get hold of it also. But the Governor of that place, Khwajah Aliu-l-Mulk, a merchant of Shīrāz, becoming apprised of their intention, killed one hundred and fifty principal Portuguese, and quenched the fire of their disturbance.



SECTION II.—DESCRIPTIVE OF THE DOMINATION OF THE ENGLISH CHRISTIANS OVER THE DOMINIONS OF BENGAL, AND THE DAKHIN, &c.

Be it known to the minds of enlightened researchers, that from the date that the ships of Jālālu-d-dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh[2] were captured at the hands of the Portuguese Christians, the sending of ships to the ports of Arabia and Ajam was totally suspended, inasmuch as the Emperor viewed the acceptance of passes from the Portuguese to be derogatory, whilst to send the ships without such passes was attended with danger to the lives of passengers, and with peril to their property. But the Emperor's Umarā, like Nawāb Abdu-r-Rahīm Khān Khān-i-

1 "From the time of Albuquerque the inexorable issue between Catholicism and Islam in Asia stands forth. Each side firmly believed itself fighting the battles of its God. 'I trust in the passion of Jesus Christ in whom I place all confidence,' Albuquerque declared in 1507 before entering on his governorship, 'to break the spirit of the Moors (Musalmāns).' 'We desire nought else but to be close to God' ran the Moslem summons in 1539. It denounced the aggressions 'of the Christians of Portugal,' and warned an Indian prince that if he held back, his soul would descend into hell.' (Sulaiman Pāshā to the ruler of Cambay, May 7th, 1539.) See Hunter's History, Vol. I, pp. 129-130.

2 Akbar the Great, Emperor of India, born 1542, reigned 1556-1605, and was the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth.

Khānān[1] &c., taking passes from the Portuguese Christians, sent out ships to the ports. And for some time the state of things continued in this wise. When Emperor Nuru-d-dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr ascended the throne of Dehlī, he permitted the English Christians, who, in their articles of faith, totally differ from the Christian Portuguese and the Christian French, &c., and who thirst for the latter's blood, and are in hostility with the latter, to settle down in the tract of Surat,[2] which pertained to the Province of Gujrāt.[3] This was the first place amongst the Indian sea-ports, where the English Christians settled down. Before this, the English Christians used to bring their trading ships to

1 Abdur Rahim, Khān-i-Khanan, was a son of Bairam Khān, and was born at Lahore, 964 A.H. In 984, he was appointed to Gujrāt. He conquered for Akbar Gujrāt, and defeated Sulṭān Muzaffar, King of Gujrāt, at the battle of Sarkij. His great deeds were the conquests of Gujrāt and Sindh, and the defeat of Suhail Khān of Bijapur. (See Blochamann's Translation of Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, p. 334).

2 In 1607 Captain William Hawkins landed at Surat with a letter from James I. to the Mughal Emperor (Emperor Jahangir reigned 1605-1627), and proceeded to the Court at Agra. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton landed at Swally. In 1612 Captain Best routed the Portuguese squadron near Surat, and obtained congratulations of the Mughal Governor, who allowed the English to settle at Surat in 1613. Downton's sea fight in 1615 established English supremacy over the Portuguese. In 1615, Sir Thomas Roe was sent by James I. to be 'ambassador to the Great Mogul.' Surat was the chief starting place for Mecca, and the Portuguese squadron had troubled the ocean path of pilgrimage. The Imperial Court, too happy that one infidel fleet should destroy another, granted to Sir Thomas Roe an 'order' for trade. Roe obtained a 'permit' in 1616 for the English to reside at Surat and to travel freely into the interior, and also a similar 'grant' in 1618 from Prince Khurram (afterwards Emperor Shāh Jahan) who was then Mughal Viceroy of Gujrāt. The English by their good conduct gradually acquired the position of a useful sea-police, and as patrol of the Moslem pilgrim-ocean-route, and as a 'sure source of revenue,' under the Great Mughal. In 1657 the English Company decided that there should be one 'presidency' in India, that being at Surat. See Hunter's History of British India, Vol. II, Chap. II.

3 Akbar conquered and re-conquered Gujrāt and the province on the shore of the Gulf of Cambay between 1572-1592; and these were finally annexed to the Mughal Empire in 1593. Surat was the Capital of Gujrāt and the Chief Mughal port on the western coast for the embarkation of pilgrims to Mecca. Surat is the modern representative of the ancient province of Surashtra which included not only Gujrāt but part of Kathiwar. See Dr. Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 47, and his reference to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India.*

the ports of India, and after sale of their cargoes used to sail back to their own country. After they settled down at Surat, the trading factories of the English Christians, like those of the Christian Portuguese and the French, &c., gradually sprang up at different centres both in the Dakhin[1] and in Bengal,[2] and they paid

[1] For the first English settlements on the Madras Coast (1611-1658), see Dr. Hunter's History of British India, Vol. II, Chap. III. Their first settlement under Captain Hippen on that coast was in 1611 at Masulipatam, the chief sea-port of the Moslem Golconda Kingdom (founded in 1512 under Kutab Shahi line on the breaking-up of the Musalman Bahmani Dynasty, and not subdued by the Mughal Empire until 1687). In 1632, the English received the 'Golden Phermaund' (farman) of the Golconda King for their settlement at Masulipatam. In 1639, the English under Francis Day built a factory at Madras. In 1645, the Moslem King of Golconda confirmed the grant of Madras for an English settlement. In 1653, Madras was raised to an independent 'presidency,' and in 1658, the English Company declared all its settlements in Bengal and the Coromandel Coast subordinate to Fort St. George.

[2] For an account of the English settlements in Bengal (between 1633-1658), see Hunter's History of 'British India,' Vol. II, Chap. IV, and Wilson's 'Early Annals of the English in Bengal,' Vol. I.

In 1632, by order of Emperor Shāh Jahan, Qasim Khān destroyed the Portuguese settlement at Hugli, and expelled the Portuguese who had been ill-treating the Moslems. The English Company's agent at the Masulipatam factory seized the occasion, and sent out in 1633, on a country boat, eight Englishmen to try and open up trade with the fertile provinces at the mouth of the Ganges. These headed by Ralph Cartwright reached Harishpur in Orissa, and then quietly crept up to the court of Malcandy, in Fort Barabati, in Cuttack, where resided a Mughal Deputy-Governor for Orissa, named Agha Muhammad Zaman. This polite Persian—the Deputy-Governor of Orissa—'received the Englishmen in his Audience-hall, affably inclined his head to Mr. Cartwright, then slipping off his sandal offered his foot to the English merchant to kiss, which he twice refused to do, but at last was fain to do it.' (Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 89). The Deputy-Governor on May 5th, 1633, sealed an order giving the English ample license to trade. (See text of order in Wilson's *Early Annals of the English* in Bengal, Vol. I, pp. 11-12). The beginning of the English trade with Orissa is usually ascribed to a *farman* granted to the English in 1634 by Emperor Shāh Jahan, confining them to Pippli near an old mouth of the Subarnarukha river. On May 6th, 1633, the English built a house of business at Hariharpur, near Jagatsingpur in the Cuttack district, this being the first English factory in the present Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. In June, 1633, Cartwright founded a factory at Balasore. In 1650, the English founded a factory at Hugli. Gabriel Boughton, an English Surgeon, who was in 1650 Surgeon to Shāh Shuja (Mughal Viceroy of Bengal who resided at Rajmahal), used his influence in the Viceregal Court, in getting favour extended to the English, who received in 1650

customs-duties like others. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir, the English rendered loyal services to the Emperor, and were, therefore, granted an Imperial *Farman*,[1] permitting them to erect trading factories in the Imperial dominions generally, and in Bengal especially, and also remitting customs-duties on the ships of the English Company, in consideration of an annual payment by the latter of three thousand rupees, as has already been mentioned in connection with the foundation of Calcutta. From that time, the English acquired much prestige in Bengal.

In the year 1162 A.H., Nawāb Muzaffar Jang, maternal grandson of Nizāmu-l-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh, at the instigation of Ḥusain Dost *alias* Chānd, who was one of the leading men of Arkat (Arcot), allied himself with the Christian French, and attacked Anwāru-d-dīn Khān Shahāmat Jang Gopāmanī, who was Nāzim of Arkat from the time of Nawāb Nizāmu-l-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh, in order to wrest the province of Arkat. A great battle was fought, and Nawāb Shahāmat Jang, on the battle-field, displaying bravery and heroism, was killed. Nawāb Nizāmu-d-daulah, second son of Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh, who, on the death of his father, had succeeded to the *masnad* of the Viceroyalty of the Dakhin, on hearing of the hostility of his maternal nephew, with a force of seventy thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry, set out to chastise Muzaffar Jang. Arriving at the port of Būlcharī (Pondichery) on the 26th Rabīu-l-āwāl 1163 A.H., Nizāmu-d-daulah fought a battle, in which he triumphed, whilst Muzaffar Jang was captured. Nizāmu-d-daulah spent the rainy season at Arkat. The Christians of Būlcharī (Pondichery) conspired with Himmat Khān and other Afghān generals of Karnatik, who were servants of Nizāmu-d-daulah, and deceiving them by holding out temptations of lands and treasures, blinded their sense of obliga-

a 'nishan' or 'permit' from Shah Shuja to trade duty-free in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000.

[1] His Majesty Emperor Aurangzeb on 27th February, 1690, granted a *farmān* to the English. The *farman* sets forth that 'all the English having made a most humble, submissive petition that the ill-crimes they have done may be pardoned,' and promised to pay a fine of Rs. 150,000, to restore all plundered goods, and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner, the Emperor accepts their submission and grants them a new license for trade, on condition that 'Mr. Child, who did the disgrace, be turned out and expelled.' (See Hunter's History, Vol. II, p. 266). In 1690, Charnock returned from Madras, and for the third time anchored at Calcutta.

tions. Those traitors tied up the waist of mutiny and treachery, and conspiring with the Christians of Būlcharī (Pondichery), on the night of the sixteenth Muharram, 1174 A.H., delivered a night-attack, and killed Nawāb Niẕāmu-d-daulah. After the fall of Nawāb Niẕāmu-d-daulah, the Afg͟hāns and the Christians (the French) placed Nawāb Muẕaffar Jang on the *masnad*. Muẕaffar Jang proceeded to Būlcharī (Pondichery) with a contingent of the Afg͟hāns, and taking a large number of Christian French in his service made them his confidants. In the same year, taking a large force consisting of Afg͟hāns and Christians, he set out for Ḥaidarābad, and crossing the confines of Arkat came to the Afg͟hān tract. From the vicissitude of fortune, hostility broke out between Muẕaffar Jang and the Afg͟hāns, and it led to a fight. On the 17th Rabīu-l-āwāl of the aforesaid year, both sides arranged themselves in battle-array. On one side were arrayed Muẕaffar Jang and the Christian French, and on the other the Afg͟hāns. Himmat K͟hān and other Afg͟han Generals, meeting with their deserts for disloyalty, were killed, whilst Muẕaffar Jang from an arrow-shot which pierced the pupil of his eye was also killed. After this, the Christian French entered the service of Amīru-l-Mumālik Salābat Jang, third son of Āṣaf Jāh, received as *jāgīrs* Sikakūl and Rājbandarī, &c., and acquired so much influence, that their orders became current in the Dakhin. No Musalman ruler had before this taken into employ the Christian French, though from a long period they used to frequent the ports of the Dakhin. It was Muẕaffar Jang who taking the Christian French into his service, introduced them into the Moslem dominions. When the Christian French acquired so much influence, the Christian English, who thirsted for the blood of the French, also cherished ambition to meddle with the Imperial dominions, acquired possession of some tracts in the Dakhin, brought the fort of Sūrat into their own possession, and established fortified factories in Bengal. In that the French slaying Nawāb Anwāru-d-dīn K͟hān Gopamanī, the Ṣūbahdār of Arkat, and nominally installing another person at its head, had become dominant in the Dakhin, Nawāb Muḥammad Ālī K͟hān, son of Nawāb Anwāru-d-dīn K͟han, entered into an alliance with the English Chiefs. The latter advancing to the assistance of Nawāb Muḥammad Alī K͟hān spared no measure to help him, and exerted themselves strenuously to exterminate the French. In 1174 A.H., the English besieged

the fort of Būlchari (Pondichery), and wresting it from the hands of the French rased it, whilst Sikakūl, Rājbandari, and other *Jāgīrs* were unexpectedly abandoned by the French. Nawāb Muḥammad Ali Khān, with the support of the English, succeeded his father on the throne of the Viceroyalty of Arkat (Arcot), under the surname of Wālājāh Amiru-l-Hind Muḥammad Ali Khān Manṣūr Jang, subordinated himself to the English Chiefs, and passed his life in ease and pleasure. Now the province of Arkat (Arcot), like Bengal, is under the domination of the English Chiefs.

And as has been related before, when Nawab Sirāju-d-daulah, Nāẓim of Bengal, owing to his inexperience, flung the stone into the hornet's nest, he suffered of necessity the sting. And Nawāb Jāfar Ali Khān, treating the English as his confidants and colleagues in the Niẓāmat of Bengal, suffered them to acquire control over administrative affairs. Inasmuch as complete disintegration had overtaken the Moslem Empire of Delhi, in every Ṣūbah the Provincial Governors acquiring authority grew into semi-independent Feudatories. Now, since a period of thirty years, the Provinces of Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa have come into the possession and authority of the English Chiefs. An English Chief, styled the Governor-General, coming from England, resides in Calcutta, and selecting Deputies for the collection of the revenue and for administration of civil and criminal justice, and for trading business, sends them out to every place. And establishing the Khāliṣah Kachiri[1] (the Court of Crown-lands) in Calcutta, the English Governor settles on his own behalf the assessment of the revenue of each Ẓila (District). And the Deputies and the Ẓiladārs (District Officers) collecting revenues, remit them to Calcutta.

In the year 1178 A.H., when the English became victorious[2] over Nawāb Vazīru-l-Mulk Shujāu-d-daulah, Nāẓim of the Ṣūbah of Audh and Ilahābād (Allahabad), a treaty was entered into, and the English left to the Nawab Vazīr his country. From that time, they have acquired influence over that Ṣūbah also, and seizing the district of Banāras have separated it from that Ṣūbah. And their soldiers quartering themselves in the dominions of the Nawab-Vazīr, as the

1 That is, the Board of Revenue or the 'Sudder Board.'

2 For this victory and the treaty that followed, see note *ante* and *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*.

latter's servants, exercise influence over all affairs. Heaven knows what would be the eventual upshot of this state of things.

Similarly, in the Dakhin, the English have got in the fort of Madras an old factory and a large army. They have also acquired possession of the Province of Arkat. They hold, as *jāgīrs* under Nizām Ali Khān, the towns of Ganjām, Barampur, Ichapūr, Sikakūl, Ishāqpatan, the fort of Qasim kotah, Rājbandar, Ilor (Ellore), Machlibandar (Masullipatam), Bājwārah, and the fort of Kondbali, &c., and the Zamīndārs of those places appearing before them pay in revenue. And whenever Nizām Ali Khān needs auxiliaries, they furnish him with strong contingents, and outwardly do not disobey his orders.

But the English Christians[1] are embellished with the ornaments of wisdom and tact, and adorned with the garments of considerateness and courtesy. They are matchless in the firmness of their resolutions, in the perfectness of their alertness, in the organisation of battles, and in the arrangement of feasts. They are also unrivalled in their laws for the administration of justice, for the safety of their subjects, for extermination of tyranny, and for protection of the weak. Their adherence to their promises is so great that even if they risk their lives, they do not deviate from their words, nor do they admit liars to their society. They are liberal, faithful, forbearing, and honourable. They have not learnt the letters of deceit, nor have they read the book of crookedness. And notwithstanding their difference in creed, they do not interfere with the faith, laws, and religion of Musalmans.

All wranglings between Christianity and Islam, after all, lead to the same place:

The dream (of empire) is one and the same, only its interpretations vary.

1 The author of the *Riyaz* appears to be remarkably liberal and catholic in his views, as the concluding lines of his History would indicate. Compare this picture of the 'new English rulers' with that in the *Seir-ul-Mutakherin*.

THE END.

ERRATA.

P. xxiii, *for* 'prisoner' *read* 'Governor.'
P. 9, *for* 'Bakhtiyar Khilji' *read* 'Bakhtiar Khilji.'
P. 17, *for* 'where' *read* 'were.'
P. 17, *for* 'Taunpur' *read* 'Jaunpur.'
P. 26, for 'embanked road a bridge' *read* 'embanked road or bridge.'
P. 32, *for* 'raised the anchor' *read* 'he raised the anchor.'
P 42, *for* 'Babu Mankli' *read* 'Baba Mankli.'
P. 170, *for* 'Ali Quti' *read* 'Ali Quli.'
P. 172, *for* 'زیور' in second line *read* 'زر.'
P.P. 209 and 210, *for* 'Nezamat' *read* 'Nizamat.'

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THE END.




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